THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS OR *Protestant Non-Conformists,* FROM THE Death of Queen ELIZABETH TO THE Beginning of the CIVIL WAR in the Year 1642.

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their Principal Divines.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

VOL. II.

But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another, Gal. v. 15.

LONDON:

Printed for RICHARD HETT, *at the* Bible *and* Crown *in the* Poultry. M.DCC.XXXIII.

PREFACE

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

THE PREFACE

THE favourable Acceptance of the first Volume of this Work has encouraged me to publish a second, which carries the History forward to the beginning of the Civil War, when the two Houses of Parliament wrested the Spiritual Sword out of the Hands of the King and Bishops, and assumed the Supremacy to themselves.

There had been a Cessation of Controversy for some Time before the Death of Queen ELIZABETH; the Puritans being in hopes, upon the Accession of a King that had been educated in their own Principles, to obtain an easy Redress of their Grievances; and certainly no Prince ever had it so much in his Power to compromise the Differences of the Church, as King JAMES I. at the Conference of Hampton-Court; but being an indolent and vain-glorious Monarch he became a willing Captive to the Bishops, who flattered his Vanity, and put that Maxim into his Head, No Bishop, no King. The Creatures of the Court, in lieu of the vast Sums of Money they received out of the Exchequer, gave him the flattering Title of an ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGN, and to supply his Extravagancies, broke through the Constitution, and laid the Foundation of all the Calamities of his Son's Reign; while himself, sunk into Luxury and Ease, became the Contempt of all the Powers of Europe. If King James had any Principles of Religion besides what

be called KING-CRAFT, *or Diſſimulation, he changed them with the Climate, for from a rigid* Calviniſt *he became a Favourer of* Arminianiſm *in the latter part of his Reign; from a Proteſtant of the pureſt Kirk upon Earth, a Doctrinal* Papiſt; *and from a diſguiſed* Puritan, *the moſt implacable Enemy of that People, putting all the Springs of the Prerogative in Motion, to drive them out of both Kingdoms.*

But inſtead of accompliſhing his Deſigns, the Number of Puritans *increaſed prodigiouſly in his Reign, which was owing to one or other of theſe Cauſes.*

Firſt, To their ſtanding firm by the Conſtitution and Laws of their Country; *which brought over to them all thoſe Gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, and in the ſeveral Counties of* England, *who found it neceſſary, for the Preſervation of their Properties, to oppoſe the Court, and to inſiſt upon being governed according to Law; theſe were called* STATE PURITANS.

Secondly, To their ſteady Adherence to the Doctrines of *Calvin*, and the Synod of *Dort*, in the Points of Predeſtination and Grace, againſt the modern Interpretations of ARMINIUS and his Followers. *The Court Divines fell in with the latter, and were thought not only to deviate from the Principles of the firſt Reformers, but to attempt a Coalition with the Church of* Rome; *while moſt of the Country Clergy being ſtiff in their old Opinions (though otherwiſe well enough affected to the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church) were in a manner ſhut out from all Preferment, and branded with the Name of* DOCTRINAL PURITANS.

Thirdly, To their pious and ſevere Manner of Life, which was at this Time very extraordinary. *If a Man kept the Sabbath, and frequented Sermons; if he maintained Family Religion, and would neither Swear, nor be Drunk, nor comply with the faſhionable Vices of the Times, he was called a* Puritan: *This, by degrees, procured them the Compaſſion of the ſober Part of the Nation, who began to think it very hard, that a Number of ſober, induſtrious, and conſcientious People, ſhould be-*

haraſſed

harassed out of the Land, for scrupling to comply with a few indifferent Ceremonies, which had no Relation to the Favour of God, or the Practice of Virtue.

Fourthly, *It has been thought by some, that their Increase was owing* to the mild and gentle Government of Archbishop ABBOT. *While* BANCROFT *lived the Puritans were used with the utmost Rigor, but* ABBOT *having a greater Concern for the Doctrines of the Church than for its Ceremonies, relaxed the penal Laws, and connived at their proselyting the People to* Calvinism. ARMINIANISM *was at this Time both a Church and State Faction; the Divines of this Perswasion apprehending their Sentiments not very consistent with the received Sense of the Thirty nine Articles; and being afraid of the Censures of a Parliament or Convocation, took Shelter under the Prerogative, and went into all the slavish Measures of the Court to gain the Royal Favour, and to secure to their Friends the chief Preferments in the Church. They perswaded his Majesty to stifle the Predestinarian Controversy, both in the Pulpit and Press, and would, no doubt, in a few Years, have got the Balance of Numbers on their Side, if by grasping at too much they had not precipitated both Church and State into Confusion. It was no Advantage to those Divines that they were linked with the* ROMAN CATHOLICKS, *for* these *being sensible they could not be protected by Law, cried up the* Prerogative, *and joined their Forces with the* Court Divines, *to support the dispensing Power; they declared for the unlimited Authority of the* Sovereign *on the one Hand, and the absolute Obedience of the* Subject *on the other; so that though there is no real Connection between* Arminianism *and* Popery; *the two Parties were unhappily combined at this Time to destroy the Puritants, and to subvert the Constitution and Laws of their Country.*

But if ABBOT *was too remiss, his Successor* LAUD *was as much too furious, for in the* first Year *of his Government he introduced as many Changes as a wise and prudent* Statesmen *would have attempted in* seven; Heylin's *Life of* Laud, p. 506.

he

he prevailed with his Majesty to set up the English Service *at* Edinburgh, *and laid the Foundation of the* Scots Liturgy; *he obtained the Revival of the* Book of Sports; *he turned the* Communion Tables *into* Altars; *he sent out Injunctions which broke up the* French *and* Dutch *Churches; and procured the Repeal of the* Irish Articles, *and those of* England *to be received in their Place. Such was his rigorous Prosecution of the* Puritans, *that he would neither suffer them to live peaceably in the Land, nor remove quietly out of it! His* Grace *was also the chief Mover in all those unbounded Acts of Power which were subversive of the Rights and Liberties of the People: And while he had the Reins in his Hands drove so near the Precipices of Popery and Tyranny, that the Hearts of the most resolved Protestants turned against him, and almost all* England *became* Puritan.

I am sensible that no part of modern History has been examined with so much critical Exactness, as that part of the Reign of King Charles I. *which relates to the Rise and Progress of the* Civil War; *here the Writers on both Sides have blown up their Passions into a Flame, and instead of History, have given us little else but Panegyrick or Satyr. I have endeavoured to avoid Extremes, and have represented Things as they appeared to me, with Modesty, and without any personal Reflections. The Character I have given of the Religious Principles of the* Long Parliament *was designedly taken out of the Earl of* Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion, *that it might be without Exception: And I am of Opinion, that the want of a due Acquaintance with the Principles of the two Houses with regard to* Church Discipline, *has misled our best Historians, who have represented some of them as* zealous Prelatists, *and others as* cunning Presbyterians, Independants, Sectaries, *&c. whereas in truth they had these Matters very little at Heart. The King was hampered with Notions of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, but the two Houses [excepting the Bishops]*

ſhops] *were almoſt to a Man of the Principles of* Erastus, *who maintained,* That Chriſt and his Apoſtles had preſcribed no particular Form of Diſcipline for his Church in after Ages, but had left the Keys in the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, who had the ſole Power of puniſhing Tranſgreſſors, and of appointing ſuch particular Forms of Church Government from Time to Time, as were moſt ſubſervient to the Peace and Welfare of the Commonwealth. *Indeed theſe were the Sentiments of our Church Reformers, from Archbiſhop* Cranmer *down to* Bancroft. *And though the* Puritans *in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *writ with great Eagerneſs for the Divine Right of their* Book of Diſcipline, *their Poſterity in the next Reigns were more cool upon that Head, declaring their Satisfaction, if the preſent Epiſcopacy might be reduced to a more primitive Standard. This was the Subſtance of the* Miniſters Petition *in the Year* 1641. *ſigned with ſeven Hundred Hands. And even thoſe who were for* Root *and* Branch *were willing to ſubmit to a* Parliamentary Reformation, *till the* Scots *revived the Notion of* Divine Right *in the Aſſembly of Divines. However, 'tis certain, the* Two Houses *had no Attachment to* Preſbytery *or* Independancy, *but would have compromiſed Matters with the King upon the* Epiſcopal Scheme, *as long as his Majeſty was in the Field, but when Victory had declared on their Side they complied in ſome Meaſure with their Northern Friends, who had aſſiſted them in the War; but would never part with the* Power of the Keys *out of their own Hands. If the Reader will keep this in mind he will eaſily account for the ſeveral Revolutions of Church Government in theſe unſettled Times.*

'Tis not to be expected, that the moſt diſintereſted Writer of theſe Affairs ſhould eſcape the Cenſures of different Parties; I thought I had already ſufficiently expreſſed my Intentions in publiſhing the Hiſtory of the Puritans; *but becauſe it has been inſinuated in a late Pamphlet, that it look'd like a Riot againſt the Eccleſiaſti-* Expoſt. Let. p. 29,

[ccol] cal

tal Conſtitution, I think it proper to aſſure the World once for all, That what I have written is with no ill Spirit, or Deſign againſt the Peace of the Church or Nation; that I have no Private or Party Views; no Patron; no Aſſociates; nor other Proſpect of Reward, than the Pleaſure of ſetting the Engliſh Reformation *in a true Light, and of beating down ſome of the Fences and Incloſures of Conſcience. Nor can there be any Inconvenience in remembring the Miſtakes of our Anceſtors, when all the Parties concerned are gone off the Stage, and their Families reconciled by Inter-Marriages; but it may be of ſome Uſe and Benefit to Mankind, by enabling them to avoid thoſe* Rocks *on which* their *Forefathers have ſplit. When I am convinced of any Miſtakes, or unfair Repreſentations, I ſhall not be aſhamed to retract them before the World; but* Facts *are ſtubborn Things, and will not bend to the Humours and Inclinations of artful and angry Men; if theſe have been diſguiſed or miſreported, let them be ſet right in a decent manner, without the mean Surmiſes of* Plots *and* Confederacies, *and whoever does it, ſhall have mine as well as the Thanks of the Publick.*

I have no Controverſy with the preſent Church of England, *which has abandoned, in a great meaſure, the perſecuting Principles of former Times; for though I am not unacquainted with the Nature and Defects of* Religious Eſtabliſhments, *yet neither my Principles nor Inclinations will allow me to give them the leaſt Diſturbance, any further than they impoſe upon Conſcience, or intrench upon the Rights of* Civil Society. *If the* Preſbyterians *or* Independants *have been guilty of ſuch Practices in their Turns, I ſhall freely bear my Teſtimony againſt them, and think I may do it with a*

Ibid. p. 12. GOOD GRACE, *ſince I have always declared againſt* Reſtraints upon Conſcience *among all Parties of Chriſtians; but if Men will vindicate the Juſtice and Equity of Oaths* ex Officio, *and of* exorbitant Fines, Impriſonment *and* Baniſhment, *for Things in their own Nature indifferent; if they will call a Relation of the illegal Severities of* Council Tables, Star Cham-

Chambers, *and* High Commiſſions, *a* SATYR AGAINST THE PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT, *they muſt uſe their Liberty, as I ſhall mine, in appearing againſt Eccleſiaſtical Oppreſſion, from what Quarter ſoever it comes.*

I have freely cenſured the Miſtakes of the Puritans in Queen ELIZABETH's *Reign; nor will I be their Advocate any longer than they have Scripture, Reaſon, and ſome Degree of good Manners on their Side. If it ſhall at any Time appear, that the Body of them lived in Contempt of all lawful Authority, or bid Defiance to the Laws of their Country, except in ſuch Caſes wherein their Conſciences told them,* It was their Duty to obey God rather than Man; *if they were guilty of Rebellion, Sedition, or of abandoning the* Queen *and the* Proteſtant Religion, *when it was in Danger, let them bear their own Reproach; but as yet I muſt be of Opinion, that they were the beſt Friends of the Conſtitution and Liberties of their Country; that they were neither* unquiet nor reſtleſs, *unleſs againſt Tyranny in the State, and Oppreſſion upon the Conſcience; that they made Uſe of no other Weapons, during a Courſe of Fourſcore Years, but Prayers to God, and Petitions to the Legiſlature for Redreſs of their Grievances, it being an Article of their Belief,* That abſolute Submiſſion was due to the ſupreme Magiſtrate in all Things lawful, *as will ſufficiently appear by their Proteſtations in the beginning of the Reign of King* James I. *I have admitted that the* Puritans *might be too ſtiff and rigid in their Behaviour; that they were unacquainted with the Rights of Conſcience; and, that their Language to their Superiors the Biſhops was not always decent and mannerly:* Oppreſſion maketh wiſe Men mad. *But ſurely, the depriving, impriſoning and putting Men to Death for theſe Things, will not be vindicated in our Times.*

In the Preface to the firſt Volume of this Hiſtory I mentioned with Pleaſure the growing Sentiments of Religious Liberty in the Church of England, *but com-*

plained of the Burden of Subſcriptions *upon the* Clergy; *and* of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, *as prejudicial to the Cauſe of Religion and Virtue, among the* Laity; *for which Reaſons the Proteſtant Diſſenters throughout* England *intended to petition for a Repeal or Amendment of theſe Acts, the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, if they had met with any Encouragement from their Superiors, or had the leaſt Proſpect of Succeſs. The* Sacramental Test *is, no doubt, a diſtinguiſhing Mark of Reproach which they have not deſerved; and, I humbly conceive, no very great Security to the Church of* England, *unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that one ſingle Act of* Occaſional Conformity *can take off the Edge of all* their *imagin'd Averſion to the Hierarchy, who worſhip all the reſt of the Year among Non-Conformiſts. Nor can the Repeal of theſe Acts be of any conſiderable Advantage to the* Body of Diſſenters, *becauſe not one in five Hundred can expect to reap any private Benefit by it to himſelf or Family; their Zeal therefore in this Cauſe muſt ariſe principally from* a Regard to the Liberties of their Country, and a Deſire of reſcuing one of the moſt ſacred Rites of Chriſtianity from the Profanation to which it is expoſed.

Diſſ. Teſt. p. 16, 23, 25. *But it ſeems this will not be believed,* till the Diſſenters propoſe ſome other Pledge and Security by which the End and Intent of the Sacramental Teſt may be equally attained, for (*ſays a later Writer*) the Legiſlature never intended them any ſhare of Truſt or Power in the Government; and he hopes never will, till they ſee better Reaſons for it than have hitherto appeared. *Muſt the Diſſenters then furniſh the Church with a Law to exclude themſelves from ſerving their King and Country? Let the diſagreeable Work be undertaken by Men that are better ſkilled in ſuch unequal Severities. I will not examine into the Intent of the Legiſlature in this Place; but if Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts are to have no Share of Truſt or Power in the Government, why are they choſen into ſuch Offices, and ſubject to Fines and Penalties for declining them?*

Is

Is it for not ſerving? This, it ſeems, is what the Legiſlature never intended. Is it then for not qualifying? Surely this is a Penalty upon Conſcience. I would aſk the warmeſt Advocate for the Sacramental Teſt, Whether the appointing Proteſtant Diſſenters for Sheriffs of Counties, and obliging them to qualify againſt their Conſciences under the Penalties of a Premunire, without the Liberty of ſerving by a Deputy, or of Commuting by a Fine, is conſiſtent with ſo FULL A TOLERATION, and Exemption from Penal Laws, *as this Writer ſays they enjoy? 'Tis true, a good Government may take no Advantage of this Power, but in a bad one Men muſt qualify, or their Liberties and Eſtates be at the King's Mercy; it ſeems therefore but reaſonable, (whatever the Intent of the Legiſlature may be) that Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould be admitted to ſerve their Country with a good Conſcience in Offices of* Truſt *as well as of* Burden, *or be exempted from all Pains and Penalties for not doing it.* Hiſt. Teſt. p. 25.

'Tis now pretty generally agreed, That receiving the Holy Sacrament merely as a Qualification for a Place of Civil Profit or Truſt, is contrary to the Ends of its Inſtitution, and a Snare to the Conſciences of Men; *for though the Law is open, and "they who obtain Offices in the State know beforehand "the Conditions of keeping them," yet when the Bread of a numerous Family depends upon a Qualification which a Man cannot be ſatisfied to comply with, 'tis certainly a Snare. And though I agree with our Author, that "if the Minds of ſuch Perſons are wicked, the Law does "not make them ſo," yet I am afraid it hardens them, and makes them a great deal worſe. How many Thouſands come to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with Reluctance! and, perhaps,* eat and drink Judgment to themſelves; *the Guilt of which muſt be chargeable either upon the* Impoſers *or* Receivers, *or upon* both. *Methinks therefore Charity to the Souls of Men, as well as a Concern for the Purity of our* Holy Religion, *ſhould engage all ſerious Chriſtians to endeavour the Removal of* this Ibid. p. 22.

this Grievance; *and ſince we are told, that the appearing of the* Diſſenters *at this Time is unſeaſonable, and will be ineffectual*; *I would humbly move our* Right Reverend Fathers the Biſhops, *not to think it below their High Stations and Dignities, to conſider of ſome Expedient to roll away this Reproach from the Church and Nation, and agree upon ſome Security for the former (if needful) of a Civil Nature, that may leave room (as King* William *expreſſes it in his Speech to his firſt Parliament)* FOR THE ADMISSION OF ALL PROTESTANTS THAT ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY. *The Honour of Chriſt, and the Cauſe of publick Virtue, ſeem to require it. And for as much as the Influence of theſe Acts affects great Numbers of the* Laity *in a very tender Part, I ſhould think it no Diſhonour for the* ſeveral Corporations *in* England, *as well as for the* Officers of the Army, Navy, Cuſtoms, and Exciſe, *who are more peculiarly concerned, to join their Intereſts in petitioning the Legiſlature for ſuch Relief. And I flatter my ſelf that the wiſe and temperate Behaviour of the* Proteſtant Diſſenters *in their late* General Aſſembly *in* London; *with the dutiful Regard that they have always ſhewn to the Peace and Welfare of his Majeſty's Perſon, Family, and Government, will not fail to recommend them to the Royal Protection and Favour*; *and that his* MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, *in Imitation of his Glorious Predeceſſor King* WIILLAM III. *will in a proper Time recommend it to his Parliament to ſtrengthen his Adminiſtration, by taking off thoſe Reſtraints which at preſent diſable his* Proteſtant Diſſenting Subjects *from ſhewing their Zeal in the Service of their King and Country.*

LONDON,
March 6, 1732-3.

Daniel Neal.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

VOL. II.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of Queen ELIZABETH *to the Death of Archbiſhop* BANCROFT.

THE Royal Houſe of the STUARTS has not been more calamitous to the *Engliſh* Church and Nation, in the male Deſcendants, than ſucceſsful and glorious in the female: The four Kings of this Line while in Power, were declared Enemies of our civil Conſtitution; they govern'd without Law, levied Taxes by the Prerogative, and endeavoured to put an End to the very Being of Parliaments. With regard to Religion; the two firſt were neither ſound Proteſtants nor good Catholicks, but were for reconciling the two Religions, and meeting the Papiſts half way; but the two laſt went

King James I. 1603.

Of the Houſe of the Stuarts.

King James I. 1603.

went over entirely to the Church of *Rome*, and died profeſſedly in her Communion. The female Branches of this Family being married among foreign Proteſtants, were of a different Stamp, being more enclined to Puritaniſm than Popery; one of them [*Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* I.] was Mother of the Great King *WILLIAM* III. the Glorious DELIVERER of this Kingdom from Popery and Slavery; and another [*Elizabeth* Daughter of King *James* I.] was Grandmother of his late Majeſty King *GEORGE* I. in whom the Proteſtant Succeſſion took Place, and whoſe numerous Deſcendants in the Perſon and Off-ſpring of his preſent Majeſty, are the Defence and Glory of the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*.

King James's *Behaviour in* Scotland.

King *James* was Thirty ſix Years of Age when he came to the *Engliſh* Throne, having reigned in *Scotland* from his Infancy. In the Year 1589. he married the Princeſs ANNE, Siſter to the King of *Denmark*, by whom he had three Children living at this Time, HENRY Prince of *Wales*, who died before he was Nineteen Years of Age [1612.] ELIZABETH married to the Elector *Palatine* 1613. and CHARLES, who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom. His Majeſty's Behaviour in *Scotland* raiſed the Expectations and Hopes of all Parties; the Puritans relied upon his Majeſty's Education; upon his ſubſcribing the ſolemn League and Covenant; and upon his publick Declaration in the General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, 1590. when ſtanding with his Bonnet off, and his Hands lifted up to Heaven, "He praiſed "God that he was born in the Time of the Light of "the Goſpel, and in ſuch a Place, as to be King of "ſuch a Church, the ſincereſt [pureſt] Kirk in the "World. The Church of *Geneva* (ſays he) keep "Paſche and Yule [Eaſter and Chriſtmas] what "have they for them? They have no Inſtitution. As "for our Neighbour Kirk of *England*, their Service "is an evil ſaid Maſs in *Engliſh*; they want nothing

Expectations of the Puritans.

Calderwood's *Hiſt. Ch.* Scotland, p. 256.

" of the Maſs but the Liftings. I charge you, my " good Miniſters, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gen- " tlemen, and Barons, to ſtand to your Purity, and " to exhort the People to do the ſame; and I, for- " ſooth, as long as I brook my Life, ſhall maintain " the ſame." In his Speech to the Parliament 1598. he tells them, " That he minded not to bring in Pa- " piſtical or Anglicane Biſhops." Nay, upon his leaving *Scotland*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, he gave publick Thanks to God in the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, " That he had left both Kirk and " Kingdom in that State which he intended not to " alter any ways, his Subjects living in Peace." But it ſeems all this was *Kingcraft*, or elſe his Majeſty changed his Principles with the Climate. The *Scots* Miniſters did not approach him with the diſtant Submiſſion and Reverence of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, and therefore within nine Months he renounced Preſbytery, and eſtabliſhed it for a Maxim, *No Biſhop no King*; ſo ſoon did this pious Monarch renounce all his former Principles (if he had any) and break through the moſt awful and ſolemn Vows and Oaths! When the Long Parliament addreſſed King *Charles* I. to ſet up Preſbytery in the Room of Epiſcopacy, his Majeſty objected his Coronation Oath, in which he had ſworn to maintain the Clergy in their Rights and Privileges; but King *James* had no ſuch Scruples of Conſcience, for without ſo much as aſking the Conſent of Parliament, General Aſſembly or People, he enter'd upon the moſt effectual Meaſures to ſubvert that *Kirk Diſcipline* which he had ſworn to maintain with Hands lifted up to Heaven, at his Coronation, and ſolemnly ſubſcribed with his Queen and whole Family, in the Years 1581. and 1590.

King James I. 1603.

Calderwood's *Hiſt. Ch. Scotland*, p. 418.

Ib. p. 473.

The Papiſts put the King in remembrance, that he was born of Roman Catholick Parents, and had been baptized with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; that his Mother, of whom he uſually ſpoke with Reverence, was a Mar-

And of the Papiſts.

King James I. 1603.

tyr for that Church; and that he himſelf, upon ſundry Occaſions, had expreſſed no diſlike to her Doctrines, though he diſallowed of the Uſurpations of the Court of *Rome* over foreign Princes; that he had called the Church of *Rome his Mother* Church; and therefore they preſumed to welcome his Majeſty into *England* with a Petition for an open Toleration.

Early Application of the Biſhops to the King.

Life of Whitgift, p. 559.

But the Biſhops of the Church of *England* made the earlieſt Application for his Majeſty's Protection and Favour. As ſoon as the Queen was dead Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſent Dr. *Nevil*, Dean of *Canterbury*, expreſs into *Scotland*, in the Name of all the Biſhops and Clergy of *England*, to give his Majeſty Aſſurance of their unfeigned Duty and Loyalty; to know what Commands he had for them with reſpect to the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, and to recommend the Church of *England* to his Protection and Favour. The King replied, that he would uphold the Government of the Church as the Queen left it; which comforted the timorous Archbiſhop, who had ſometimes ſpoke with great Uneaſineſs of the *Scotch Miſt*.

Of the Dutch *and* French *Churches.*

Upon his Majeſty's Arrival all Parties addreſſed him, and among others the *Dutch* and *French* Churches, and the *Engliſh* Puritans; to the former his Majeſty gave this Anſwer, "I need not uſe many Words to declare my Good-Will to you, who "have taken Sanctuary here for the ſake of Religion; I am ſenſible you have enriched this Kingdom with ſeveral Arts and Manufactures; and I "ſwear to you, that if any one ſhall give you Diſturbance in your Churches, upon your Application to me, I will revenge your Cauſe; and "though you are none of my proper Subjects, I will "maintain and cheriſh you as much as any Prince "in the World." But the latter met with very different Uſage.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all the Precautions that were taken to ſecure the Elections of Members for the next Parliament; the Archbiſhop wiſhed he might not live to ſee it, for fear of ſome Alterations in the Church; for the Puritans were preparing Petitions, and printing Pamphlets in their own Vindication, but by the Archbiſhop's Vigilance (ſays Mr. *Strype*) not a Petition or Pamphlet eſcaped without a ſpeedy and effectual Anſwer. *King* James I. 1603. Strype's *Ann.* Vol. ult. p. 387.

While the King was in his Progreſs to *London* the Puritans preſented their *Millenary Petition*, ſo called, becauſe it was ſaid to be ſubſcribed by a Thouſand Hands, though there were not more than eight Hundred out of Twenty five Counties. It is entitled, *The humble Petition of the Miniſters of the Church of* England, *deſiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuſes of the Church*; the Preamble ſets forth, "That "neither as factious Men affecting a popular Parity "in the Church, nor as Schiſmaticks aiming at the "Diſſolution of the State Eccleſiaſtical, but as the "faithful Miniſters of Chriſt, and loyal Subjects to "his Majeſty, they humbly deſired the Redreſs of "ſome Abuſes. And though divers of them had formerly ſubſcribed to the *Service-Book*, ſome upon "*Proteſtation*; ſome upon an *Expoſition given*; and "ſome with *Condition*; yet now they, to the Number "of more than a Thouſand Miniſters, groan'd under "the Burden of human Rites and Ceremonies, and "with one Conſent threw themſelves down at his "Royal Feet for Relief in the following Particulars: *Millenary Petition, preſented* April, 1603. Clark's *Life of* Hildersham, p. 126.

1. *In the Church Service*, "That the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Interrogatories to Infants, Baptiſm by "Women, and Confirmation, may be taken away; "that the Cap and Surplice may not be urged; that "Examination may go before the Communion; "that the Ring in Marriage may be diſpenſed with; "that the Service may be abridg'd; Church Songs, "and Muſick, moderated to better Edification; that

King James I. 1603.

" the Lord's Day may not be profan'd, nor the Ob-
" ſervation of other Holy Days ſtrictly enjoin'd;
" that Miniſters may not be charged to teach their
" People to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*; and that
" none but canonical Scriptures be read in the
" Church."

2. *Concerning Miniſters*, " That none may be admit-
" ted but able Men; that they be obliged to preach
" on the Lord's Day; that ſuch as are not capable of
" preaching may be removed or obliged to main-
" tain Preachers; that Non-Reſidency be not per-
" mitted; that King *Edward*'s Statute for the Law-
" fulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy be revived;
" and that Miniſters be not obliged to ſubſcribe but
" according to Law, to the Articles of Religion,
" and the King's Supremacy only.

3. *For Church Livings.* " That Biſhops leave their
" Commendams; that Impropriations annexed to
" Biſhopricks and Colleges be given to Preachers
" Incumbents only, and that Lay-Impropriations
" be charged with a 6th or 7th Part for the Mainte-
" nance of a Preacher.

4. *For Church Diſcipline.* " That Excommunica-
" tion, and Church Cenſures be not in the Name of
" Lay-Chancellors, *&c.* that Men be not excommu-
" nicated for 12 Penny Matters, nor without conſent
" of their Paſtors; that Regiſter's Places, and
" others having Juriſdiction, do not put them out to
" Farm; that ſundry Popiſh Canons be revers'd;
" that the Length of Suits in Eccleſiaſtical Courts
" may be reſtrain'd; that the Oath *ex Officio* be
" more ſparingly uſed; and Licences for Marriages
" without Banes be more ſparingly granted.

" Theſe Things, ſay they, we are able to ſhew
" not to be agreeable to the Word of God, if it
" ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to hear us, or by Wri-
" ting to be inform'd, or by Conference among the
" learned to be reſolved."

The

King James I. 1603.

The King met with ſundry other Petitions of the like Nature, from moſt of the Counties he paſſed through; but the Heads of the two Univerſities having taken Offence at the *Millenary Petition*, for demiſing away the Impropriations annexed to Biſhopricks and Colleges, which (ſays *Fuller*) would cut off more than the Nipples of the Breaſts of both Univerſities in point of Maintenance, expreſs'd their Reſentment different Ways: Thoſe of *Cambridge* paſt a Grace, *June* 9th. "That whoſoever in the Univer-"ſity ſhould openly oppoſe by Word or Writing, "or any other Way, the Doctrine or Diſcipline of "the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law, or any "Part thereof, ſhould be ſuſpended *ipſo facto* from "any Degree already taken, and be diſabled from "taking any Degree for the future." About the ſame Time the Univerſity of *Oxford* publiſhed an Anſwer to the Miniſters Petition, entitled, *An Anſwer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other Heads of Houſes in the Univerſity of* Oxford, *to the Petition of the Miniſters of the Church of* England, *deſiring Reformation*; dedicated to the Archbiſhop, the Chancellors of both Univerſities, and the two Secretaries of State. The Anſwer ſhews the *High Spirit* of the Univerſity; it reproaches the Miniſters in very ſevere Language for *ſubſcribing*, and then *complaining*; it reflects upon them as *factious Men*, for affecting a Parity in the Church, and then falls ſeverely on the *Scots* Reformation, which his Majeſty had ſo publickly commended before he left that Kingdom. It throws an Odium upon the Petitioners, as being for a limited Monarchy, and for ſubjecting the Titles of Kings to the Approbation of the People. It then goes on to vindicate all the Grievances complain'd of, and concludes with beſeeching his Majeſty not to ſuffer the Peace of the State to be diſturbed, by allowing theſe Men to diſturb its Polity. "Look up-"on the reformed Churches abroad (ſay they) and "whereſoever the Deſire of the Petitioners takes

Abſtract of the Anſwer of the Univerſity of Oxford.

Life of Whitgift, p. 367.

King James I. 1603.

" place, how ill it ſuits with the State of *Monarchy*; " does it become the ſuper-eminent Authority and " Regal Perſon of a King, to ſubject his ſovereign " Power to the overſwaying and all-commanding " Power of a Preſbytery? That his meek and hum- " ble Clergy ſhould have Power to *bind their King in* " *Chains, and their Prince in Links of Iron?* That is, " to cenſure him, and if they ſee cauſe, to proceed " againſt him as a Tyrant. That the *Supreme Magi-* " *ſtrate* ſhould only be a *Maintainer* of their Proceed- " ings, but not a *Commander* in them; theſe are " but petty Abridgments of the Prerogative Royal, " while the King ſubmits his Sceptre to the Sceptre " of Chriſt, and licks the Duſt of the Churches Feet." They then commend the preſent Church Government as the great Support of the Crown, and calculated for unlimited Subjection to it; and aver, " That " there are at this Day more learned Men in this " Land, in this one Kingdom, than are to be found " among all the Miniſters of the Religion in *France*, " *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Geneva*, " *Scotland*, or (to ſpeak in a Word) all *Europe* be- " ſides." Such a vain-glorious Piece of ſelf-applauſe is hardly to be met with. They muſt have a mean Opinion of the King's Acquaintance with the learned World, to uſe him in this manner, at a Time, when, though there were ſome very conſiderable Divines among our ſelves, there were as many learned Men in the foreign Univerſities, as had been ſince the Reformation, as the *Beza's*, *Scaliger's*, *Caſaubon's*, &c. whoſe Works have tranſmitted their great Names down to Poſterity.

Strype's *Ann* Vol. ult. p. 374

And of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

And that the Divines of *Cambridge* might not come behind their Brethren of *Oxford*, the Heads of that Univerſity writ a Letter of Thanks to the *Oxonians*, for their Anſwer to the Petition, in which " they ap- " plaud and commend their weighty Arguments, " and threaten to battel the Puritans with Numbers; " *for if* Saul *has his Thouſands* (ſay they) David *has*

" *his*

" *his ten Thouſands.* They acquaint them with their " Decree of *June* 9, and bid the poor pitiful Puritans " [*Homunciones miſerrimi*] anſwer their almoſt a Thou- " ſand Books in defence of the Hierarchy, before " they pretend to diſpute before ſo learned and wiſe a " King." A mean and pitiful Triumph over honeſt and virtuous Men, who aimed at nothing but to bring the Diſcipline of the Church a little nearer the Standard of Scripture! *King* James I. 1603.

But that his Majeſty might part with his old Friends with ſome Decency, and ſeem to anſwer the Requeſt of the Petitioners, he agreed to have a *Conference* with the two Parties at *Hampton Court*, for which purpoſe he publiſhed a Proclamation from *Wilton*, *October* 24th, 1603. *Touching a Meeting for the Hearing, and for the determining Things pretended to be amiſs in the Church.* In which he declares, " That " he was already perſwaded, that the Conſtitution of " the Church of *England* was agreeable to God's " Word, and near to the Condition of the Primi- " tive Church; yet becauſe he had received Informa- " tion, that ſome Things in it were ſcandalous, and " gave Offence, he had appointed a Meeting to be " had before himſelf and Council, of divers Biſhops " and other learned Men, at which Conſultation he " hoped to be better informed of the State of the " Church, and whether there were any ſuch Enor- " mities in it; in the mean Time he commanded all " his Subjects not to publiſh any Thing againſt the " State Eccleſiaſtical, or to gather Subſcriptions, or " make Supplications, being reſolved to make it ap- " pear by their Chaſtiſement, how far ſuch a man- " ner of Proceeding was diſpleaſing to him, for he " *was determined to preſerve the Eccleſiaſtical State in* " *ſuch Form as he found it eſtabliſhed by the Law, only* " *to reform ſuch Abuſes as he ſhould find apparently pro-* " *ved.*" *Proclamation for a Conference.* L. of Whit. B. IV. c. 31.

The Archbiſhop and his Brethren had been indefatigable in poſſeſſing the King with the Excellency of Ib. p. 570.

the

King James I. 1603.

the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, as coming near the Practice of the Primitive Church, and beſt ſuited to a Monarchical Government; they repreſented the Puritans as turbulent and factious, inconſiderable in Number, and aiming at Confuſion both in Church and State; and yet, after all, the old Archbiſhop was doubtful of the Event, for in one of his Letters to *Cecil*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, he writes, "Though our humorous "and contentious Brethren have made many Pe- "titions and Motions, correſpondent to their Na- "tures, yet to my Comfort they have not much "prevailed. Your Lordſhip, I am ſure, does ima- "gine, that I have not all this while been idle, nor "greatly quiet in mind; for who can promiſe him- "ſelf reſt among ſo many Vipers?"

L. of Whit. *Append.* N° 43.

Conference at Hampton Court.

The Place of Conference was the *Drawing Room*, within the Privy Chamber at *Hampton Court*; the Diſputants on both Sides were nominated by the King. For the Church, there were nine Biſhops, and about as many Dignitaries, *viz.*

Dr. *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Mathew* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Babington* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Rudd* Biſhop of *St. David*'s, *Watſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Robinſon* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Dove* Biſhop of *Peterborough*.

Dr. *Andrews* Dean of the Chapel, *Overal* Dean of *St. Paul*'s, *Barlow* Dean of *Cheſter*, *Bridges* Dean of *Saliſbury*, *Field* Dean of *Glouceſter*, *King* Archdeacon of *Nottingham*; beſides the Deans of *Worceſter* and *Windſor*.

For the Puritans were only four Miniſters, Dr. *John Raynolds*, Dr. *Thomas Sparks*, Profeſſors of Divinity in *Oxford*, Mr. *Chadderton* and Mr. *Knewſtubs* of *Cambridge*. The Divines for the Church appeared in the Habits of their reſpective Diſtinctions; but thoſe for the Puritans in Fur Gowns, like the *Turkey* Merchants, or like the Profeſſors in foreign Univerſities. When the King conferr'd with the Biſhops he behaved with Softneſs,

neſs, and a great Regard to their Character; but when the Puritan Miniſters ſtood before him, inſtead of being Moderator, he took upon him the Place of *Reſpondent*, and bore them down with his Majeſtick Frowns and Threatnings, in the midſt of a numerous Crowd of Courtiers, for all the Lords of the Privy Council were preſent; while the Biſhops ſtood by and were little more than Spectators of the Triumph. *King James I. 1603.*

The Account of this Conference was publiſhed only by Dr. *Barlow*, who being a Party (ſays *Fuller*) *ſet a ſharp Edge on his own, and a blunt one on his Adverſaries Weapons.* Dr. *Sparks* and *Raynolds* complained, that they were wrong'd by that Relation; and Dr. *Jackſon* declared, that *Barlow* himſelf repented upon his Death-bed, of the Injury he had done the Puritan Miniſters in his Relation of the *Hampton Court* Conference. Mr. *Strype* has lately publiſhed a Letter of the Biſhop of *Durham* to *Hutton* Archbiſhop of *York*, which agrees pretty much with *Barlow*; but Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, a *Scots* Man, has ſet Things in a different Light; from all which, and from the King's own Letter to Mr. *Blake* a *Scots* Man, we muſt form the beſt Judgment of it that we can. Peirce, p. 153, 154. *L. of* Whit. *Append.* N° 45.

The Conference continued three Days, (*viz.*) *Jan.* 14th, 16th, and 18th; the firſt was with the Biſhops and Deans alone, *Jan.* 14th, the Puritan Miniſters not being preſent; when the King made a Speech in Commendation of the Hierarchy of the Church of *England*, and congratulated himſelf, that "He was "now come into the *promiſed Land*; that he ſat "among grave and reverend Men, and was not a "King, as formerly, without State; nor in a Place "where beardleſs Boys would brave him to his "Face. He aſſured them, he had not called this "Aſſembly for any Innovation, for he acknowledged the Government Eccleſiaſtical, as now it is, "to have been approved by manifold Bleſſings from "God himſelf; but becauſe he had received ſome "Complaints of Diſorders, he was willing to remove "them *First Day's Conference between the King and the Biſhops only.*

King James I. 1603.

Fuller, B. X. p. 8.

"them if ſcandalous, and to take Notice of them if "but trifling; that the Reaſon of his conſulting "them by *themſelves*, was to receive Satisfaction "from them, (1.) About ſome Things in the Com- "mon Prayer Book. (2.) Concerning Excommu- "nication in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. (3.) About "providing ſome well qualified Miniſters for *Ireland*; "that if any Thing ſhould be found meet to be re- "dreſſed, it might be done without their being con- "fronted by their Opponents."

In the Common Prayer Book his Majeſty had ſome Scruples about the *Confirmation* of Children, as if it imported a Confirmation of Baptiſm. But the Archbiſhop on his Knees replied, that the Church did not hold Baptiſm imperfect without *Confirmation*. *Bancroft* ſaid it was of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, *Heb.* vi. 2. where 'tis called, The Doctrine of the Laying on of Hands. But to ſatisfy the King it was agreed, that the Words *Examination of Children* ſhould be added to *Confirmation*.

His Majeſty excepted to the *Abſolution of the Church*, as too nearly reſembling the Pope's Pardon. But the Archbiſhop is ſaid to clear it up to the King's Satisfaction, only to the Rubrick of the general Abſolution theſe Words were to be added for Explanation ſake, *Remiſſion of Sins*.

He further objected to *private Baptiſm*, and *Baptiſm by Women*. It had been cuſtomary till this Time for Biſhops to licence Midwives to their Office, and to allow their Right to baptize in Caſes of Neceſſity, under the following Oath:

The Oath of a Midwife. Strype's *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 537.

"I *Eleanor* —— admitted to the Office and Oc- "cupation of a Midwife, will faithfully and dili- "gently exerciſe the ſaid Office, according to ſuch "Cunning and Knowledge as God has given me, and "that I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as "rich Women, being in Labour and Travail with "Child, and will always be ready to execute my "ſaid

" ſaid Office. Alſo, I will not permit or ſuffer, " that any Woman being in Labour or Travail, " ſhall name any other to be the Father of the Child, " than only he who is the right and true Father " thereof; and that I will not ſuffer any other Body's " Child to be ſet, brought, or laid before any Wo- " man delivered of Child, in the Place of her natural " Child, ſo far forth as I can know or underſtand. " Alſo, I will not uſe any kind of Sorcery or Incanta- " tion in the Time of Travail of any Woman; and " that I will not deſtroy the Child born of any Wo- " man, nor cut, nor pull off the Head thereof, or " otherwiſe diſmember or hurt the ſame, or ſuffer " it to be ſo hurt, *&c.* Alſo, that in the Miniſtra- " tion of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, in the Time of " Neceſſity, I will uſe the accuſtomed Words of the " ſame Sacrament; that is to ſay, theſe Words fol- " lowing, or the like Effect, *I Chriſten thee in the* " *Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*; and " none other profane Words. And that in baptizing " any Infant born, and pouring Water on the Head " of the ſaid Infant, I will uſe pure and clean Water, " and not any Roſe or Damaſk Water, or Water " made of any Confection or Mixture. And that I " will certify the Curate of the Pariſh Church of eve- " ry ſuch baptizing.

King James I. 1603.

Notwithſtanding this Oath *Whitgift* aſſured the King, that Baptiſm by Women and Lay-Perſons was not allowed by the Church. Others ſaid it was a reaſonable Practice, the Miniſter not being of the Eſſence of the Sacrament. But the King not being ſatisfied, it was referr'd to Conſideration, Whether the Word *Curate*, or *lawful Miniſter*, might not be inſerted into the Rubrick for private Baptiſm.

Concerning *Excommunication for leſſer Crimes* in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, it was agreed, That the *Name* ſhould be changed, but the ſame Cenſure retained, or an equivalent thereunto appointed. Theſe were all the

King James I. 1603.

the Alterations that were agreed to between the King and Biſhops in the firſt Day's Conference.

Remarks on the firſt Day's Conference. Calderwood's *Hiſt. Ch. of* Scotland, p. 474.

Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, who was preſent at the Conference, gives this Account of it to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*. "That on *Jan.* 12th the King commanded the Biſhops, as they would anſwer it to "God in Conſcience, and to himſelf, upon their "Obedience, to adviſe among themſelves, of the "Corruptions of the Church in Doctrine, Ceremonies "and Diſcipline; who after Conſultation reported, "that *all was well*; but when his Majeſty with great "Fervency brought Inſtances to the contrary, the "Biſhops on their Knees craved with great Earneſtneſs, *That nothing might be alter'd, leſt Popiſh Recuſants puniſhed by penal Statutes for their Diſobedience, and the Puritans puniſhed by Deprivation from their Callings and Livings for Non-Conformity, ſhould ſay, they had juſt Cauſe to inſult upon them, as Men who had travailed to bind them to that which by their own Mouths now was confeſſed to be erroneous.*" Mr. *Strype* calls this an Aſperſion; but I am apt to think him miſtaken, becauſe Mr. *Galloway* adds theſe Words, "When ſundry Perſons gave out Copies of "theſe Actions, I my ſelf took Occaſion, as I was "an Ear and Eye-witneſs, to ſet them down, and "preſented them to his Majeſty, who with his own "Hand mended ſome Things, and eked others that "I had omitted." 'Tis very certain, that Biſhop *Barlow* has cut off and concealed all the Speeches that his Majeſty made againſt the Corruptions of the Church, and the Practices of the Prelates, for five Hours together, according to the Teſtimony of Dr. *Andrews* Dean of the Chapel, who ſaid, That *his Majeſty did that Day wonderfully play the Puritan.*

Second Day's Conference with the Puritans.

The ſecond Day's Conference was on *Monday*, *Jan.* 16. when the four Miniſters were called in, with Mr. *Galloway* Miniſter of *Perth* in *Scotland*, on the one part, and two Biſhops and ſix or eight Deans on the other, the reſt being ſecluded. The King being ſeated

ſeated in his Chair, with his Nobles and Privy Counſellors about him, let them know, he was now ready to hear their Objections againſt the Eſtabliſhment. Whereupon Dr. *Raynolds*, in the Name of his Brethren, humbly requeſted, *King James I. 1603.*

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerved pure, according to God's Word.

2. That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches, to preach in the ſame.

3. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of Piety.

4. That Church Government might be ſincerely miniſter'd according to God's Word.

1. With regard to the Doctrine of the Church he requeſted, that to thoſe Words in the 16th Article, *We may depart from Grace*, may be added, *neither totally nor finally*; to make them conſiſtent with the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* in the 17th Article; and that (if his Majeſty pleaſed) the nine Articles of *Lambeth* might be inſerted. — That in the 23d Article theſe Words, *In the Congregation*, might be omitted, as implying a Liberty for Men to preach out of the Congregation without a lawful Call. — That in the 25th Article the Ground for *Confirmation* might be examined; one Paſſage confeſſing it to be a depraved Imitation of the Apoſtles, and another grounding it on their Example; beſides, that it was too much Work for a Biſhop — *Reformation of Doctrine.*

Here *Bancroft* could no longer contain himſelf, but falling upon his Knees, beg'd the King with great Earneſtneſs to ſtop the Doctor's Mouth, according to an ancient Canon, that SCHISMATICKS *are not to be heard againſt their Biſhops.* It is not reaſonable (ſays he) that Men who have ſubſcribed to theſe Articles, ſhould be allowed to plead againſt their own Act, contrary to the Statute *primo Eliz.* The King perceiving the Biſhop in a heat, ſaid, *My Lord*, You ought not to interrupt the Doctor, but either let him proceed, or anſwer what he has objected. Upon

King James I. 1603.

on which he replied, "That as to Dr. *Raynolds*'s firſt "Objection, the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* was a "*deſperate Doctrine*; and had made many Peo-"ple *Libertines*, who were apt to ſay, *If I ſhall be* "*ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved*; he therefore deſired it might "be left at large. That his ſecond Objection was "trifling, becauſe by the Practice of the Church, "none but *licenſed Miniſters* might preach or admini-"ſter the Sacrament. And as to the Doctor's third "Objection he ſaid, that the Biſhops had their "Chaplains and Curates to examine ſuch as were to "be confirmed; and that in ancient Time, *none con-*"*firmed but Biſhops.*" To which *Raynolds* replied in the Words of St. *Jerom*, *That it was rather a Compliment to the Order, than from any Reaſon or Neceſſity of the Thing.* And whereas the Biſhop had called him a SCHISMATICK, he deſired his Majeſty, that that Imputation might not lie upon him; which occaſioned a great deal of Mirth and Raillery between the King and his Nobles about the *unhappy Puritans.* In concluſion the King ſaid, he was againſt encreaſing the Number of Articles, or ſtuffing them with Theological Niceties; becauſe were they never ſo explicit, there will be no preventing contrary Opinions. As to *Confirmation*, he thought it not decent to refer the Solemnity to a Pariſh Prieſt, and cloſed his Remarks with this Maxim, *No Biſhop, no King.*

After a long Interruption the Doctor went on, and deſired a *new Catechiſm*, to which the King conſented, provided there might be no curious Queſtions in it, and that our Agreement with the Roman Catholicks in ſome Points might not be eſteemed *Heterodoxy.* He further deſired *a new Tranſlation of the Bible*, to which his Majeſty agreed, provided it were without marginal Notes, ſaying, that of all the Tranſlations, the *Geneva* was the worſt, becauſe of the marginal Notes, which allowed Diſobedience to Kings. The Doctor complained *of the printing and diſperſing popiſh Pamphlets*, which reflecting on

Bancroft's Character, the King ſaid, "What was "done of this kind was by Warrant from the Court, "to nouriſh the Schiſm between the *Seculars* and "*Jeſuits*, which was of great Service. *Doctor*, You "are a better College-Man than States-Man." To which *Raynolds* replied, That he did not intend ſuch Books as were printed in *England*, but ſuch as were imported from beyond Sea; and this ſeveral of the Privy-Council owned to be a Grievance. The Doctor having prayed that ſome effectual Remedy might be provided againſt the Profanation of the *Lord's Day*, declared he had no more to add on the firſt Head. *King James I. 1603.*

2. With regard to Preaching, the Doctor complain'd of Pluralities in the Church; and prayed, that all Pariſhes might be furniſhed with preaching Miniſters. Upon which *Bancroft* fell upon his Knees, and petitioned his Majeſty, that all Pariſhes might have a *praying Miniſtry*, for preaching is grown ſo much in faſhion (ſays he) that the *Service of the Church* is neglected. Beſides, *Pulpit Harangues* are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved, that the Number of Homilies might be encreaſed, and that the Clergy might be obliged to read them inſtead of Sermons, in which many vented their Spleen againſt their Superiors. The King aſked the Plaintiffs their Opinion of the Biſhop's Motion; who replied, That a preaching Miniſtry was certainly beſt, and moſt uſeful, though they allowed, where Preaching could not be had, godly Prayers, Homilies, and Exhortations, might do much good. The Lord Chancellor [*Egerton*] ſaid, There were more Livings that wanted learned Men, than learned Men Livings; let all therefore have ſingle Coats before others have *Doublets*. Upon which *Bancroft* replied merrily, but a *Doublet* is good in cold Weather. The King put an End to the Debate, by ſaying, he would conſult the Biſhops upon this Head. *Of Preaching.*

King James I. 1603.

Of the Service-Book *and* Ceremonies.

3. But the Doctor's chief Objections were to the *Service-Book* and *Church-Government:* Here he complain'd of the late *Subscriptions*, by which many were depriv'd of their Ministry, who were willing to subscribe to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, to the King's Supremacy, and to the Statutes of the Realm. He excepted to *the reading the* Apocrypha; *to the Interrogatories in Baptism, and to the Sign of the Cross; to the Surplice, and other superstitious Habits; to the Ring in Marriage; to the Churching of Women by the Name of* PURIFICATION. He urged, that most of these Things were Reliques of Popery; that they had been abus'd to Idolatry, and therefore ought, like the *Brazen Serpent*, to be abolished. Mr. *Knewstubs* said, these Rites and Ceremonies were at best but indifferent, and therefore doubted, whether the Power of the Church could bind the Conscience without impeaching Christian Liberty ——

Here his Majesty interrupted them, and said, that he apprehended the *Surplice* to be a very comely Garment; that the *Cross* was as old as *Constantine*, and must we charge him with Popery? Besides, it was no more a significant Sign than Imposition of Hands, which the Petitioners allowed in Ordination; and as for their *other* Exceptions, they were capable of being understood in a sober Sense; "but as to the *Power* "*of the Church* in Things indifferent (says his Majes-"ty) I will not argue that Point with you, but an-"swer as Kings in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera.* "This is like Mr. *John Black* a beardless Boy, who "told me the last Conference in *Scotland*, that he "would hold Conformity with me in Doctrine, but "that every Man as to Ceremonies was to be left to "his own Liberty; but I will have none of that; *I* "*will have one Doctrine, one Discipline, one Religion in* "*Substance and Ceremony: Never speak more to that* "*Point, how far you are bound to obey.*"

4. Dr. *Raynolds* was going on, to complain of *Excommunication* by *Lay-Chancellors*; but the King having said

said he ſhould conſult the Biſhops on that Head, the Doctor deſired that the Clergy might have Aſſemblies once in three Weeks; that in rural Deanries they might have the Liberty of *Propheſyings*, as in Archbiſhop *Grindal*'s Time; that thoſe Caſes that could not be reſolved there, might be referr'd to the *Archdeacon*'s *Viſitation*, and from thence to the *Dioceſan Synod*, where the Biſhop with his Preſbyters ſhould determine ſuch Points as were too difficult for the other Meetings; —— Here the King broke out into a Flame, and inſtead of hearing the Doctor's Reaſons, or commanding his Biſhops to anſwer what had been ſaid, told the *Miniſters*, that he found they were aiming at a *Scots* Preſbytery, "which (ſays he) "agrees with Monarchy as well as God and the De- "vil; then *Jack* and *Tom*, *Will* and *Dick*, ſhall meet, "and at their Pleaſure cenſure both me and my "Council. Therefore, pray ſtay one ſeven Years "before you demand that of me, and if then you "find me purſy and fat, and my Windpipe ſtuff'd, "I will, perhaps, hearken to you; for let that Go- "vernment be up, and I am ſure I ſhall be kept in "Breath; but till you find I grow lazy, pray let "that alone. I remember how they uſed the poor "Lady my Mother in *Scotland*, and me in my Mino- "rity." Then turning to the Biſhops, he put his Hand to his Hat and ſaid, "*My Lords*, I may thank "you that theſe Puritans plead for my Supremacy, "for if once you are out and they in place, I know "what would become of my Supremacy, for, *No "Biſhop no King*. Well, Doctor, Have you any "Thing elſe to offer?" Dr. *Raynolds*, *No more, if it pleaſe your Majeſty*. Then riſing from his Chair the King ſaid, *If this be all your Party have to ſay, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of this Land, or elſe worſe*; and he was as good as his Word.

King James I. 1603.

Thus ended the ſecond Day's Conference, after four Hours Diſcourſe, with a perfect Triumph on the Side of the Church; the Puritan Miniſters were inſulted,

Remarks on the 2d Day's Conference.

King James I. 1603.

ſulted, ridicul'd, and laughed to ſcorn, without either Wit or good Manners: One of the Council ſaid, He now ſaw that a *Puritan was a Proteſtant frighted out of his Wits.* Another, that *the Miniſters looked more like* Turks *than* Chriſtians, *as appeared by their Habits.* Sir *Edward Peyton* confeſſed, that Dr. *Raynolds* and his Brethren had not freedom of Speech; but finding it to no purpoſe to reply they held their Peace. On the other hand, the Biſhops and Courtiers flatter'd the King's Wiſdom and Learning beyond Meaſure, calling him the *Solomon* of the Age. *Bancroft* fell upon his Knees, and ſaid, *I proteſt my Heart melteth for Joy, that Almighty God, of his ſingular Mercy, has given us ſuch a King, as ſince Chriſt's Time has not been.* Chancellor *Egerton* ſaid, *He had never ſeen the King and Prieſt ſo fully united in one Perſon.* His Majeſty was no leſs ſatisfied with his own Conduct; for in his Letter to Mr. *Blake* a *Scots* Man, he told him, That he had ſoundly pepper'd off the Puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their Petitions had turned him more earneſtly againſt them. — "It "were no Reaſon (ſays his Majeſty) that thoſe who "refuſe the airy Sign of the Croſs after Baptiſm, "ſhould have their Purſes ſtuff'd with any more ſo-"lid and ſubſtantial *Croſſes.* —— They fled me ſo "from Argument to Argument, without ever an-"ſwering me directly (*ut eſt eorum moris*) that I was "forced to tell them, that if any of them, when "Boys, had diſputed thus in the College, the Mo-"derator would have fetched them up, and applied "the Rod to their Buttocks. —— I have a Book of "theirs that may convert Infidels, but ſhall never "convert me, except by turning me more earneſt-"ly againſt them —— This was the Language of the *Solomon* of the Age. I leave the Reader to judge, how much ſuperior this wiſe Monarch was in the Knowledge of Antiquity, or the Art of Syllogiſm to Dr. *Raynolds*, who was the Oracle of his Time for Acquaintance with Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Councils

and Fathers, and had lived in a College all his Days. *King James I. 1603.*

The third Day's Conference was on *Wedneſday*, *Jan.* 18th. when the Biſhops and Deans were firſt called into the *Privy Chamber* with the *Civilians*, to ſatisfy the King about the *High Commiſſion* and the Oath *ex Officio*, which they might eaſily do, as being principal Branches of his Prerogative. When the King ſaid he approved of the Wiſdom of the Law in making the Oath *ex Officio*, the old Archbiſhop was ſo tranſported, that he ſaid, *Undoubtedly your Majeſty ſpeaks by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit.* A Committee of Biſhops and Privy Counſellors was then appointed to conſider of leſſening the Charges in the High Commiſſion, and for planting Schools, and proper Miniſters in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and on the Borders of *England* and *Scotland*. After which Dr. *Raynolds* and his Brethren were called in, not to diſpute, but only to hear the few Alterations or Explanations in the Common-Prayer-Book already mentioned; which not anſwering their Expectations, Mr. *Chadderton* fell on his Knees, and humbly prayed, that the Surplice and Croſs might not be urged on ſome godly Miniſters in *Lancaſhire*; and Mr. *Knewſtubs* deſired the ſame Favour for ſome *Suffolk* Miniſters; which the Biſhops were going to oppoſe, but the King replied with a ſtern Countenance, "We "have taken Pains here to conclude in a Reſolution "for Uniformity, and you will undo all by prefer- "ing the Credit of a few private Men to the Peace of "the Church; this is the *Scots* Way, but I will have "none of this arguing, therefore let them conform, "and that quickly too, or they ſhall hear of it; the "Biſhops will give them ſome Time, but if any are "of an obſtinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have "them enforced to Conformity." *Third Day's Conference.*

Thus ended this *Mock Conference*, for it deſerves no better Name, all Things being concluded privately between the King and the Biſhops, before the Puri- *Remarks upon the whole.*

King James I. 1603.

tans were brought upon the Stage, to be made a Spectacle to their Enemies, and born down, not with calm Reaſon and Argument, but with the Royal Authority, I *approve*, or I *diſſent*; the King making himſelf both Judge and Party. No wonder therefore, if Dr. *Raynolds* fell below himſelf, and loſt ſome part of his Eſteem with the *Puritans*, being overawed by the Place and Company, and his Sovereign Opponent. The Puritans refuſed to be concluded by this Conference, for the following Reaſons, becauſe,

Chriſtian and Modeſt Offer of a Conference with the Prelates, Printed 1606.

1. "The Miniſters appointed to ſpeak for them "were not of their Nomination or Chooſing, nor of "one Judgment in the Points of Controverſy; for "being deſired by their Brethren to argue againſt "the *Corruptions of the Church* as *ſimply evil*, they replied, they were not ſo perſuaded. Being further "deſired to acquaint the King, that ſome of their "Brethren thought them *ſinful*, they refuſed that alſo. *Laſtly*, Being deſired to give their Reaſons in "writing, why they thought the Ceremonies only "*indifferent*; or to anſwer the Reaſons they had to "offer to prove them *ſinful*, they would do neither "one nor other.

2. "Becauſe the Points in Controverſy were not "thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded, "and ſome not at all touch'd. Neither was there "any one Argument to the Purpoſe purſued and "followed.

3. "Becauſe the Prelates took the Liberty of interrupting at their Pleaſure thoſe of the other ſide, "inſomuch that they were checked for it by the King "himſelf.

They objected alſo to the Account of the Conference publiſhed by Dean *Barlow*, as done without the Knowledge, Advice or Conſent of the other ſide, and therefore deſerving no Credit; they ſaid that Dr. *Moreton* had called ſome part of it in queſtion, and rectified ſome Speeches fathered on the King: Beſides, that none but Prelates were preſent at the firſt Day's Con-

Conference, when the principal Matters were agreed upon. *King* James I. 1603.

" Therefore the *Puritan Miniſters* offer (if his Ma-
" jeſty will give them leave) in one Week's Space
" to deliver his Majeſty in writing, a full Anſwer to
" any Argument or Aſſertion propounded in that
" Conference by any Prelate; and in the mean
" Time they do aver them to be moſt vain and frivo-
" lous."

If the Biſhops had been Men of Temper; or if the King had diſcovered any part of that Wiſdom he was flatter'd with, all Parties might have been made eaſy at this Time; for the Biſhops would have complied with any Thing his Majeſty ſhould inſiſt on; but by his Cowardice, his love of Flattery, his high and arbitrary Principles, and his mortal Hatred of the Puritans, one of the faireſt Opportunities that had ever offered to heal the Diviſions of the Church, was entirely loſt.

On the 5th of *March* the King publiſhed a Proclamation, in which he ſays, " That though the Do-
" ctrine and Diſcipline of the Eſtabliſhed Church
" were unexceptionable, and agreeable to primitive
" Antiquity, nevertheleſs he had given way to a
" Conference, to hear the Exceptions of the Non-
" Conformiſts, which he had found very ſlender;
" but that ſome few Explanations of Paſſages had
" been yielded to for their Satisfaction; therefore
" now he requires and enjoins all his Subjects to
" conform to it, as *the only publick Form eſtabliſhed in*
" *this Realm*; and admoniſhes them not to expect any
" further Alterations, for that his Reſolutions were
" abſolutely ſettled." The Common-Prayer-Book was accordingly printed with the Amendments, and the Proclamation prefix'd. *Proclamation to enforce Conformity.*

It was a high Strain of the Prerogative, to alter a Form of Worſhip *eſtabliſh'd by Law*, merely by a Royal Proclamation, without Conſent of Parliament or Convocation; for by the ſame Authority that his *Remarks.*

King James I. 1603. Majeſty altered one Article in the Liturgy, he might ſet aſide the whole; for every Sentence was equally eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament; but this wiſe Monarch made no ſcruple of diſpenſing with the Laws. However, the Validity of all Proclamations determining with the King's Life, and there being no ſubſequent Act of Parliament to eſtabliſh theſe Amendments, it was argued very juſtly in the next Reign, that this was not the Liturgy of the Church of *England eſtabliſhed by Law*, and conſequently not binding upon the Clergy.

Mr. Cartwright's Death and Character. A Fortnight before this Conference died the Learned and Reverend Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, one of the Chief of the Puritans, and a great Sufferer for Non-Conformity. He was born in *Hertfordſhire*, 1535. and enter'd into *St. John*'s College, *Cambridge*, 1550. where he became a hard Student, never ſleeping above five Hours in a Night. In the Reign of Queen *Mary* he left the Univerſity, and became a Lawyer's Clerk; but upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth* he reſumed his Theological Studies, and was choſe Fellow of *Trinity* College in the Year 1563. The Year following he bore a Part in the Philoſophy Act before the Queen. In the Year 1567. he commenc'd Bachelor of Divinity, and three Years after was choſen *Lady Margaret*'s Profeſſor. He was ſuch a popular Preacher, that when his Turn came at St. *Mary*'s, the Sexton was obliged to take down the Windows. But Mr. *Cartwright* venturing in ſome of his Lectures to ſhew the Defects of the Diſcipline of the Church, as it then ſtood, was queſtion'd for it before the Vice-Chancellor, denied his Doctor's Degree, and expell'd the Univerſity, as has been related. He then travel'd to *Geneva*, and afterwards became Preacher to the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Antwerp*. King *James* invited him to be Profeſſor in his Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, but he declined accepting it. After his return from *Antwerp* he was often in Trouble by Suſpenſions, Deprivations, and long Impriſonment; at length

length the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, who knew his Worth, made him Governor of his Hoſpital in *Warwick*, where he ended his Days, *Dec.* 27th. 1603. He was certainly one of the moſt learned and acute Diſputants of his Age, but very ill uſed by the governing Clergy. He writ ſeveral Books beſides his Controverſy with Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, as his *Latin* Comment on *Eccleſiaſtes*, dedicated to King *James*, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed Profeſſor to a *Scots* Univerſity: His learned Confutation of the *Rhemiſt* Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to which he was ſolicited not only by Sir *Francis Walſingham*, but by Letter under the Hands of the principal Divines of *Cambridge*, as *Roger Goad*, *William Whitaker*, *Thomas Crooke*, *John Ireton*, *William Fulke*, *John Field*, *Nicholas Crane*, *Gibs Seinthe*, *Richard Gardiner*, *William Charke*, &c. Such an Opinion had theſe Divines of his Learning and Abilities. He was a Perſon of great Induſtry and Piety, fervent in Prayer, a frequent Preacher, and of a meek and humble Spirit. In his old Age he was ſo troubled with the Stone and Gout by lying in Priſons, that he was obliged always to ſtudy on his Knees. His laſt Sermon was on *Eccleſ.* xii. 7. *Then ſhall the Duſt return to the Earth, and the Spirit ſhall return to God who gave it.* The *Tueſday* following he was two Hours on his Knees in private Prayer, and a few Hours after quietly reſigned his Spirit to God, in the 68th Year of his Age, and was buried in his own Hoſpital. The famous Mr. *Dod* preached his Funeral Sermon.

King James I. 1603.

Six Weeks after, died his great Antagoniſt Dr. *John Whitgift*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; he was born at *Great Grimſby* in *Lincolnſhire*, in the Year 1530. and educated in *Pembrook Hall*, *Cambridge*. He complied with the Times in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, though he diſapproved of her Religion. He commenc'd Doctor of Divinity 1569; and was afterwards *Margaret* and *Queen*'s Profeſſor, and Maſter of *Trinity* College. Having

Archbiſhop Whitgift's Death and Character.

King James I. 1603.

Having been a celebrated Champion for the *Hierarchy* the Queen advanced him first to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and then to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. He was a severe Governor of the Church, pressing Conformity with great Rigor, for which her Majesty always gave him her Countenance and Support. He regarded neither the Intreaties of poor Ministers, nor the Intercessions of Courtiers, but was steady to the Laws, and out-went them in the Cause of Uniformity. Mr. *Fuller* says, he would give fair Words and good Language, but would abate nothing. Sir *G. Paul*, the Writer of his Life, says, that CHOLER was his chief Infirmity, which has sufficiently appeared by the Account given of the many Persecutions, Oppressions, and unjustifiable Hardships the Puritans suffered under his Administration; notwithstanding which they encreased prodigiously, insomuch, that towards his latter end his *Grace* grew weary of the invidious Employment; and being afraid of King *James*'s first Parliament, died (as it is said) with Grief before it met, *Desiring rather to give an Account of his Bishoprick to God than to Man.* He was at Court the first Sunday in *Lent*, but going to the Council-Chamber to Dinner, he was taken with the dead Palsy on the right Side, and with the Loss of his Speech; upon which he was carried immediately to *Lambeth*, where the King visited him on *Tuesday*, but not being able to converse, he lifted up his Eyes and Hand, and said, *Pro Ecclesia Dei*, which were his last Words. He would have writ something, but could not hold his Pen. His Disease encreasing he died the next Day, being the 29th of *February*, *ætat.* 73, and was buried at *Croydon* on the 27th of *March* following, where he has a fair Monument, with his Effigies at length upon it. He was an hospitable Man, and usually travel'd with a great Retinue; in the Year 1589. he came into *Canterbury* with a Train of five Hundred Horse, of which one Hundred were his own Servants. He founded an Hospital and Free School

School at *Croydon*, and though he was a cruel Preſecutor of the Puritans, yet if compared with his Succeſſor *Bancroft* he was a valuable Prelate. *King* James I. 1604.

Before the Meeting of the Parliament the King iſſued out two Proclamations, one commanding all Jeſuits and Prieſts in Orders to depart the Kingdom [*Jan.* 22d.] in which he was very careful to let the World know, that he did not baniſh them out of Hatred to the Catholick Religion; but only for maintaining the Pope's Temporal Power over Princes. The other was againſt the Puritans, in which there was no Indulgence for tender Conſciences, but all muſt conform, or ſuffer the Extremities of the Law. *Proclamations againſt* Jeſuits *and* Puritans. Rapin, p. 250.

The King opened his firſt Seſſion of Parliament with a long Speech, in which there are many Strokes of Tyranny and arbitrary Power; "His Majeſty "acknowledges the *Roman* Church to be his *Mother* "*Church, though defiled with ſome Infirmities and Cor-* "*ruptions.* That his Mind was ever free from Perſecution for Matters of Conſcience, as he hopes "thoſe of that Religion have proved ſince his firſt "Coming. He pities the Laity among them, and "would indulge their *Clergy* if they would but renounce the *Pope's Supremacy*, and his pretended "Power to diſpenſe with the Murder of Kings. He "wiſhes that he might be a Means of uniting the two "Religions, for if they would but abandon their late "Corruptions, *he would meet them in the Mid-way*, as "having a great Veneration for Antiquity in the "Points of Eccleſiaſtical Policy. But then as to "the *Puritans* or *Noveliſts*, who do not differ from "us ſo much in Points of Religion, as in their confuſed Form of Policy and Purity; thoſe (ſays he) "are diſcontented with the preſent Church Government; they are impatient to ſuffer any Superiority, which makes their Sect inſufferable in any well "govern'd Commonwealth." *King's Speech to his Parliament.* Rapin, p. 261.

The

King James I. 1604.

Remarks. Rapin, p. 275.

The Biſhops and their Adherents were pleaſed with this Speech, becauſe the King ſeemed reſolved not to ſuffer the Puritans at any rate; the *Catholicks* did not like his Majeſty's Diſtinction between the *Laicks* and *Clericks*; but the *Puritans* had moſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied, to ſee ſo much Charity for Papiſts, and ſo little for themſelves. All the Proteſtants in general heard with Concern the King's Offer to meet the Papiſts half-way. What does he mean? ſay they; is there no Difference between Popery and Proteſtantiſm, but the Pope's Authority over Princes? Are all other Doctrines to be given up? Are the Religions the ſame? And, is this the only Point upon which we ſeparated from the Church of *Rome?* Thus unhappily did this pretended Proteſtant King ſet out, with laying the Foundation of Diſcontent among all Ranks of People.

His arbitrary Government.

Rapin, p. 252. Coke, p. 51.

His Majeſty made frequent mention in his Speech, of his hereditary Right to the Crown, and of his lineal Deſcent. That he was accountable to none but God; and, that the only Difference between a rightful King and a Tyrant is, that the *one is ordained for preſerving the Proſperity of his People, the other thinks his Kingdom and People are ordained to ſatisfy his unreaſonable Appetites.* Further, his Majeſty altered the Writs for electing Members, and took upon him to deſcribe, what ſort of Repreſentatives ſhould be elected, not by way of Exhortation but of Command, and as Conditions without which they ſhould not be admitted into the Houſe, the Determination of which was to be in *Chancery.* He threaten'd to fine and diſfranchiſe thoſe Corporations that did not chooſe to his Mind; and to fine and impriſon their Repreſentatives if they preſumed to ſit in the Houſe. When the Parliament met he interrupted their Examinations of *Elections*, and commanded the Return of Sir *Francis Goodwin*, whoſe Election they had ſet aſide, to be brought before him and his Judges. Moſt of thoſe who approached the King's Perſon labour-

laboured to inſpire him with the Deſign of making himſelf abſolute; or rather, to confirm him in that Reſolution. The Biſhops were among this Number; and from this Time there has appeared among the Clergy a Party of Men, that have carried the Obedience of the Subject, and the Authority of the Sovereign, as high as in the moſt arbitrary Monarchies. *King James I. 1604.*

But though the Court and Biſhops were ſo well agreed, the Parliament paſs'd ſome Acts which gave them Uneaſineſs; as the Revival of the Statute of *Edward* VI. which enacts, That all Proceſſes, Citations, Judgments, *&c.* in any Eccleſiaſtical Courts, ſhall be iſſued in the King's Name, and under the King's Seal of Arms. The Biſhops were ſaid to be aſleep when they ſuffered this Clauſe to paſs; but the *Laudæan* Clergy broke through it afterwards, as they did through every Thing elſe that ſtood in the Way of their Sovereignty. It was farther enacted, That all Leaſes or Grants of Church Lands to the King, or his Heirs, *&c.* for more than Twenty one Years for the future ſhould be made void; which put an effectual Stop to the Alienation of the Churches Revenues. The Marriages of the Clergy were alſo legitimated, by reviving the Statute of King *Edward* VI. for that purpoſe. *Proceedings of Parliament.* Heyl. Aer. Red. p. 375.

The Convocation that ſat with the Parliament was very active againſt the Puritans. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London* preſided, and produced the King's Licenſe to make Canons. *May* 2d. he delivered a Book of Canons of his own preparing to the Lower Houſe for their Approbation. About the ſame Time Mr. *Egerton*, *Fleetwood*, *Wotton*, *Clark*, and other Puritan Divines, preſented a Petition for Reformation of the Book of Common-Prayer; but inſtead of receiving it, they were admoniſhed to be obedient and conform, together with their Adherents before *Midſummer Day*, or elſe they ſhould undergo the Cenſures of the Church. In the mean Time the Canons were reviſing. *Proceedings of Convocation.* Strype's *Annals*, Vol. IV. p. 396.

King James I. 1604.

ſing. *May* 23d. there was a Debate in the Upper Houſe upon the *Croſs in Baptiſm*, when *Bancroft* and ſome others ſpoke vehemently for it; but Dr. *Rudd*, Biſhop of *St. David's* ſtood up, and made the following Speech for Charity and Moderation.

Bp. Rudd's Speech in Convocation about the Croſs in Baptiſm.

Peirce, p. 158, 159.

— "For my part, I acknowledge the Antiquity "of the Uſe of the *Croſs*, as mentioned in *Tertullian*, "and after him in St. *Cyprian*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Auſtin* "and others. I alſo confeſs the Original of the Cere- "mony to have ſprung by Occaſion of the Pagans, "who reproached the ancient Chriſtians for believ- "ing in Chriſt crucified; and that in Popery it has "been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed; and I affirm, that it is "in the Church of *England* now admitted and enter- "tained by us, and reſtored to its ancient Integrity, "all Superſtition abandoned.

"Likewiſe I wiſh, that if the King's Highneſs "ſhall perſiſt in impoſing it, all would ſubmit to it "(as we do) rather than forego the Miniſtry in that "behalf. But I greatly fear, by the Report that I "hear, that very many learned Preachers, whoſe "Conſciences are not in our Cuſtody, nor to be diſ- "poſed of at our Devotion, will not eaſily be drawn "thereunto; of which Number, if any ſhall come "in my Walk, I deſire to be furniſhed before hand, "by thoſe that be preſent, with ſufficient Reaſons "to ſatisfy them (if it be poſſible) concerning ſome "Points which have been now deliver'd.

Firſt, "Whereas ſundry Paſſages of Scripture have "been alleged for the Croſs; as, *God forbid that I "ſhould rejoice ſave in the* CROSS *of Chriſt*; and divers "others of the like Senſe; if any of the adverſe Opi- "nion fall into my Company, and ſay, that theſe "Scriptures are figurative, implying the Death and "Paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt; and that to draw an "Argument from them to juſtify the *Sign of the Croſs "in the Forehead*, is an inſufficient kind of Reaſoning, "and a Fallacy; what Anſwer ſhall I make unto "them?

Secondly, " Whereas I have obſerved upon preſent " Relation, that the Impugners of this Ceremony " were heard at large in the Conference at *Hampton* " *Court*, and having objected the Example of *Heze-* " *kiah*, who broke in Pieces the brazen Serpent, af- " ter it had been abuſed to Idolatry, and therefore " the *Sign of the Croſs* (which was not brought into " the Church by God's expreſs Command, as the " brazen Serpent was, but was from the beginning a " mere Invention of Men) ought now to be taken " away by reaſon of the ſuperſtitious Abuſe which is " ſuſtained in Popery; they received Anſwer, That " King *Hezekiah* might have preſerved it, abandon- " ing the Abuſe of it, if it had pleaſed him, and " conſequently it is in the King's Majeſty's Power to " aboliſh this Ceremony, having been abuſed, or to " retain it in manner aforeſaid. Hereunto I ſay, " that I was one of the Conference, yet I was not at " that part of the Conference, where thoſe that " ſtood for Reformation had acceſs to the King's " Majeſty's Preſence, and liberty to ſpeak for them- " ſelves; *for that I, and ſome other of my Brethren the* " *Biſhops, were ſecluded from that Day's Aſſembly*; but " I ſuppoſe it to be true, as it has been formerly re- " ported, and I for my own particular admit the " Conſequence put down above. Now, becauſe I " wiſh all others abroad as well ſatisfied herein as " our ſelves that be here preſent, if any of the con- " trary Opinion ſhall come to me, and ſay, that the " aforeſaid Anſwer does not ſatisfy them, becauſe " they think there to be as great Reaſon now, to " move them to become Petitioners to his Ma- " jeſty for aboliſhing *the Croſs in Baptiſm*, as there " was to move the *godly Zealous* in *Hezekiah*'s Time " to be Petitioners for defacing the *brazen Serpent*, " becauſe the Church-going Papiſts now among us, " do ſuperſtitiouſly abuſe the one, as the *Iſraelites* " did the other; what ſound Anſwer ſhall I make to " them for their better Satisfaction?

King James I. 1604.

Thirdly,

King James I. 1604.

Thirdly, "Whereas it has been this Day alleged, "that 'tis convenient and neceſſary to preſerve the "Memory of the *Croſs* of Chriſt by this means; if "haply any of the other Side ſhall come to me, and "ſay, that the Memory of the Croſs of Chriſt might "be ſufficiently, and more ſafely preſerved by "preaching the Doctrine of the Goſpel, the Sum "whereof is *Chriſt crucified*; which was ſo lively "preached to the *Galatians*, as if his bodily Image "had been crucified among them; and yet we know "not of any material or ſignal Croſs that was in uſe "in the Church at that Time; I deſire to know what "Satisfaction or Anſwer muſt be given to them.

"Moreover, I proteſt that all my Speeches now "are uttered by way of *Propoſition*, not by way of "*Oppoſition*, and that they all tend to work Pacifi- "cation in the Church; for I put great difference "between what is lawful and what is expedient, and "between them that are Schiſmatical, and them that "are ſcrupulous only upon ſome Ceremonies, being "otherwiſe learned, ſtudious, grave and honeſt "Men.

"Concerning theſe laſt, I ſuppoſe, if upon the "urging them to abſolute Subſcription, they ſhould "be ſtiff, and chooſe rather to forego their Livings, "and the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, though I do "not juſtify their doings herein, yet ſurely their "Service will be miſſed at ſuch a Time, as need "ſhall require us and them to give the right Hand "of Fellowſhip one to another, and to go Arm in "Arm againſt the common Adverſary ——

"Likewiſe conſider who muſt be the Executioners "of their Deprivation? Even *we our ſelves* the Bi- "ſhops, againſt whom there will be a great Cla- "mour of them and their Dependents, and many "others who are well affected towards them, where- "by our Perſons will be in hazard to be brought in- "to extreme diſlike or hatred.

"Alſo

King James I. 1604.

" Alſo remember, that when the *Benjamites* were " all deſtroyed, ſaving ſix Hundred, and the Men " of *Iſrael* ſware in their Fury that none of them " would give his Daughter to the *Benjamites* to " Wife, though they ſuffered for their juſt Deſerts, " yet their Brethren afterwards lamented and ſaid, " There is one Tribe cut off from *Iſrael* this Day, " and they uſed all their Wits, to the uttermoſt of " their Policy, to reſtore that Tribe again.

" In like ſort, if theſe our Brethren aforeſaid ſhall " be deprived of their Places for the Matter premi- " ſed, I think we ſhould find Cauſe to bend our Wits " to the utmoſt Extent of our Skill, to provide ſome " Cure of Souls for them, that they may exerciſe " their Talents.

" Furthermore, if theſe Men, *being divers Hun-* " *dreds*, ſhould forſake their Charges, who, I pray " you, ſhould ſucceed them? Verily, I know not " where to find ſo many able Preachers in this " Realm unprovided for; but ſuppoſe there were, " yet they might more conveniently be ſettled in the " Seats of unpreaching Miniſters. But if they are " put in the Places of theſe Men that are diſpoſſeſſed, " thereupon it will follow, 1. That the Number " of preaching Miniſters will not be multiplied. " 2. The Church cannot be ſo well furniſhed on a " ſudden; for though the new Supply may be of " learned Men from the Univerſities, yet will they " not be ſuch ready Preachers for a Time, nor ſo " experienced in paſtoral Government, nor ſo well " acquainted with the Manners of the People, nor " ſo diſcreet in their Carriage, as thoſe who have " already ſpent many Years in their miniſterial " Charge.

" Beſides, foraſmuch as in the Time of the late " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* theſe Things were not " ſo extremely urged, but that many learned Preach- " ers enjoyed their Liberty conditionally, that they " did not by Word or Deed openly diſturb the State

King James I. 1604.

" eſtabliſhed, I would know a Reaſon why they ſhould " now be ſo generally and exceeding ſtraitly called " upon, eſpecially ſince there is a greater Encreaſe " of Papiſts lately than heretofore.

" To conclude, I wiſh, that if by Petition to the " King's Majeſty there cannot be obtained a quite " Remove of the Premiſes, nor yet a Toleration for " them, that are of more ſtaid and temperate Car- " riage, yet at leaſt there might be procured a Miti- " gation of the Penalty."

The Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely* and *Lincoln*, anſwered the Biſhop of *St. David's* Speech; but when his Lordſhip would have replied, *he was forbid by the Preſident, and ſubmitted*; affirming, that as nothing was more dear to him than the Peace of the Church, he was determined to uſe the beſt Means he could to draw others to Unity and Conformity with himſelf, and the reſt of the Reverend Company. And thus the Debate ended.

The Book of *Canons* found an eaſy Paſſage through both Houſes of Convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the King's Letters Patents under his great Seal; it contained one Hundred forty one Articles, collected out of the Injunctions, and other Epiſcopal and Synodical Acts of the Reigns of King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, and are the ſame that are now in force, except ſuch as are ſet aſide by the late Act of *Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters*. By theſe we may ſee the Spirit of the Church at this Time, and how freely ſhe diſpenſed her *Anathema's* againſt thoſe that attempted a further Reformation. The *Canons* that relate to the Puritans deſerve a particular Notice.

Abſtract of the Book of Canons.

" *Canon* III. Says, That whoſoever ſhall affirm, " that the Church of *England* by Law eſtabliſhed is " not a True and APOSTOLICAL Church, let him " be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored " but only by the Archbiſhop after his Repen- " tance

" tance and publick Revocation of his wicked " Error. *King James I.* 1604.

" *Canon* IV. Whoſoever ſhall affirm the Form of " God's Worſhip in the Church of *England* eſtabliſh- " ed by Law, and contained in the Book of Common " Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a " corrupt, ſuperſtitious, and unlawful Worſhip, or " contains any Thing repugnant to Scripture, let " him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſto- " red, *&c.*

" *Canon* V. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that any of " the Thirty nine Articles of the Church, agreed " upon in the Year 1562. *for avoiding Diverſity of* " *Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true* " *Religion*, are in any part ſuperſtitious or erroneous, " or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience " ſubſcribe to, let him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, " and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* VI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the " Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* by " Law eſtabliſhed, are wicked, anti-chriſtian, ſu- " perſtitious, or ſuch as, being commanded by lawful " Authority, good Men may not with a good Con- " ſcience approve, uſe, or, as Occaſion requires, " ſubſcribe, let him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, " and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* VII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, the Go- " vernment of the Church of *England* by Archbi- " ſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, and the " reſt that bear Office in the ſame, is Antichri- " ſtian, or repugnant to the Word of God, let him " be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſto- " red, *&c.*

" *Canon* VIII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the " Form and Manner of making and conſecrating " Biſhops, Prieſts, or Deacons, contains any Thing " repugnant to the Word of God; or that Perſons " ſo made and conſecrated are not lawfully made, " or need any other Calling or Ordination to their

King James I. 1604.

" Divine Offices, let him be excommunicated *ipſo* " *facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* IX. Whoſoever ſhall ſeparate from the Com- " munion of the Church of *England*, as it is approved " by the Apoſtles Rules, and combine together in a " new Brotherhood, accounting thoſe who conform " to the Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonies of the " Church unmeet for their Communion, let them " be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, " *&c.*

" *Canon* X. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that ſuch " Miniſters as refuſe to ſubſcribe to the Form and " Manner of God's Worſhip in the Church of *Eng-* " *land*, and their Adherents, may truly take to " themſelves the Name of another Church not eſta- " bliſhed by Law, and ſhall publiſh, that their pre- " tended Church has groaned under the Burden of " certain Grievances, impoſed on them by the " Church of *England*, let them be excommunicated " *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* XI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that there " are within this Realm, other Meetings, Aſſem- " blies or Congregations of the King's born Subjects, " than ſuch as are eſtabliſhed by Law, which may " rightly challenge to themſelves the Name of true " and lawful Churches, let him be excommunicated " *ipſo facto*, and not reſtored, *&c.*

" *Canon* XII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that it is " lawful for any Sort of Miniſters or Lay-Perſons to " make Rules, Orders and Conſtitutions, in Cauſes " Eccleſiaſtical, without the King's Authority, and " ſhall ſubmit to be ruled and governed by them, let " him be excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and not reſto- " red, *&c.*

" *Canon* XCVIII. We decree and appoint, that af- " ter any Judge Eccleſiaſtical hath proceeded judici- " ally againſt obſtinate and factious Perſons, for not " obſerving the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, " or for Contempt of publick Prayer, no Judge *ad*

" *quem*

" *quem* ſhall admit, or allow of an *Appeal*, unleſs he " having firſt ſeen the *original Appeal*, the Party Ap- " pellant do firſt perſonally promiſe and vow, that " he will faithfully keep and obſerve all the Rites " and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, as alſo " the preſcript Form of Common-Prayer; and do " likewiſe ſubſcribe the three Articles formerly by us " ſpecified and declared.

King James I. 1604.

Remarks.

They that are acquainted with the terrible Conſequences of an *Excommunication* in the Spiritual Courts, muſt be ſenſible of the new Hardſhips put upon the *Puritans* by theſe Canons; Suſpenſions and Deprivations from their Livings, were not now thought ſufficient Puniſhments for the Sin of Non-Conformity; but the Puritans, both Clergy and Laity, muſt be turned out of the Congregation of the Faithful; they muſt be made uncapable of ſueing for their lawful Debts; they muſt be impriſon'd for Life by a *Capias*, unleſs they make Satisfaction to the Church; when they die they muſt not have Chriſtian Burial; but as much as lies in the Power of the Court be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven. O Uncharitableneſs! Papiſts excommunicate Proteſtants, becauſe by renouncing the *Catholick Faith* they apprehend them guilty of *Hereſy*; but for Proteſtants of the ſame Faith to excommunicate their Fellow-Chriſtians and Subjects, and deprive them of their Liberties, Properties, and Eſtates, for a few indifferent Ceremonies; or, becauſe they have not the ſame Veneration for the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution with themſelves, is hardly to be paralel'd.

Remainder of the Canons.

To take Notice of a few more of the Canons; *Canon* XIV. forbids the Miniſter to add to, or leave out any part of the Prayers. *Canon* XVIII. enjoins Bowing at the Name of JESUS. *Canon* XVII, XXIV, XXV, LVIII, LXXIV. enjoins the Wearing the Habits in Colleges, Cathedrals, *&c.* as Copes, Surplices, Hoods.

King James I. 1604.

Canon XXVII. forbids giving the Sacrament to SCHISMATICKS, or to any but ſuch as kneel, and allow of the Rites, Ceremonies and Orders of the Church. *Canon* XXVIII. ſays, that none ſhall be admitted to the Sacrament but in their own Pariſh. *Canon* XXIX. That no Parent ſhall be urged to be preſent, nor be admitted to anſwer as a God-Father for his own Child in Baptiſm. *Canon* XXX. declares the Sign of the Croſs to be no part of the Subſtance of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but that the Ordinance is perfect without it. *Canon* XXXIII. prohibits Ordination without a Preſentation, and ſays, that if any Biſhop ordain without a Title, he ſhall maintain the Perſon till he be provided with a Living. *Canon* XXXVI, and XXXVII. ſay, that no Perſon ſhall be ordained, or ſuffered to preach, or catechize in any Place as a Lecturer, or otherwiſe, unleſs he firſt ſubſcribe the three Articles following; 1. *That the King's Majeſty is the ſupreme Head and Governor of this Realm, as well in all Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical, as Temporal Cauſes.* 2. *That the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. *contains nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that he will uſe it and none other.* 3. *That he alloweth the Thirty nine Articles of* 1562. *to be all, and every one of them agreeable to the Word of God.* To theſe he ſhall ſubſcribe in the following Form of Words.

I *N. N.* do willingly, and *ex Animo*, ſubſcribe to theſe three Articles abovementiond, and to all Things that are contained in them.

Canon XXXVIII. ſays, that if any Miniſter, after Subſcription, ſhall diſuſe the Ceremonies, he ſhall firſt be ſuſpended; then after a Month excommunicated, and after another Month depoſed from his Miniſtry. *Canon* LV. contains the Form of Bidding Prayer before Sermon; *Ye ſhall pray for Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church*, &c. the Original of which I have accounted for. *Canon* LXXXII. appoints, "That "con-

" convenient and decent *Tables* ſhall be provided in " all Churches for the Celebration of the Holy Com- " munion, and the ſame Tables ſhall be covered in " Time of Divine Service with a Carpet of Silk, or " other convenient Stuff; and with a fair Linen " Cloth at the Time of the Adminiſtration, as be- " cometh that Table, and ſo ſtand, ſaving when the " ſaid Holy Communion is to be adminiſter'd; at " which Time the ſame ſhall be placed in ſo good " ſort within the Church or Chancel, as thereby the " Miniſter may be more conveniently heard of the " Communicants in his Prayer and Adminiſtration; " and the Communicants alſo more conveniently, " and in more Numbers, may communicate with " the ſaid Miniſter; and a convenient Seat ſhall " be made for the Miniſter to read Service in."

King James I. 1604.

The other Canons relate to the particular Duties of *Miniſters*, *Lecturers*, *Church-Wardens*, *Pariſh Clerks*; to the Juriſdiction and Buſineſs of *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, with their proper Officers, as *Judges Eccleſiaſtical*, *Surrogates*, *Proctors*, *Regiſters*, *Apparitors*, &c. The Book concludes with denouncing the Sentence of Excommunication, 1. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that this Synod thus aſſembled is not the true Church of *England* by Repreſentation. 2. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that Perſons not particularly aſſembled in this Synod, either Clergy or Laity, are not ſubject to the Decrees thereof, as not having given their Voices to them. 3. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, this ſacred Synod was a Company of ſuch Perſons as did conſpire againſt godly and religious Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and therefore that they and their Proceedings ought to be deſpiſed and contemned, though ratified and confirmed by the Royal Supremacy and Authority.

Ratification of the Canons.

The King in his Ratification of theſe Canons, commands them to be diligently obſerved and executed; and for the better Obſervation of the ſame, that every Pariſh Miniſter ſhall read them over once every Year

King James I. 1604.

in his Church, on a Sunday or Holiday, before Divine Service; and all Archbiſhops, Biſhops and others, that have Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, are commanded to ſee all and every the ſame put in Execution, and not ſpare to execute the Penalties in them ſeverally mentioned on thoſe that wilfully break or neglect them. I ſhall leave the Reader to make his own Comment on the Proceedings of this Synod, and only obſerve, that when they had finiſhed their Decrees, they were prorogued to *January*, 160$\frac{5}{6}$. when Dr. *Overal* being Prolocutor, they gave the King four Subſidies, but did no more Church Buſineſs till the Time of their Diſſolution, in the Year 1610.

Addreſs of the French *and* Dutch *Churches to the Bp. of* London. Strype's *Ann.* Vol. ult. p. 390.

Dr. *Bancroft*, Biſhop of *London*, being tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*, [*December* 1604.] was ſucceeded by *Vaughan* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, a corpulent Man, and of little Activity; upon his Advancement the *Dutch* and *French* Miniſters within his Dioceſe, preſented him with an Addreſs for his Protection and Favour, wherein they ſet forth, "That their Churches "were granted them by Charter from pious King "*Edward* VI. in the Year 1550; and that, though "they were again diſperſed by the *Marian* Perſecu-"tion, they were reſtored to their Churches and Pri-"vileges by Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Year 1558. "from which Time they have been in the uninter-"rupted Poſſeſſion of them. It appears from our "Records (ſay they) how kind and friendly the "pious *Grindal* was to us; and what Pains the pru-"dent Biſhop *Sandys* took in compoſing our Differen-"ces. We promiſe our ſelves the like Favour from "your Lordſhip, *&c.* — for whom we ſhall always "pray, *&c.* —" Monſieur *De la Fontain* deliver'd the Addreſs, with a ſhort *Latin* Speech, to whom the Biſhop replied, "I thank you, moſt dear Brethren, "for your kind Addreſs; I am ſenſible of the Me-"rits of *John Alaſco*, *Utenhovius*, and *Edmund Grin-"dal* Biſhop of *London*, Superintendents of your "Churches;

" Churches; and of the reſt of my Predeceſſors in " this Biſhoprick, who had reaſon to take your " Churches, which are of the ſame Faith with our " own, under their Patronage, which I alſo am " ready to do. I have known your Churches Twen- " ty five Years to have been beneficial to the King- " dom, and ſerviceable to the Church of *England*, " in which the Devil, the Author of Diſcord, has " kindled the Fire of Diſſention, into which I pray " you not to pour Oil, but to endeavour, by your " Counſels and Prayers, to extinguiſh." Thus the foreign Churches enjoyed full Peace, while his Majeſty's own Subjects, of the ſame Faith and Diſcipline with them, were harraſſed out of the Kingdom.

King James I. 1604.

Strype's *Ann.* Vol. ult. p. 395.

BANCROFT was a Divine of a rough Temper, a perfect Creature of the Prerogative, and a declared Enemy of the Religious and Civil Liberties of his Country. He was for advancing the Prerogative above Law, and for enlarging the Juriſdiction of the Spiritual Courts, by adviſing his Majeſty to take the whole Right of granting *Prohibitions* from the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* to himſelf; for this Purpoſe he framed Twenty five Grievances of the Clergy, which he called *Articuli Cleri*, and preſented them to the King for his Approbation; but the Judges having declared them to be contrary to Law, they were ſet aſide.

His *Grace* revived the Perſecution of the Puritans, by enforcing the ſtrict Obſervance of all the Feſtivals of the Church; by reviving the Uſe of Copes, Surplices, Caps, Hoods, *&c.* according to the firſt Service Book of King *Edward*; by obliging the Clergy to ſubſcribe over again to the three Articles of *Whitgift*, which by the late *Canon* [N° XXXVI.] they were obliged to declare they did *willingly, and from the Heart*. By theſe Methods of Severity above three Hundred Puritan Miniſters were ſilenced or deprived; ſome of whom were excommunicated and caſt into Priſon, others were forced to leave their native

Perſecution of the Puritans *revived.*

Altare Damaſc.

King James I. 1604.

Country and Livelihood, and go into Baniſhment, to preſerve their Conſciences. *I ſay* (ſays Mr. *Collier*) *to preſerve their Conſciences, for 'tis a hard Thing to bring every Body's Underſtanding to the common Standard, and to make all honeſt Men of the ſame Mind.* *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 687.

Opinion of the Star-Chamber *about Deprivations, Prohibitions, and Petitions.*

To countenance and ſupport the Archbiſhop's Proceedings the King ſummoned the twelve Judges into the *Star Chamber*, and demanded their Judgments upon three Queſtions; there were preſent the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *London*, and about twelve Lords of the Privy Council.

Crooke's *Reports, Term* Mich. 2d Jacobi, Part 2d. p. 37. Parag. 13.

The Lord Chancellor opened the Aſſembly with a ſharp Speech againſt the *Puritans*, as Diſturbers of the Peace, declaring, that the King intended to ſuppreſs them, by having the Laws put in Execution; and then demanded, in his Majeſty's Name, the Opinion of the Judges in three Things:

Q. 1. "Whether the Deprivation of Puritan Miniſters by the High Commiſſioners, for refuſing to "conform to the Ceremonies appointed by the laſt "Canons, was lawful?

The Judges replied, "That they had conferred "thereof before, and held it to be lawful, becauſe "the King had the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Power, "which he has delegated to the Commiſſioners, "whereby they have the Power of Deprivation, by "the Canon Law of the Realm, and the Statute "firſt *Eliz.* which appoints Commiſſioners to be "made by the Queen, but does not confer any *new* "*Power*, but explain and declare the *ancient Power*; "and therefore they held it clear, *That the King with-* "*out Parliament might make Orders and Conſtitutions* "*for the Government of the Clergy, and might deprive* "*them if they obeyed not*; *and ſo the Commiſſioners might* "*deprive them*; but that the Commiſſioners could "not make any new Conſtitutions without the King. "And the divulging ſuch Ordinances by Proclama- "tion is a moſt gracious Admonition. And foraſ- "much as they [the Puritans] have refuſed to obey,

" they are lawfully deprived by the Commiſſioners " *ex Officio*, without Libel, *& ore tenus convocati.* *King* James I. 1604.

Q. 2. " Whether a *Prohibition* be grantable againſt " the Commiſſioners upon the Statute of 2 *Henry* V. " if they do not deliver the Copy of the Libel to the " Party?"

The Judges replied, " That that Statute was " intended where the Eccleſiaſtical Judge proceeds " *ex Officio, & ore tenus.*

Q. 3. " Whether it be an Offence puniſhable, " and what Puniſhment they deſerved, who framed " Petitions, and collected a Multitude of Hands " thereto, to prefer to the King in a publick Cauſe, " as the Puritans had done, with an Intimation to " the King, that if he denied their Suit many Thou- " ſands of his Subjects would be diſcontented?

The Judges replied, " That it was an Offence " fineable at Diſcretion, and very near to Treaſon " and Felony in the Puniſhment, for it tended to " the raiſing Sedition, Rebellion and Diſcontent " among the People." To which unaccountable Reſolution all the Lords agreed.

Remarks. By theſe Determinations the whole Body of the Clergy are excluded the Benefit of the Statute Law of the Land; for the King *without Parliament* may make what Conſtitutions he pleaſes: His Majeſty's High Commiſſioners may proceed upon theſe *Conſtitutions ex Officio*, without the Forms of Common Law; and the Subject may not open his Complaints to the King, nor petition for Relief, without being fineable at Pleaſure, and coming within Danger of Treaſon or Felony?

Before the breaking up of the Aſſembly ſome of the Lords declared, that the *Puritans* had raiſed a falſe Rumour of the King, as intending to grant a Toleration to Papiſts; which Offence the Judges conceived to be heinouſly fineable by the Rules of Common Law, either in the *King's Bench*, or by the King and his Council; or now, ſince the Statute of

3 *Hen-*

King James I. 1604.

3 *Henry* VII. in the *Star Chamber*. And the Lords ſeverally declared, that the King was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe Rumour, and had made but the Day before a Proteſtation to them, *That he never intended it, and that he would ſpend the laſt Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than what he truly profeſſed and maintained, that God would take them out of the World.* The Reader will remember this ſolemn Proteſtation hereafter.

King James's Proteſtation.

After theſe Determinations the Archbiſhop reſumed freſh Courage, and purſued the Puritans without the leaſt Compaſſion. A more grievous Perſecution of the Orthodox Faith (ſays my Author) is not to be met with in any Prince's Reign. Dr. *John Burges*, Rector of *Sutton Colefield*, in one of his Letters to King *James*, ſays the Number of Non-Conformiſts in the Counties he mentions, were ſix or ſeven Hundred, agreeable to the Addreſs of the *Lincolnſhire* Miniſters, hereafter mentioned, *viz.*

Abridgment of Linc. *Addr.* p. 52.

Numbers of Non-Subſcribers

In	*Oxfordſhire*	9	In	*Staffordſhire*	14
	Dorſetſhire	17		*Hertfordſhire*	17
	Nottinghamſhire	20		*Surrey*	21
	Norfolk	28		*Wiltſhire*	31
	Buckinghamſhire	33		*Suſſex*	47
	Leiceſterſhire	57		*Cheſhire*	12
	Bedfordſhire	16		*Somerſetſhire*	17
	Derbyſhire	20		*Lancaſhire*	21
	Kent	23		*London*	30
	Lincolnſhire	33		*Warwickſhire*	44
	Devon and *Cornwal*	51		*Northamptonſhire*	57
	Suffolk	71		*Eſſex*	57

In the Twenty four Counties abovementioned—754

From whence 'tis reaſonable to conclude, that in the Fifty two Counties of *England* and *Wales* there were more than double the Number.

The

The whole Clergy of *London* being ſummoned to *Lambeth*, in order to ſubſcribe over again, many abſconded, and ſuch Numbers refuſed, that the Church was in Danger of being diſfurniſhed, which awakened the Court, who had been told that the Non-Conformiſts were but an inconſiderable Body of Men. Upon this ſurpriſing Appearance the Biſhops were obliged to relax the Rigor of the Canons for a Time; and to accept of a Promiſe from ſome, to uſe the Croſs and Surplice only; from others to uſe the Surplice only; and from others a verbal Promiſe, that they *might* be uſed, not obliging themſelves to the Uſe of them at all; the Deſign of which was to ſerve the Church by them at preſent, 'till the Univerſities could ſupply them with new Men; for they had a ſtrict Eye upon thoſe Seminaries of Learning, and would admit no young Scholar into *Orders* without an abſolute and full Subſcription to all the Articles and Canons. *King James I. 1604.*

Bancroft in a Letter to his Brethren the Biſhops, dated *December* 18th. 1604. gives the following Directions, "As to ſuch Miniſters as are not already "placed in the Church, the 36th and 37th Canons "are to be obſerved; and none are to be admitted "to execute any Eccleſiaſtical Function without Sub-"ſcription. Such as are already placed in the "Church are of two Sorts: 1. Some promiſe Con-"formity, but are unwilling to ſubſcribe again. "Of theſe, foraſmuch as the near Affinity between "Conformity and Subſcription gives apparent "Hopes, that being Men of Sincerity, they will in "a ſhort Time frame themſelves to a more conſtant "Courſe, and ſubſcribe to that again, which by "their Practice they teſtify not to be repugnant to "the Word of God; your Lordſhip may (an Act "remaining upon Record of ſuch their Offer and "Promiſe) reſpite their Subſcription for ſome ſhort "Time. 2. Others in their Obſtinacy will yield "neither to Subſcription, nor promiſe of Conformi-"ty; *Bancroft's Letter about preſſing Conformity.* Peirce, p. 170.

King James I. 1604.

" ty; these are either stipendary Curates, or stipenda-
" ry Lecturers, or Men beneficed; the two first are
" to be silenced, and the third deprived." He adds,
" That the King's Proclamation of *July* 16. 1604.
" admonishes them to conform to the Church, and
" obey the same, or else to dispose of themselves and
" their Families some other Way, as being Men
" unfit, for their Obstinacy and Contempt, to oc-
" cupy such Places; and besides, they are within
" the Compass of several Laws."

Mr. Lad, *Mr.* Maunsel, *and Mr.* Fuller's *Sufferings.*

The Puritans that separated from the Church, or inclined that way, were treated with yet greater Rigor. Mr. *Maunsel* Minister of *Yarmouth*, and Mr. *Lad* a Merchant of that Town, were imprisoned by the High Commission, for a supposed Conventicle, because that on the *Lord's Day* after Sermon, they joined with Mr. *Jackler* their late Minister, in repeating the Heads of the Sermon preached that Day in the Church. Mr. *Lad* was obliged to answer upon Oath certain Articles, without being able to obtain a Sight of them before hand; and after he had answered before the Chancellor, was cited up to *Lambeth* to answer them again before the High Commissioners upon a new Oath, which he refusing, without a Sight of his former Answer, was thrown into Prison, where he continued a long Time, without being admitted to Bail. Mr. *Maunsel* the Minister was charged further, with signing a Complaint to the Lower House of Parliament, and for refusing the Oath *ex Officio*; for which he also was shut up in Prison without Bail. At length being brought to the Bar upon a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*; and having prevailed with *Nic. Fuller*, Esq; a Bencher of *Grays Inn*, and a learned Man in his Profession, to be their Counsel; he moved, that the Prisoners ought to be discharged, because the High Commissioners were not empowered by Law to imprison, or to administer the Oath *ex Officio*, or to fine any of his Majesty's Subjects. This was reckon'd an unpardonable Crime,

and

and inſtead of ſerving his Clients, brought the Indignation of the Commiſſioners upon himſelf. *Bancroft* told the King, that he was the Champion of the Non-Conformiſts, and ought therefore to be made an Example, to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly he was ſhut up in cloſe Priſon, from whence neither the Interceſſion of his Friends, nor his own moſt humble Petitions, could obtain his Releaſe to the Day of his Death. *King* James I. 1604.

This high Abuſe of *Church Power* obliged many learned Miniſters and their Followers to leave the Kingdom, and retire to *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, the *Hague*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*; and other Places of the *Low Countries*, where *Engliſh* Churches were erected after the Preſbyterian Model, and maintained by the States according to Treaty with Queen *Elizabeth*, as the *French* and *Dutch* Churches were in *England*. Beſides, the *Engliſh* being yet in Poſſeſſion of the *Cautionary Towns*, many went over as Chaplains to Regiments, which together with the Merchants that reſided in the trading Cities, made a conſiderable Body. The Reverend and Learned Dr. *William Ames*, one of the moſt acute controverſial Writers of his Age, ſettled with the *Engliſh* Church at the *Hague*; the learned Mr. *Robert Parker* a *Wiltſhire* Divine, and Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, being diſturbed by the High Commiſſion, retired to *Amſterdam*, and afterwards became Chaplain to the *Engliſh* Regiment at *Doeſburgh*, where he died. The learned Mr. *Forbes*, a *Scots* Divine, ſettled with the *Engliſh* Church at *Rotterdam*; as Mr. *Pots*, Mr. *Paget*, and others, did at *Amſterdam* and other Places. Puritans *retire to* Holland.

But the greateſt Number of thoſe that left their native Country for Religion were BROWNISTS, or rigid Separatiſts, of whom Mr. *Johnſon*, *Ainſworth*, *Smith* and *Robinſon*, were the Leaders. Mr. *Johnſon* erected a Church at *Amſterdam*, after the Model of the *Browniſts*, having the learned Mr. *Ainſworth* for *Doctor* or Teacher. Theſe two publiſhed to the World *Hiſtory of the* Browniſts *proſecuted.*

King James I. 1604.

World a Confeſſion of Faith of the People called BROWNISTS, in the Year 1602. not much different in Doctrine from the Harmony of Confeſſions; but being Men of warm Spirits, they fell to pieces about ſome Points of Diſcipline; *Johnſon* excommunicated his own Father and Brother for trifling Matters, after having rejected the Mediation of the Preſbytery of *Amſterdam*. This divided the Congregation, inſomuch that Mr. *Ainſworth* and half the Congregation excommunicated *Johnſon*, who after ſome Time returned the ſame Compliment to *Ainſworth*. At length the Conteſt grew ſo hot, that *Amſterdam* could not hold them; *Johnſon* and his Followers removing to *Embden*, where ſoon after he died, and his Congregation diſſolved. Nor did Mr. *Ainſworth* and his Followers live long in Peace, for ſoon after he left them and retired to *Ireland*, where he continued ſome Time, but when the Spirits of his People were quieted he returned to *Amſterdam*, and continued with them to his Death. This Mr. *Ainſworth* was Author of an excellent little Treatiſe, entitled, an *Arrow againſt Idolatry*, and of a moſt learned Commentary on the five Books of *Moſes*, by which he appears to have been a moſt complete Maſter of the Oriental Languages and of *Jewiſh* Antiquities. His Death was ſudden, and not without Suſpicion of Violence; for it is reported, that having found a Diamond of very great Value in the Streets of *Amſterdam*; he adverti ſed it in print, and when the Owner, who was a *Jew*, came to demand it, he offered him any Acknowledgment he would deſire; but *Ainſworth*, though poor, would accept of nothing but a Conference with ſome of his Rabbies upon the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having Intereſt enough to obtain it, 'tis thought he was poiſon'd. His Congregation remained without a Paſtor for ſome Years after his Death, and then choſe Mr. *Canne*, Author of the Marginal References to the Bible, and ſundry other Treatiſes.

Of Mr. Johnſon and Ainſworth.

Mr.

Mr. *Smith* was a learned Man, and of good Abilities, but of an unſettled Head, as appears by the Preface to one of his Books, in which he deſires that his laſt Writings may always be taken for his preſent Judgment. He was for refining upon the *Browniſts* Scheme, and at laſt declared for the Principles of the Baptiſts; upon this he left *Amſterdam*, and ſettled with his Diſciples at *Ley*; where, being at a Loſs for a proper Adminiſtrator of the Ordinance of Baptiſm he plunged himſelf, and then performed the Ceremony upon others, which gained him the Name of a SE-BAPTIST. He afterwards embraced the Tenets of *Arminius*, and publiſhed certain Concluſions upon thoſe Points in the Year 1611. which Mr. *Robinſon* anſwer'd; but *Smith* died ſoon after, and his Congregation diſſolved.

King James I. 1604.

Of Mr. Smith the Browniſt.

Mr. *John Robinſon* was a *Norfolk* Divine, beneficed about *Yarmouth*, but being often moleſted by the Biſhop's Officers, and his Friends almoſt ruined in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, he removed to *Leyden*, and erected a Congregation upon the Model of the *Browniſts*. He ſet out upon the moſt rigid Principles, but by converſing with Dr. *Ames*, and other learned Men, he became more moderate; and though he always maintained the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of ſeparating from thoſe reformed Churches among whom he lived, he did not deny them to be *true Churches*, but admitted their Members to occaſional Communion, and his own to join with the *Dutch* Churches in Prayer and hearing the Word, but not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline, which gained him the Character of a SEMI-SEPARATIST; his Words are theſe, "Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum Eccleſiis reformatis *Belgicis* in re Religionis ut omnibus & ſingulis earundum Eccleſiarum fidei Articulis, prout habentur in harmonia Confeſſionum fidei, parati ſumus ſubſcribere.—Eccleſias reformatas pro veris & genuinis habemus, cum iiſdem in ſacris Dei communionem profitemur, & quantum "in

Of Mr. Robinſon, the firſt Independant.

Bayle's *Diſſuaſive*, p. 17.

Rob. *Apol. for the* Browniſts, p. 7, 11, 35.

King James I. 1604.

" in nobis eſt, colimus. Conciones publicas ab illa-
" rum Paſtoribus habitas, ex noſtris qui norunt lin-
" guam *Belgicam* frequentant: Sacram Cænam
" earum Membris, ſi qua forte noſtris cœtibus inter-
" ſint nobis cognita, participamus." *i. e.* "*We pro-*
" *feſs before God and Men, that we agree ſo entirely with*
" *the reformed* Dutch *Churches in Matters of Religion;*
" *that we are willing to ſubſcribe all and every one of their*
" *Articles, as they are ſet down in the Harmony of Con-*
" *feſſions.* —— *We acknowledge theſe reformed Churches*
" *for true and genuine; we hold Communion with them*
" *as far as we can; thoſe among us that underſtand the*
" Dutch *Language frequent their Sermons; and we ad-*
" *miniſter the Lord's Supper to ſuch of their Members as*
" *are known to us, and deſire it occaſionally.*" This Mr. *Robinſon* was the Father of the INDEPENDANTS.

Of Mr. Henry Jacob. *L. of* Whit. p. 566.

Mr. *Henry Jacob* was born in *Kent*, and educated in *St. Mary Hall*, where he took the Degrees in Arts, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became Precentor of *Chriſt Church College*, and afterwards beneficed in his own Country at *Cheriton*. He was a Perſon moſt excellently read in Theological Authors, but withal a moſt zealous Puritan. He writ two Treatiſes againſt *Fr. Johnſon* the Browniſt, in Defence of the Church of *England*'s being a true Church, printed at *Middleburgh*, 1599. and afterwards publiſhed *Reaſons taken out of God's Word, and the beſt human Teſtimonies, proving a Neceſſity of reforming our Churches of* England, *&c.* 1604. but going to *Leyden*, and converſing with Mr. *Robinſon*, he embraced his Sentiments of Diſcipline and Government, and tranſplanted it into *England* in the Year 1616. as will be ſeen in its proper Place.

Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 464.

Lawfulneſs of Separation from the Ch. of Eng. *argued.*

This Difference among the Puritans engaged them in a warm Controverſy among themſelves about the *Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of ſeparating from the Church of* England, while the conforming Clergy ſtood by as Spectators of the Combat. Moſt of the Puritans were for

for keeping within the Pale of the Church, apprehending it to be a true Church in its Doctrines and Sacraments, though defective in Diſcipline, and corrupt in Ceremonies, but being a *true Church* they thought it not lawful to ſeparate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good Conſcience. They ſubmitted to Suſpenſions and Deprivations; and when they were turned out of one Dioceſe they took Sanctuary in another, but were afraid of incurring the Danger of SCHISM by ſetting up ſeparate Communions. The *Browniſts* maintained, that the Church of *England*, in its preſent Conſtitution, was no true Church of Chriſt, but a Limb of Antichriſt, or at beſt but a mere Creature of the State; that their Miniſters were not rightly called and ordained, nor the Sacraments duly adminiſter'd; but ſuppoſing it to be a true Church, it was owned by their Adverſaries [the conforming Puritans] to be a very corrupt one; and therefore it muſt be as lawful to ſeparate from the Church of *England*, as for the Church of *England* to ſeparate from *Rome*. The *Puritans* evaded this Conſequence, by denying the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church; nay, they affirmed it to be the very Antichriſt; but the Argument remained in full Force againſt the Biſhops, and that part of the Clergy that acknowledged the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church.

King James I. 1604.

'Tis certainly as lawful to ſeparate from the Corruptions of one Church as of another; and 'tis neceſſary to do ſo, when thoſe Corruptions are impoſed as Terms of Communion. Let us hear Archbiſhop *Laud*, in his Conference with the Jeſuit *Fiſher*. " Another Church (ſays his Grace) may ſeparate " from *Rome*, if *Rome* will ſeparate from Chriſt, " and ſo far as it ſeparates from him, and the " Faith, ſo far may another Church ſeparate from " it. —— I grant the Church of *Rome* to be a " true Church in Eſſence, though corrupt in Man- " ners and Doctrine. —— And Corruption of Man- " ners, attended with Errors in the Doctrines of

Remarks.

Archbiſhop Laud's Sentiments of Separation p. 140. p. 128.

King James I. 1605.

" Faith, is a juſt Cauſe for one particular Church " to ſeparate from another —" His Grace then adds, with regard to the Church of *Rome*; " The p. 148. " Cauſe of the Separation is *yours*, for you thruſt us " from you becauſe we called for Truth and Redreſs " of Abuſes; for a Schiſm muſt needs be theirs " whoſe the Cauſe of it is; the Woe runs full out " of the Mouth of Chriſt, even againſt him that " gives the Offence, not againſt him that takes p. 133. " it —— It was ill done of thoſe, whoe'er they " were, who firſt made the Separation [from *Rome*]; " I mean not actual but cauſal, for as I ſaid before, p. 142, " the Schiſm is theirs whoſe the Cauſe of it is; and 143. " he makes the Separation who gives the firſt juſt " Cauſe of it, not he that makes an actual Separa- " tion upon a juſt Cauſe preceding." Let the Reader carefully conſider theſe Conceſſions, and then judge how far they will juſtify the Separation of the *Browniſts*, or the *Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts* at this Day.

1605. *The Gun-Powder-Plot.*

This Year was famous for the Diſcovery of the GUN-POWDER-PLOT, which was a Contrivance of the Papiſts to blow up the King and the whole Royal Family, with the chief of the Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, *November* 5th, the firſt Day of their aſſembling in Parliament; for this Purpoſe a Cellar was hired under the Houſe of Lords, and ſtored with Thirty ſix Barrels of Gun-Powder, covered over with Coals and Faggots. But the Plot was diſcovered the Night before, by means of a Letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle*, adviſing him to abſent from the Houſe, becauſe *they were to receive a terrible Blow, and not to know who hurt them*. *Monteagle* carrying the Letter to Court, the King ordered the Apartments about the Parliament-Houſe to be ſearched; the Powder was found under the Houſe of Lords, and *Guy Vaux* with a dark Lanthorn in the Cellar, waiting to ſet Fire to the Train when the King ſhould come to the Houſe next Morning. *Vaux* being apprehended confeſſed the Plot, and diſcovered ſeveral of his Accomplices,

plices, Eight of whom were tried and executed, and among them *Garnet*, Provincial of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, whom the Pope afterwards canonized. *King* James I. 1605.

The Diſcovery of this murderous Conſpiracy was aſcribed to the King's Penetration; but Mr. *Oſborne* and others, with great probability ſay, that the firſt Notice of it came from *Henry* IV. King of *France*, who heard of it from the Jeſuits; and, that the Letter to *Monteagle* was an Artifice of *Cecil*'s, who was acquainted beforehand with the Proceedings of the Conſpirators, and ſuffered them to go their full length. Even *Heylin* ſays, *That the King and his Council mined with them, and undermined them, and by ſo doing blew up their whole Invention.* But 'tis agreed on all Hands, that if the Plot had taken Place it was to have been fathered upon the Puritans; and, as if the King was in the Secret, his Majeſty in his Speech to the Parliament, *November* 9th. takes particular Care to bring them into it; for after he had cleared the Roman Catholick Religion from encouraging ſuch murderous Practices, he adds, *That the Cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of Fire, that would not allow Salvation to any Papiſts.* So that if theſe unhappy People had been blown up, his Majeſty thinks they would have had their Deſerts. Strange! That a Puritan ſhould be ſo much worſe than a Papiſt, or deſerve to be burnt for Uncharitableneſs, when his Majeſty could not but know, that the Papiſts were more criminal in this reſpect, becauſe they not only deny Salvation to the Puritans, but to all that are without the Pale of their own Church. But what was all this to the Plot? Except it was to turn away the Indignation of the People from the Papiſts, whom the King both feared and loved, to the *Puritans*, who in a Courſe of Forty Years Sufferings had never moved the leaſt Sedition againſt the State.

Rapin, p. 297. Oſborne, p. 438.

Hiſt. Presb. p. 378.

To be fathered on the Puritans.

The Diſcovery of this Plot occaſioned the drawing up the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, or *of Submiſſion and Obedience to the King as a* TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN, *independent*

Oath of Allegiance.

King James I. 1605.

dependent of any other Power upon Earth; which quickly paſs'd both Houſes, and was appointed to be taken by all the King's Subjects; this Oath is diſtinct from the Oath of Supremacy, which obliges the Subject to acknowledge his Majeſty *to be ſupreme Head of the Church as well as the State*, and might therefore be taken by all ſuch Roman Catholicks as did not believe the *Pope had Power to depoſe Kings, and give away their Dominions*. Accordingly *Blackwell* their Superior, and moſt of the *Engliſh* Catholicks, took the Oath, but the Pope abſolutely forbid it on pain of Damnation; which occaſioned a new Debate, concerning the Extent of the Pope's Power in *Temporals*, between the Learned of both Religions. Cardinal *Bellarmine*, under the feigned Name of *Tortus*, writ againſt the Oath, which gave Occaſion to King *James*'s Apology to all Chriſtian Princes; in which, after clearing himſelf from the Charge of perſecuting the Papiſts, he reproaches his Holineſs with Ingratitude, *conſidering the free Liberty of Religion that he had granted the Papiſts, the Honours he had conferr'd on them, the free Acceſs they had to his Perſon at all Times; the general Gaol Delivery of all Jeſuits and Papiſts convict, and the ſtrict Orders he had given his Judges not to put the Laws in execution againſt them for the future.* All which was true, while the *unhappy Puritans* were impriſoned and fined, or forc'd to fly into Baniſhment. The Parliament, on occaſion of this Plot, appointed an annual Thankſgiving on the 5th of *November*, and paſſed another Law, *obliging all Perſons to come to Church under the Penalty of twelve Pence every Sunday they were abſent*, unleſs they gave ſuch Reaſons as ſhould be ſatisfactory to a Juſtice of Peace. This, like a two-edged Sword, cut down all *Separatiſts*, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts.

K. James's Apol. p. 253.

Puritans *unwilling to ſeparate from the Church.*

To return to the Puritans, the more moderate of whom being willing to ſteer a middle Courſe, between a total Separation and abſolute Conformity, were attacked by ſome of the Biſhops with this Argument. "All

" All thoſe that wilfully refuſe to obey the King " in Things indifferent, and to conform themſelves " to the Orders of the Church authorized by him, " not contrary to the Word of God, are *Schiſmaticks*, " Enemies to the King's Supremacy, and the State, " and not to be tolerated in Church or Common- " wealth. *King James I. 1605.*

" But you do ſo ——

" Therefore you are not to be tolerated in Church " or Commonwealth.

The Puritans denied the Charge, and returned this Argument upon their Accuſers.

" All thoſe that freely and willingly perform to " the King and State all Obedience, not only in " Things neceſſary, but indifferent, *commanded by* " *Law*, and that have been always ready to conform " themſelves to every Order of the Church authori- " zed by him, *not contrary to the Word of God*, are " free from all Schiſm, Friends to the King's Supre- " macy, and to the State, and unworthy in this " Manner to be moleſted in Church or Common- " wealth.

" But there is none of us that are deprived or " ſuſpended from our Miniſtry, but have been ever " ready to do all this; therefore we are free from " Schiſm, Friends to the King's Supremacy, and " moſt unworthy of ſuch Moleſtation as we ſu- " ſtain."

This being the Point of Difference, the Puritans offered a publick Diſputation upon the *Lawfulneſs of impoſing Ceremonies in general*; and in particular upon the *Surplice*, *the Croſs in Baptiſm*, and *Kneeling at the Communion*; but were refuſed. Upon which the *Lincolnſhire* Miniſters drew up *an Apology for thoſe Miniſters who are troubled for refuſing of Subſcription and Conformity*, and preſented it to the King *December* 1ſt, 1604. the ABRIDGMENT of which is now before me, and begins with a Declaration of their Readineſs to ſubſcribe the firſt of the three Articles required by the *Abridgment of the Linc. Min. Reaſons for not ſubſcribing.*

King James I. 1605.

the 36th Canon, concerning the King's Supremacy; but to the other two (ſay they) we cannot ſubſcribe, becauſe we are perſuaded, that both the Book of Common Prayer, and the other Book [of Articles] to be ſubſcribed by this Canon (of which, yet in ſome reſpects, we reverently eſteem) contain in them ſundry Things which are not *agreeable*, but *contrary to the Word of God.*

They object to the Book of Common-Prayer in general, *That it appoints that Order for reading the Holy Scriptures, which in many reſpects is contrary to the Word of God.* As,

Their Arguments againſt ſubſcribing the Book of Common-Prayer.

1. "The greateſt Part of the Canonical Scripture "is left out in the publick Reading; whereas *all* "*Scripture is given by Inſpiration, and is profitable*, &c. "and ſundry Chapters that are, in their Opinion, "more edifying than ſome others that are read, "are omitted ——.

2. "It does too much Honour to the *Apocryphal* "*Writings*, commanding many of them to be read "for firſt Leſſons, and under the Name of Holy "Scripture, and in as great a Proportion; for of the "Canonical Chapters of the Old Teſtament (being "in all ſeven Hundred ſeventy nine) are read only "five Hundred ninety two, and of the Apocryphal "Books (being one Hundred ſeventy two Chapters) "are read one Hundred and four. This they ap- "prehend to be contrary to the Word of God, for- "aſmuch as the Apocryphal Books contain ſundry "and manifeſt Errors, divers of which are here pro- "duced.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. "The Book of Common-Prayer ap- "points ſuch a Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures to "be read in the Churches as in ſome Places is ab- "ſurd, and in others, takes from, perverts, obſcures "and falſifies the Word of God; Examples of which "are produced, with the Authorities of the moſt "conſiderable Reformers."

Their

Their next general Objection againſt ſubſcribing the Book of Common-Prayer is, *becauſe it enjoins the Uſe of ſuch Ceremonies as they apprehend contrary to the Word of God.* *King* James I. 1605.

To make good this Aſſertion they ſay, " It is " contrary to the Word of God to uſe (much more " to command the Uſe of) ſuch Ceremonies in " the Worſhip of God, as Man hath deviſed, if p. 17. " they be notoriouſly known to be abuſed to " Idolatry and Superſtition by the Papiſts, and " are of no neceſſary Uſe in the Church. Here " they cite ſuch Paſſages of Scripture as com- " mand the *Jews* to aboliſh all Inſtruments of Ido- " latry; and even to caſt away ſuch Things as " had a good Original, when once they are known " to have been abuſed to Idolatry; as *Images*, " *Groves*, and the *brazen Serpent*, 2 Kings xviii. 11. " They produce further the Teſtimonies of ſun- " dry Fathers, as *Euſebius*, St. *Auſtin*, &c. and of " the moſt conſiderable Moderns, as *Calvin*, *Bucer*, " *Muſculus*, *Peter Martyr*, *Beza*, *Zanchy*; Biſhop " *Jewel*, *Pilkington*, *Bilſon*; Dr. *Humphrys*, *Fulk*, " *Andrews*, *Sutcliffe*, and others, againſt Conformity " with Idolaters."

With regard to the three Ceremonies in queſtion they ſay, they have all been abuſed by the Papiſts to Superſtition and Idolatry.

Againſt the three Ceremonies

1. " The *Surplice* has been thus abuſed, for 'tis " one of thoſe Veſtments without which nothing " can be conſecrated; all Prieſts that are preſent " at Maſs muſt wear it, and therefore the Uſe of p. 28. " it in the Church has been condemned, not only " by foreign Divines, but by Biſhop *Hooper*, *Farrar*, " *Jewel*, *Pilkington*, *Rogers*, and others among our " ſelves.

2. " The *Croſs* has been alſo abuſed to Superſtition " and Idolatry, to drive away Devils, to expel Diſ- " eaſes, to break the Force of Witchcraft, *&c.* It is " one of the Images to which the Papiſts give religi-

King James I. 1605.

" ous Adoration. The Water in Baptiſm has no " ſpiritual Virtue in it without the *Croſs*, nor is any " one rightly baptized (according to the Papiſts) " without it.

3. " *Kneeling at the Sacrament* has been no leſs " abuſed; it aroſe from the Notion of the *Tranſub-* " *ſtantiation of the Elements*, and is ſtill uſed by the " Papiſts in the Worſhip of their *breaden God*; who " admit they ſhould be guilty of Idolatry in kneel- " ing before the Elements, if they did not believe " them to be the real Body and Blood of Chriſt. " This Ceremony was not introduced into the " Church till Antichriſt was at his full Height; " and there is no one Action in the whole Service " that looks ſo much like Idolatry as this."

P. 31. Their ſecond Argument for the Unlawfulneſs of the Ceremonies, is taken from their *Myſtical Signification*, which gives them the Nature of a Sacrament. Now, no Sacrament ought to be of Man's deviſing; the Ceremonies therefore being affirmed in the Book of Common-Prayer *to be ſignificant* are unlawful.

P. 37. Their third Argument is taken from the *Unlawfulneſs of impoſing them as Parts of God's Worſhip*, which they prove from hence, " That God is the only Ap- " pointer of his own Worſhip, and condemns all hu- " man Inventions, ſo far forth as they are made parts " of it. Now all the Ceremonies in queſtion are thus " impoſed; for Divine Service is ſuppoſed not to be " rightly performed without the *Surplice*, nor Baptiſm " rightly adminiſter'd without the *Croſs*, nor the " Lord's Supper but to ſuch as kneel; and therefore " they are unlawful."

Their fourth is taken from hence, *That no Rites or Eccleſiaſtical Orders ſhould be ordained or uſed, but ſuch as are needful and profitable, and for Edification; and eſpecially, that none ſhould be ordained or uſed that cauſe Offence, and hinder Edification*, Rom. xiv. 21. 1 Cor. x. P. 45. 23, 32. " Now, the Ceremonies in queſtion are " neither

" neither needful nor profitable, nor do they tend to Edification; but on the contrary, have given great Offence, as appears from hence, that very many of the learned and beſt experienced Miniſters in the Land have choſen rather to ſuffer any Trouble than yield to the Uſe of them; and we doubt not to affirm, *that the greateſt Number of reſident, able, and godly Miniſters in the Land at this Day, do in their Conſciences diſlike them, and judge them needleſs and unfit*; as appears by the Liſt of Non-ſubſcribers, already mentioned, [p. 44.] beſides many more, who, though unwilling in ſome other reſpects to join in the Petition, did profeſs their hearty Deſire to have them removed. And if the reſt of the Shires be eſteemed according to this Proportion, it will eaſily appear, that the greateſt Number of the Reſident, Preaching, and fruitful Miniſters of the Land do diſlike them. This may yet further appear, by their ſeldom uſing them for many Years paſt, and their great Unwillingneſs to yield to the Uſe of them now. If they thought them needful or profitable, why do they neglect them in their publick Miniſtry being commanded by lawful Authority? Beſides, thoſe very Biſhops that have been moſt hot in urging the Ceremonies have declared, that the Church might well be without them, and have wiſhed them taken away, as Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in his Defence of the Anſwer to *Cartwright*'s Admonition, *p.* 259. Dr. *Chadderton* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in his Speech before all the Miniſters, convened before him at *Huntington*, *Nov.* 30th. 1604. and others in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities have ſpoken vehemently againſt them, as Things that do not edify, nor have any tendency to promote Decency or Order.

King James I. 1605.

p. 52.

" With regard to the *Surplice*, they produce the Teſtimonies of the learned *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *Beza*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, and others, for

Againſt the Surplice.

King James I. 1605.

" the Inexpediency of it, even though they ſubmit-
" ted to wear it. *Bucer* ſays he could be content to
" ſuffer ſome grievous Loſs or Pain in his Body, up-
" on Condition the Surplice might be aboliſhed.

p. 54. Croſs in Baptiſm and Kneeling at the Sacrament.

" The like Authorities are brought againſt *the*
" *Croſs*, and againſt *Kneeling at the Communion*, the
" former being a mere Invention of Man, neither
" taught by Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, and the latter
" being apparently different from the firſt Inſtitu-
" tion, they receiving it in a Table-poſture; and
" 'tis groſs Hypocriſy (ſay they) for us to pretend
" more Holineſs, Reverence and Devotion, in recei-
" ving the Sacrament than the Apoſtles, who re-
" ceived it from the immediate Hand and Perſon of
" Chriſt himſelf. They (to be ſure) had the cor-
" poral Preſence of Chriſt and yet did not *kneel*; why
" then ſhould it be enjoined the Church, when the
" corporal Preſence of Chriſt is withdrawn? This
" has been thought an Argument of great Force by
" our chief Divines, as *Calvin*, *Bullinger*, *Beza*, *Chem-*
" *nitius*, Biſhop *Pilkington*, *Willet*, and others, who
" declare ſtrongly for the Poſture of ſitting, or at
" moſt ſtanding at the Communion.

" Beſides, *Kneeling at the Sacrament* is of very late
" Antiquity, and was not introduced into the Church
" till Antichriſt was in his full height; the primitive
" Chriſtians (according to *Tertullian*) thought it un-
" lawful to *kneel at Prayer* on the Lord's Day; and
" the firſt Council of *Nice*, *Ann. Dom.* 327. made a
" ſolemn Decree, that none might *pray* kneeling,
" but only ſtanding on the Lord's Day, becauſe on
" that Day is celebrated the joyful Remembrance
" of our Lord's Reſurrection. To *kneel* is a Geſture
" of Sorrow and Humiliation; whereas, he that
" prays *ſtanding* ſhews himſelf thankful for the ob-
" taining ſome Mercy or Favour. So that either
" the primitive Church uſed a Geſture of greater Re-
" verence and Humility *at the Sacrament*, which is a

" Feaſt,

" Feaſt, and a joyful Remembrance of the Death " of Chriſt, than they did at *Prayer*, or elſe they " received it in another Poſture. Beſides (it is ſaid) " that the ancient Councils commanded, that *no Man* " *ſhould kneel down at the Communion, fearing it ſhould* " *be an Occaſion of Idolatry.* Mr. *Fox* ſpeaking of the " Uſe of the primitive Church ſays, They had the " Communion not at an Altar, but at a plain Table " of Boards, when the whole Congregation together " did communicate, with Reverence and Thankſgi- " ving; not lifting over the Prieſt's Head, nor wor- " ſhipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their " Breaſts, but either ſitting at Supper, or ſtanding " after Supper. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of a Man that had " been admitted to the Communion, ſays *he ſtood* at " the Table, and put forth his Hand to receive the " holy Food. And Biſhop *Jewel* ſays, that in St. " *Baſil*'s Days [*Ann.* 380.] the Communion Table " was of Boards, and ſo placed, that Men might " *ſtand* round it, and that every Man was bound by " an apoſtolical Tradition to *ſtand upright* at the " Communion."

King James I. 1605. p. 59.

Acts and Mon. p. 19.

Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. 8.

" Beſides, *the Geſture of Kneeling* is contrary to " the very Nature of the Lord's Supper, which " is ordained to be a Banquet and Sign of that " ſweet Familiarity that is between the Faithful and " him, and of that ſpiritual Nouriſhment we are to " receive by feeding on his Body and Blood by " Faith; and in what Nation is it thought decent to " *kneel* at Banquets? Where do Men eat and drink " upon their Knees? Further, the proper Diſpoſi- " tion of Mind at the Lord's Table is not ſo much " *Humility*, as *Aſſurance of Faith, and cheerful Thank-* " *fulneſs for the Benefits of Chriſt's Death.* For theſe " Reaſons, and becauſe Kneeling at the Sacrament " had an idolatrous Original, and has a Tendency to " lead Men into that Sin, they think it unlawful, " and to be laid aſide."

The

King James I. 1605.

The Abridgment concludes with a ſhort Table of ſundry other Exceptions againſt the three Books whereunto they are required to ſubſcribe, which they purpoſe to juſtify and confirm in the ſame Manner as thoſe they have done in this Book; a Summary whereof we ſhall meet with hereafter.

Anſwers to the Abridgment.

The Abridgment was anſwered by Biſhop *Moreton* and Dr. *Burges*, who, after he had ſuffered himſelf to be deprived for Non-Conformity, *June* 19. 1604. was perſuaded by King *James* to conform, and write in Defence of his Conduct againſt his former Arguments. Biſhop *Moreton* endeavours to defend the *Innocency* of the three Ceremonies from Scripture, Antiquity, the Teſtimony of Proteſtant Divines, and the Practice of the Non-Conformiſts themſelves in other Caſes; and has ſaid as much as can be ſaid for them, though 'tis hard to defend the *impoſing* them upon thoſe who think them unlawful, or that apprehend Things indifferent ought to be left in the State that Chriſt left them. Dr. *Downham*, *Sparkes*, *Covel*, *Hutton*, *Rogers*, and *Ball*, writ for the Ceremonies; and were anſwered by Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Paul Baynes*, Dr. *Ames* and others.

Remarks.

From the Writings of theſe Divines it appears, that the Puritans were removing to a greater Diſtance from the Church; for whereas [ſays Dr. *Burges*] Mr. *Cartwright* and his Brethren writ ſharply againſt the Ceremonies, as *inconvenient*; now they are oppoſed as *abſolutely unlawful*, neither to be impoſed nor uſed. The cruel Severities of *Bancroft* and the High Commiſſioners were the Occaſion of this, for being puſhed upon one of theſe Extremes, either to a conſtant and full Conformity to thoſe Ceremonies with which their tender Conſciences were burdened, or to lay down their Miniſtry in the Church; many of them, at one of their Conferences, came to this Concluſion, That *if they could not enjoy their Livings in the Church without ſubſcribing over again the three Articles above-*

above-mentioned, and declaring at the ſame Time, they did it WILLINGLY, AND FROM THEIR HEARTS, *it was their Duty to reſign.* Theſe were called *Brethren of the ſecond Separation*, who were content to join with the Church in her Doctrines and Sacraments, but apprehended it *unlawful* to declare their hearty Approbation of the Ceremonies; and if their Conduct was grounded upon the Duty of Chriſtians to bear their Teſtimony againſt all unſcriptural Impoſitions in the Worſhip of God, it muſt deſerve the Commendation of all impartial and diſintereſted Proteſtants. No Men could go greater Lengths for the ſake of Peace than they were willing to do; for in their *Defence of the Miniſters Reaſons for refuſal of Subſcription to the Book of Common-Prayer againſt the Cavils of* F. Hutton, B. D. *Dr.* Covel *and Dr.* Sparkes, publiſhed 1607. They begin thus, "We proteſt before the Almighty God, that we "acknowledge the Churches of *England* as they be "eſtabliſhed by publick Authority, to be true vi- "ſible Churches of Chriſt; that we deſire the Con- "tinuance of our Miniſtry in them above all earthly "Things, as that without which our whole Life "would be weariſome and bitter to us; that we diſ- "like not a ſet Form of Prayer to be uſed in our "Churches; nor do we write with an evil Mind to "deprave the Book of Common-Prayer, Ordina- "tion, or Book of Homilies; but to ſhew our Rea- "ſons why we cannot ſubſcribe to all Things con- "tained in them."

King James I. 1605.

Theſe extreme Proceedings of the Biſhops ſtrengthned the Hands of the BROWNISTS in *Holland*, who with great Advantage writ againſt the Lawfulneſs of holding Communion with the Church of *England* at that Time, not only becauſe it was a *corrupt Church*, but a *perſecuting one.* On the other hand, the younger Divines in the Church that preached for Preferment, painted out the *Separatiſts* in the moſt frightful Colours, as *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks*, *Fanaticks*,

Pre-

King James I. 1605.

Preciſians, *Enemies to God* and the *King*, and of *unſtable Minds*. The very ſame Language that the Papiſts uſed againſt the firſt Reformers!

Principles of the Puritans.

To remove theſe Reproaches, and to inform the World of the real Principles of the Puritans of theſe Times, the Reverend Mr. *Bradſhaw* publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe, entitled, ENGLISH PURITANISM, *containing the main Opinions of the rigideſt Sort of thoſe that went by that Name in the Realm of* England, which the learned Dr. *Ames* tranſlated into *Latin* for the Benefit of Foreigners. The Reader will learn by the following Abſtract of it, the true State of their Caſe, as well as the near Affinity between the Principles of the ancient and modern Non-Conformiſts.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Religion in general.

Engliſh Puritaniſm, printed 1605.

" The Puritans hold and maintain the abſolute " Perfection of the Holy Scriptures, both as to " Faith and Worſhip; and, that whatſoever is " enjoined as a Part of Divine Service, that can- " not be warranted by the ſaid Scriptures, is un- " lawful.

2. " That all Inventions of Men, eſpecially ſuch " as have been abuſed to Idolatry, are to be exclu- " ded out of the Exerciſes of Religion.

3. " That all outward Means inſtituted to expreſs " and ſet forth the inward Worſhip of God, are Parts " of Divine Worſhip, and ought therefore evidently " to be preſcribed by the Word of God.

4. " To inſtitute and ordain any myſtical Rites or " Ceremonies of Religion, and to mingle the ſame " with the Divine Rites and Ceremonies of God's Or- " dinance, is groſs Superſtition."

King James I. 1605.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Church.

1. " They hold and maintain, That every Con-
" gregation or Aſſembly of Men, ordinarily joining
" together in the true Worſhip of God, is a true viſi-
" ble Church of Chriſt.

2. " That all ſuch Churches are in all Eccleſiaſti-
" cal Matters equal, and by the Word of God ought
" to have the ſame Officers, Adminiſtrations, Orders,
" and Forms of Worſhip.

3. " That Chriſt has not ſubjected any Church or
" Congregation to any other ſuperior Eccleſiaſtical
" Juriſdiction than to that which is within it ſelf, ſo
" that if a whole Church or Congregation ſhould err
" in any Matters of Faith or Worſhip, no other
" Churches or Spiritual Officers, have Power to
" cenſure or puniſh them, but are only to counſel and
" adviſe them.

4. " That every Church ought to have her own
" Spiritual Officers and Miniſters reſident with her;
" and thoſe ſuch as are enjoin'd by Chriſt in the New
" Teſtament, and no other.

5. " That every Church ought to have liberty to
" chooſe their own Spiritual Officers.

6. " That if particular Churches err in this Choice,
" none but the Civil Magiſtrate has Power to con-
" troul them, and oblige them to make a better
" Choice.

7. " That Eccleſiaſtical Officers or Miniſters in
" one Church ought not to bear any Eccleſiaſtical
" Office in another; and they are not to forſake
" their Callings without juſt Cauſe, and ſuch as may
" be approved by the Congregation; but if the
" Congregation will not hearken to Reaſon, they are
" then to appeal to the Civil Magiſtrate, who is
" bound to procure them Juſtice.

King James I. 1605.

8. "That a Church having choſen its Spiritual "Governors, ought to live in all Canonical Obe- "dience to them, agreeable to the Word of God; "and if any of them be ſuſpended, or unjuſtly de- "prived, by other Eccleſiaſtical Officers, they are "humbly to pray the Magiſtrate to reſtore them; "and if they cannot obtain it, they are to own them "to be their Spiritual Guides to the Death, though "they are rigorouſly deprived of their Miniſtry and "Service.

9. "That the Laws and Orders of the Churches "warranted by the Word of God are not repugnant "to Civil Government, whether Monarchical, "Ariſtocratical or Democratical; and we renounce "all Juriſdiction that is repugnant or derogatory to "any of theſe, eſpecially to the Monarchy of this "Kingdom."

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Miniſters of the Word.

1. "They hold, That the Paſtors of particular "Congregations are the higheſt Spiritual Officers in "the Church, over whom there is no ſuperior Paſtor "by Divine Appointment but Jeſus Chriſt.

2. "That there are not by *Divine Inſtitution* in the "Word, any ordinary National, Provincial, or "Dioceſan Paſtors, to whom the Paſtors of particu- "lar Churches are to be ſubject.

3. "That no Paſtor ought to exerciſe, or accept "of any Civil Juriſdiction or Authority, but ought "to be wholly employed in Spiritual Offices and "Duties to that Congregation over which he "is ſet.

4. "That the ſupreme Office of the Paſtor is to "preach the Word publickly to the Congregation; "and that the People of God ought not to acknow- "ledge any for their Paſtors that are not able by "preaching to interpret and apply the Word of God

"to

" to them; and conſequently all ignorant, and " mere reading Prieſts, are to be rejected. *King* James I. 1605.

5. " That in publick Worſhip the Paſtor only is " to be the Mouth of the Congregation to God in " Prayer; and that the People are only to teſtify " their Aſſent by the Word *Amen*.

6. " That the Church has no Power to impoſe " upon her Paſtors or Officers, any other Ceremo- " nies or Injunctions than what Chriſt has ap- " pointed.

7. " That in every Church there ſhould alſo be a " Doctor to inſtruct and catechize the Ignorant in " the main Principles of Religion."

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Elders.

1. " They hold, That by God's Ordinance the " Congregation ſhould chooſe other Officers as As- " ſiſtants to the Miniſters in the Government of the " Church, who are jointly with the Miniſters to be " Overſeers of the Manners and Converſation of all " the Congregation.

2. " That theſe are to be choſen out of the gra- " veſt, and moſt diſcreet Members, who are alſo of " ſome Note in the World, and able (if poſſible) to " maintain themſelves."

CHAP. V.

Of Church Cenſures.

1. " They hold, That the Spiritual Keys of the " Church are committed to the aforeſaid Spiritual " Officers and Governors, and to none others.

2. " That by virtue of theſe Keys they are not to " examine and make Inquiſition into the Hearts of " Men, nor moleſt them upon private Suſpicions, or " uncertain Fame, but to proceed only upon open " and notorious Crimes. If the Offender be con-

King James I. 1605.

" vinced, they ought not to ſcorn, deride, taunt, " and revile him with contumelious Language, nor " procure *Proctors* to make perſonal Invectives " againſt him; nor make him give Attendance from " *Term* to *Term*, and from one *Court Day* to another, " after the manner of our Eccleſiaſtical Courts; but " to uſe him brotherly, and if poſſible to move him " to Repentance; and if he repent they are not to " proceed to Cenſure, but to accept his hearty Sor- " row and Contrition as a ſufficient Satisfaction to the " Church, without impoſing any Fines, or taking " Fees, or enjoining any outward Mark of Shame, " as the *White Sheet*, &c.

" But if the Offender be obſtinate, and ſhew no " Signs of Repentance, and if his Crime be fully " prov'd upon him, and is of ſuch a high Nature as " to deſerve a Cenſure according to the Word of " God, then the Eccleſiaſtical Officers, with the " free Conſent of the whole Congregation (and not " otherwiſe) are firſt to ſuſpend him from the Sa- " crament, praying for him at the ſame Time, " That God would give him Repentance to the Ac- " knowledgment of his Fault; and if this does not " humble him, they are then to denounce him to " be as yet no Member of the Kingdom of Heaven, " and of that Congregation; and ſo are to leave him " to God and the King. And this is all the Eccle- " ſiaſtical Juriſdiction that any Spiritual Officers are " to uſe againſt any Man for the greateſt Crime " that can be committed.

" If the Party offending be a Civil Superior, they " are to behave towards him with all that Reve- " rence and Civil Subjection that his Honour or " high Office in the State may require. They are " not to preſume to convene him before them, but " are themſelves to go to him in all civil and humble " Manner, to ſtand bare-headed, to bow, to give " him all his *Civil Titles*; and if it be a ſupreme Go- " vernor or King, to kneel, and in moſt humble Man-

" ner

" ner to acquaint him with his Faults; and if ſuch, " or any other Offenders will voluntarily withdraw " from the Communion, they have no farther con- " cern with them. *King James I. 1605.*

" They hold the *Oath ex Officio* on the Impoſers " part to be moſt damnable and tyrannous, againſt " the very Law of Nature, deviſed by Antichriſt, " through the Inſpiration of the Devil, to tempt " weak Chriſtians to perjure themſelves, or be " drawn in to reveal to the Enemies of Chriſtianity " thoſe ſecret Religious Acts, which though done " for the Advancement of the Goſpel, may bring " on themſelves and their deareſt Friends heavy " Sentences of Condemnation from the Court.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Civil Magiſtrate.

1. " They hold, That the Civil Magiſtrate ought " to have ſupreme Civil Power over all the Churches " within his Dominions; but that as he is a Chriſtian " he ought to be a Member of ſome one of them; " which is not in the leaſt derogatory to his Civil " Supremacy.

2. " That all Eccleſiaſtical Officers are puniſh- " able by the Civil Magiſtrate, for the Abuſe of " their Eccleſiaſtical Offices; and much more if they " intrude upon the Rights and Prerogatives of the " Civil Authority.

3. " They hold the Pope to be *Antichriſt*, becauſe " he uſurps the Supremacy over Kings and Princes; " and therefore all that defend the Popiſh Faith, " and that are for tolerating that Religion, are ſecret " Enemies of the King's Supremacy.

4. " That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Of- " ficials, *&c.* hold their Offices and Functions, at " the King's Will and Pleaſure, merely *Jure Hu- " mano*; and whoſoever holdeth, that the King may

King James I. 1605.

" not remove them, and diſpoſe of them at his Plea-
" ſure, is an Enemy to his *Supremacy*."

Let the Reader now judge, whether there was ſo much ground for all the Calumny and Reproach that was caſt upon the *Puritans* of theſe Times: But their Adverſaries having often charged them with denying the *Supremacy*, and with claiming a ſort of Juriſdiction over the King himſelf, they publiſhed another Pamphlet this Summer, entitled, *A Proteſtation of the King's Supremacy, made in the Name of the afflicted Miniſters, and oppoſed to the ſhameful Calumniations of the Prelates.* To which was annexed, an humble Petition for Liberty of Conſcience. In their Proteſtation they declare,

Miniſters Proteſtation concerning the King's Supremacy, printed 1605.

1. " We hold and maintain the King's Supremacy
" in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons Civil and Eccle-
" ſiaſtical, as it was granted to Queen *Elizabeth*, and
" explained in the Book of Injunctions; nor have any
" of us been unwilling to ſubſcribe and ſwear to it.
" We believe it to be the King's natural Right with-
" out a *Statute Law*, and that the Churches within
" his Dominions would ſin damnably if they did not
" yield it to him. Nay, we believe, that the King
" cannot alienate it from his Crown, or transfer it
" to any Spiritual Potentates or Rulers; and that it
" is not tied to his Faith or Chriſtianity, but to his
" very Crown; ſo that if he was an Infidel the Su-
" premacy is his due.

2. " We hold, That no Church Officers have
" Power to deprive the King of any Branch of his
" Royal Prerogative, much leſs of his Supremacy,
" which is inſeparable from him.

3. " That no Eccleſiaſtical Officers have Power
" over the Bodies, Lives, Goods, or Liberties, of
" any Perſons within the King's Dominions.

4. " That

King James I. 1605.

4. " That the King may make Laws for the " good Ordering of the Churches within his Dominions; and that the Churches ought not to be diſobedient, unleſs they apprehend them *contrary to* " *the Word of God*; and even in ſuch Caſe they are " not to reſiſt, but peaceably to forbear Obedience, " and ſubmit to the Puniſhment, if Mercy cannot " be obtained.

5. " That the King only hath Power within his " Dominions, to convene Synods or general Aſſemblies of Miniſters, and by his Authority Royal to " ratify and give Life to their Canons and Conſtitutions, without whoſe Ratification no Man can " force any Subject to yield Obedience to the " ſame.

6. " That the King ought not to be ſubject to the " Cenſures of any Churches, Church-Officers, or " Synods whatſoever; but only to that Church, and " thoſe Officers of his own Court and Houſhold, " with whom he ſhall voluntarily join in Communion, where there can be no fear of unjuſt " Uſage.

7. " If a King, after he has held Communion with " a Chriſtian Church ſhould turn Apoſtate, or live " in a Courſe of open Defiance to the Laws of God " and Religion, the Church Governors are to give " over their Spiritual Charge and Tuition of him, " which by Calling from God and the King, they " did undertake; and more than this they may not do, " for the King ſtill retains his ſupreme Authority " over the Churches as intirely, and in as ample a " Manner as if he were the moſt Chriſtian Prince in " the World.

8 " We refuſe no Obedience to the King, nor to " any of the Canons required by the Prelates, but " ſuch as we are willing to take upon our Conſciences, and to ſwear (if requir'd) that we be- " lieve *contrary to the Word of God.* We deny no " Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the King but that

King James I. 1605.

" which Chriſt has appropriated to himſelf, who is " the ſole Doctor and Legiſlator of his Church.

9. " We are ſo far from claiming any Supremacy " to our ſelves, that we exclude from our ſelves all " ſecular Pomp and Power, holding it a Sin to pu- " niſh Men in their Bodies, Goods, Liberties or " Lives, for any merely Spiritual Offence.

10. " We confine all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction " within one Congregation, and that Juriſdiction is " not alone in the Miniſters, but alſo in the Elders " of the Church; and their Juriſdiction is merely " Spiritual.

Their humble Petition.

" THerefore all that we crave of his Majeſty and " the State is, that with his and their Permiſ- " ſion, it may be lawful for us to worſhip God ac- " cording to his revealed Will; and that we may " not be forced to the Obſervance of any human " Rites and Ceremonies. We are ready to make an " open Confeſſion of our Faith, and Form of Wor- " ſhip, and deſire that we may not be obliged to " worſhip God in corners, but that our Religious " and Civil Behaviour may be open to the Obſerva- " tion and Cenſure of the Civil Government, to " whom we profeſs all due Subjection. So long as " it ſhall pleaſe the King and Parliament to maintain " the Hierarchy or Prelacy in this Kingdom, we are " content that they enjoy their State and Dignity; " and we will live as Brethren among thoſe Miniſters " that acknowledge ſpiritual Homage to their ſpiri- " tual Lordſhips, paying to them all temporal Du- " ties of Tithes, *&c.* and joining with them in the " Service and Worſhip of God, ſo far as we may, " without our own particular communicating in thoſe " human Traditions which we judge *unlawful.* Only " we pray, that the Prelates and their Eccleſiaſtical " Officers may not be our Judges, but that we may " both of us ſtand at the Bar of the Civil Magiſtrate, " and that if we ſhall be openly vilified and ſlander-

" ed,

" ed, it may be lawful for us, without fear of Pu- " niſhment, to juſtify our ſelves to the World; and " then we ſhall think our Lives, and all that we " have, too little to ſpend in the Service of our King " and Country."

King James I. 1606.

Though the Principles of Submiſſion are here carried to a great Length, and though the Practice of the *Puritans* was agreeable to it, yet their Enemies did not fail to charge them with Diſloyalty, with Sedition, and with diſturbing the Peace of the State. Upon which the Miniſters of *Devon* and *Cornwall* publiſhed another ſmall Treatiſe, entitled, *A Removal of certain Imputations laid upon the Miniſters*, &c. in which they ſay (*p.* 21.) " Let them [the Biſhops] ſift well " our Courſes ſince his Majeſty's happy Entrance in " among us, and let them name wherein we have " done ought that may juſtly be ſaid ill to become " the Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt. Have we drawn " any Sword? Have we raiſed any Tumult? Have " we uſed any Threats? Hath the State been put in- " to any Fear or Hazard through us? Manifold Diſ- " graces have been caſt upon us, and we have endu- " red them; the Liberty of our Miniſtry hath been " taken from us, and (though with bleeding Hearts) " we have ſuſtained it. We have been caſt out of " our Houſes, and deprived of our ordinary Mainte- " nance, yet have we blown no Trumpet of Sedition. " Theſe Things have gone very near us, and yet did " we never ſo much as entertain a Thought of Vio- " lence. The Truth is, we have petition'd the King " and State; and who hath Reaſon to deny us that " Liberty? We have craved of the Prelates to deal " with us according to Law; and is not this the " common Benefit of every Subject? We have be- " ſought them to convince our Conſciences by Scrip- " ture —— Alas! what would they have us to " do? Will they have us content our ſelves with this " only, that they are Biſhops, and therefore for " their

Proteſtation of the Miniſters of Devon *and* Cornwal, *concerning their Loyalty.* *Loyalty Presb.* p. 150.

King James I. 1606.

" their Greatneſs ought to be yielded to? The " Weight of Epiſcopal Power may oppreſs us but " cannot convince us."

Remarks. It appears from hence, that the *Puritans* were the King's faithful Subjects; that they complied to the utmoſt Length of their Conſciences, and that when they could not obey they were content to ſuffer. Here are no Principles inconſiſtent with the Safety of Church or State; no Marks of Hereſy, Impiety or Sedition; nor Charges of Ignorance, or Neglect of Duty; how unreaſonable then muſt it be, to ſilence and deprive ſuch Men? To ſhut them up in Priſon, or ſend them with their poor Families a begging, while their Pulpit Doors were ſhut up, and there was a Famine in many Parts of the Country, not of Bread but of the Word of the Lord? But theſe honeſt People were not only perſecuted at home, but forbid to retire into his Majeſty's Dominions abroad; for when the Eccleſiaſtical Courts had driven them from their Habitations and Livelihoods, and were ſtill hunting them by their Informers from one Place to another, ſeveral Families croſſed the Ocean to *Virginia*, and invited their Friends to come over and ſettle with them; but *Bancroft* being informed, that great Numbers were preparing to imbark, obtained a Proclamation, prohibiting any of his Majeſty's Subjects to tranſport themſelves to *Virginia*, without a ſpecial Licence from the King; a Severity hardly to be parallel'd! Nor was it ever imitated in this Nation but by Archbiſhop *Laud*.

Rapin, p. 312, 354.

Iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey reduc'd to Conformity. The Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* having enjoyed the Diſcipline of the *French Churches*, without Diſturbance, all the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, upon the Acceſſion of the preſent King, addreſſed his Majeſty for a Confirmation of it; which he was pleaſed to grant by Letter under the Privy Seal, in theſe Words:

" Where-

King James I. 1606.

" WHereas we have been given to underſtand, " that our dear Siſter Queen *Elizabeth* did " permit and allow to the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, " Parcels of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Uſe of " the Government of the reformed Churches of the " ſaid Dutchy, whereof they have ſtood poſſeſſed " till our coming to the Crown; for this Cauſe, as " well as for the Edification of the Church, we do " will and ordain, that our ſaid Iſles ſhall quietly en- " joy their ſaid Liberty in the Uſe of Eccleſiaſtical " Diſcipline *there now eſtabliſhed*; forbidding any one " to give them any Trouble or Impeachment ſo long " as they contain themſelves in our Obedience —"

Given at Hampton-Court, Aug. 8*th. in the firſt Year of our Reign.* 1603.

But *Bancroft* and ſome of his Brethren the Biſhops, having poſſeſſed the King with the Neceſſity of a general Uniformity throughout all his Dominions, theſe Iſlands were to be included; accordingly Sir *John Peyton*, a zealous Church-Man, was appointed Governor, with ſecret Inſtructions to root out the *Geneva* Diſcipline, and ſettle the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Ceremonies. This Gentleman taking Advantage of the Synod's appointing a Miniſter to a vacant Living, according to Cuſtom, proteſted againſt it, as injurious to the King's Prerogative, and complained to Court, that the *Jerſey* Miniſters had uſurped the Patronage of the Benefices of the Iſland; that they admitted Men to Livings without the Form of Preſentation, which was a Loſs to the Crown in its Firſt Fruits; that by the Connivance or Allowance of former Governors they exerciſed a kind of arbitrary Juriſdiction; and therefore prayed that his Majeſty would ſettle the *Engliſh* Diſcipline among them. The *Jerſey* Miniſters alleged in their own Defence, that the Preſentation to Livings was a Branch of their *Diſcipline*; and that the Payment of *Firſt Fruits and*

King James I. 1606.

Tenths had never been demanded ſince they were diſengaged from the See of *Conſtance*. They pleaded his Majeſty's Royal Confirmation of their Diſcipline, which was read publickly in a Synod of both Iſlands in the Year 1605. But this pious King had very little regard to Promiſes, Oaths, or Charters, when they ſtood in the way of his arbitrary Deſigns. He ordered therefore his Eccleſiaſtical Officers to purſue his Inſtructions in the moſt effectual Manner; accordingly they took the Preſentations to vacant Livings into their own hands, without conſulting the Preſbytery; they annull'd the Oath, whereby all Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Officers were obliged to ſwear to the Maintenance of their *Diſcipline*; and whereas all that received the holy Sacrament were required to ſubſcribe to the Allowance of the general Form of Church Government in that Iſland, the King's Attorney and his Friends now refuſed it. Their Elders likewiſe were cited into the temporal Courts and ſtripped of their Privileges; nor had they much better Quarter in the *Conſiſtory*, for the Governor and Jurats made the Decrees of that Court ineffectual, by reverſing them in the *Town Hall*.

Collyer, p. 706. Heylin.

Complaint being made to the Court of theſe Impoſitions, the King ſent them Word, that to avoid all Diſputes for the future, he was determined to revive the Office and Authority of a *Dean*, and to eſtabliſh the *Engliſh* Common-Prayer-Book among them, which he did accordingly; and ordered the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in whoſe Dioceſe they were, to draw up ſome Canons for the Dean's Direction in the Exerciſe of his Government; which being done, and confirmed by the King, put an end to their former Privileges. Upon which many left the Iſlands and retired into *France* and *Holland*; but others made a ſhift to ſupport their Diſcipline after a manner, in the Iſland of *Guernſey*, where the Epiſcopal Regulations could not take place.

Mr.

Mr. *Robert Parker*, a Puritan Miniſter already mentioned, publiſhed this Year a very learned Treatiſe *of the Croſs in Baptiſm.* But the Biſhops, inſtead of anſwering it, perſuaded the King to put forth a Proclamation, with an Offer of a Reward for taking him, which obliged him to abſcond. A treacherous Servant of the Family having informed the Officers where he was, they came and ſearched the Houſe, but by the ſpecial Providence of God he was wonderfully preſerved, the only Room they neglected to ſearch being that in which he was, from whence he heard them quarrelling and ſwearing at one another; one ſaying, they had not ſearched that room, and another confidently aſſerting the contrary, and refuſing to ſuffer it to be ſearched over again. Had he been taken he had been caſt into Priſon, where without doubt (ſays my Author) he muſt have died. When he got into *Holland* he would have been choſen Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Amſterdam*, but the Magiſtrates were afraid of diſobliging King *James*, ſo that he went to *Doeſburgh*, and became Miniſter of that Garriſon, where he died 1630.

King James I. 1607.

Mr. Parker's Sufferings. Peirce, p. 171.

This Year died the famous Dr. *John Raynolds*, King's Profeſſor in *Oxford*, at firſt a zealous Papiſt, while his Brother *William* was a Proteſtant, but by Conference and Diſputation the Brothers converted each other, *William* dying an inveterate Papiſt, and *John* an eminent Proteſtant. He was born in *Devonſhire* 1549. and educated in *Corpus Chriſti College*, *Oxford*, of which he was afterwards Preſident. He was a Prodigy for reading, and his Memory was a living Library. Dr. *Hall* uſed to ſay, That his Memory and Reading were near a Miracle. He had turned over all Writers Prophane and Eccleſiaſtical, as *Councils*, *Fathers*, *Hiſtories*, &c. He was a Critick in the Languages; of a ſharp Wit and indefatigable Induſtry; his Piety and Sanctity of Life was ſo eminent and conſpicuous, that the learned *Cracanthorp*

Dr. Raynolds's Death and Character. Wood's Ath. p. 340.

King James I. 1609.

thorp uſed to ſay, That to name *Raynolds* was to commend Virtue it ſelf. He was alſo of great Modeſty and Humility. In ſhort, ſays the *Oxford* Hiſtorian, *Nothing can be ſpoken againſt him, but that he was the Pillar of Puritaniſm, and the grand Favourer of Non-Conformity.* An unpardonable Crime in his Opinion! At length, after a ſevere and mortified Life, he died in his College *May* 21, 1607. *ætatis* 68. and was buried with great funeral Solemnity in St. *Mary*'s Church.

Death of Mr. Brightman.

Soon after died the famous Mr. *Thomas Brightman*, Author of a Commentary upon the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Revelations:* He was born at *Nottingham*, and bred in *Queens College Cambridge*, where he became a Champion for Non-Conformity to the Ceremonies. He was afterwards preſented by Sir *John Oſbourne* to the Rectory of *Haunes* in *Bedfordſhire*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Days in hard Study, and conſtant Application to his Charge, as far as his Conſcience would admit. His Life, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, was Angelical; his Learning uncommon; he was a cloſe Student, of little Stature, and ſuch a Maſter of himſelf, that he was never known to be moved with Anger. His daily Diſcourſe was againſt Epiſcopal Government, which he propheſied would ſhortly be thrown down, and the Government of the foreign Proteſtant Churches be erected in its Place. He died ſuddenly upon the Road, as he was riding with Sir *John Oſbourne* in his Coach, by a ſudden Obſtruction of the Liver or Gall, *Aug.* 24. 1607. *ætatis* 51.

B. X. p. 50.

1609. *Advances of the Prerogative.*

The King having given the Reins of the Church into the Hands of the Prelates and their Dependants, theſe in return preached and printed for the Prerogative. Two Books were publiſhed this Year, that maintained the moſt extravagant Maxims of arbitrary Power; one was writ by *Cowel*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Vicar General to the Archbiſhop, where-

wherein he affirms, 1. That the King is not bound by the Laws, or by his Coronation Oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call Parliaments to make Laws, but may do it without them. 3. That 'tis a great Favour to admit the Consent of the Subject in giving Subsidies. The other was composed by Dr. *Blackwood*, a Clergyman, who maintained, that the *English were all Slaves from the* Norman *Conquest*. The Parliament would have brought the Authors to Justice, but the King protected them by proroguing the Houses in Displeasure; and to supply his Wants, his Majesty began to raise Money by *Monopolies* of divers Manufactures, to the unspeakable Prejudice of the Trade of the Kingdom.

King James I. 1609.

This Year died the famous *Jacobus Arminius*, Divinity Professor in the University of *Leyden*, who gave Birth to the famous Sect still called by his Name. He was born at *Oudewater*, 1560. his Parents dying in his Infancy, he was educated at the publick Expence by the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and was afterwards chosen one of the Ministers of that City in the Year 1588. Being desired by one of the Professors of *Franequer* to confute a Treatise of *Beza*'s upon the *Supralapsarian* Scheme of *Predestination*, he fell himself into the contrary Extreme. In the Year 1600. he was called to succeed *Junius* in the Divinity Chair of *Leyden*, and was the first that was solemnly created Doctor of Divinity in that University. Here his Notions concerning *Predestination* and *Grace*, and the *Extent* of *Christ's Redemption*, met with a powerful Opposition from *Gomarus* and others. But though his Disciples encreased prodigiously in a few Years, yet the Troubles he met with from his Adversaries, and the Attacks made upon his Character and Reputation, broke his Spirits, so that he sunk into a melancholy Disorder, attended with a Complication of Distempers, which put an End to his Life, after he had been Professor but six Years, and lived Forty nine.

Death and Character of Arminius.

King James I. 1610.

nine. He is repreſented as a Divine of conſiderable Learning, Piety and Modeſty, far from going the Lengths of his Succeſſors, *Vorſtius*, *Epiſcopius*, and *Curcellæus*; but his Doctrines occaſioned ſuch Confuſion in that Country, as could not be terminated but by a National Synod, and produced no leſs Diſtractions in the Church of *England*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

1610. *Proceedings of Parliament.*

In the Parliament that met this Summer the Spirit of *Engliſh* Liberty began to revive; one of the Members made the following bold Speech in the Houſe of Commons, which gives a particular Account of the Grievances of the Nation, and of the Attempts made for the Redreſs of them. "It begins with a

Speech againſt Biſhops and their Courts.

"Complaint againſt the Biſhops in their Eccleſi-
"aſtical Courts, for depriving, diſgracing, ſilen-
"cing, and impriſoning ſuch of God's Meſſengers
"(being learned and godly Preachers) as he has fur-
"niſhed with moſt heavenly Graces to call us to Re-
"pentance, for no other Cauſe, but for not con-
"forming themſelves further, and otherwiſe than
"by the Subſcription limited in the Statute of the
"13th *Eliz.* they are bound to do, thereby making
"the Laws of the Church and Commonwealth to jar,
"which to reform, (ſays he) we made a Law for
"*Subſcription*, agreeing to the Intent of the aforeſaid
"Statute, which would have eſtabliſhed the Peace
"both of Church and State; and if it had received
"the Royal Aſſent, would have been an Occaſion
"that many Subjects might be well taught the
"Means of their Salvation, who now want ſuffi-
"cient Knowledge of the Word of God to ground
"their Faith upon ——

Record of Proceedings of Parliament, 1611.

"And whereas by the Laws of God and the Land,
"Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhould uſe only the Spiritual
"Sword, by *Exhortation*, *Admonition*, and *Excommu-*
"*nication*, which are the Keys of the Church, to ex-
"clude impenitent Sinners, and leave the temporal

"Sword

" Sword to the Civil Magiſtrate, which was always " ſo uſed in *England*, till the ſecond Year of the " Reign of King *Henry* IV. at which Time the Po- " piſh Prelates got the temporal Sword into their " Hands; which Statute was ſince by ſeveral Acts " of Parliament made void; yet by virtue of that " temporal Authority once by a ſhort ſpace by them " uſed, ſome Eccleſiaſtical Perſons do uſe both " Swords, and with thoſe two Swords the Oath *ex* " *Officio*, which began firſt in *England* by the Statute " of the ſecond of King *Henry* IV. being contrary to " the Laws of *England*, and, as I verily think, con- " trary to the Laws of God. *King James I. 1610.*

" Wherefore to reform theſe Abuſes we made two " good Laws; one to abridge the Force of the Ec- " cleſiaſtical Commiſſion in many Points; the other " to abrogate and take away the Power of Eccleſi- " aſtical Perſons to adminiſter the Oath *ex Officio*, " being a very hateful Thing and unlawful.

" And foraſmuch as among the Canons lately " made by the Clergy of *England* in Convocation, it " was thought that ſome of their Canons did extend " to charge the Bodies, Lands, and Goods of the " Subjects of this Realm, farther than was lawful " and meet, we therefore made a good Law to make " void ſuch *Canons*, unleſs the ſame Canons were con- " firmed by Parliament.

" And as we had Care of the Church, ſo likewiſe " of the Commonwealth; and therefore after ſearch- " ing the Records of the *Tower*, and after hearing " the Opinion of Lawyers, we found it clear, that " Impoſitions laid upon Merchandize, or other " Goods of the Subject, by the King, without Con- " ſent of Parliament, was not lawful; and therefore " we paſt a Bill, declaring, That no Impoſition laid " upon Goods is lawful without Conſent of Parlia- " ment —— *Againſt Grievances in the State.*

" But God has not permitted theſe, and ſundry " other good Laws to take effect, or paſs into Sta-

King James I. 1610.

" tutes, though we earneſtly deſired them; if they " had, both the King and his Subjects would have " been more happy than ever; what would we not " then have given to ſupply the King's Wants? " But as Things now ſtand, and without Reforma- " tion of the aforementioned Grievances, we cannot " give much, becauſe we have no Certainty of that " which ſhall remain to us after our Gift."

King's Speech to them. Rapin, p. 321.

To put a Stop to ſuch dangerous Speeches as theſe the King ſummoned both Houſes to *Whitehall*, and told them, " That he did not intend to govern by " the abſolute Power of a King, tho' he knew the " Power of Kings was like the Divine Power; for (ſays " his Majeſty) as God can create and deſtroy, make " and unmake at his Pleaſure, ſo *Kings can give Life* " *and Death, judge all and be judged by none; they can* " *exalt and abaſe, and like Men at Cheſs, make a Pawn,* " *take a Biſhop or a Knight* ——" After this he tells the Houſes, " That as it was *Blaſphemy* to diſpute " what God might do, ſo it was Sedition in Sub- " jects *to diſpute what a King might do in the Height of* " *his Power.* He commanded them therefore not " to meddle with the main Points of Government, " which would be to leſſen his CRAFT, who had " been thirty Years at his Trade in *Scotland*, and " ſerved an Apprenticeſhip of ſeven Years in *Eng-* " *land.*"

Sundry Petitions about Grievances. *Record of Proceedings of Parliament, 1610.*

But the Parliament not terrified with this high Language, went on ſteadily in aſſerting their Rights; *May* 24th. Twenty of the lower Houſe preſented a *Remonſtrance*, in which they declare, " That where- " as they had firſt received a Meſſage, and ſince by " his Majeſty's Speech had been commanded to re- " frain from debating upon Things relating to the " chief Points of Government; *they do hold it their* " *undoubted Right to examine into the Grievances of the* " *Subject, and to enquire into their own Rights and Pro-* " *perties, as well as his Majeſty's Prerogative*; and " they moſt humbly and inſtantly beſeech his gra- " cious

" cious Majeſty, that without Offence to the ſame, " they may, according to the undoubted Right and " Liberty of Parliament, proceed in their intended " Courſe againſt the late new Impoſitions —" *King James I. 1610.*

In another Petition they beſeech his Majeſty to put the Laws in execution againſt *Papiſts*; and with regard to the *Puritans* they ſay, " Whereas divers " learned and painful Paſtors that have long travel- " led in the Work of the Miniſtry with good Fruit " and Bleſſing of their Labours, who were ever " ready to perform *the legal Subſcription appointed by* " *the 13th of* Elizabeth, which only concerneth the " Profeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine " of the Sacraments, yet for not conforming in ſome " Points of Ceremonies, and for refuſing the Sub- " ſcription directed by the late Canons, have been re- " moved from their Eccleſiaſtical Livings, being " their Freehold, and debarr'd from all Means of " Maintenance, to the great Grief of your Ma- " jeſty's Subjects, ſeeing the whole People that want " Inſtruction lie open to the Seducement of popiſh " and ill affected Perſons; we therefore moſt hum- " bly beſeech your Majeſty, that ſuch deprived and " ſilenced Miniſters may by Licenſe, or Permiſſion " of the *Reverend Fathers* in their ſeveral Dioceſes, " inſtruct and preach unto their People in ſuch Pa- " riſhes and Places where they may be employed, ſo " as they apply themſelves in their Miniſtry to " wholeſome Doctrine and Exhortation, and live " quietly and peaceably in their Callings; and ſhall " not by writing or preaching impugn Things eſta- " bliſh'd by publick Authority. They alſo pray, " That Diſpenſations for Pluralities of Benefices " with Cure of Souls, may be prohibited; and, " that Toleration of Non-Reſidency may be re- " ſtrained. And foraſmuch as Excommunication is " exerciſed upon an incredible Number of the com- " mon People, by the ſubordinate Officers of the " Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, for ſmall Cauſes, by

In favour of the Puritans.

King James I. 1610.

" the ſole Information of a baſe *Apparitor*, ſo that " the *Poor* are driven to exceſſive Expences for Mat- " ters of ſmall Moment, while the *Rich* eſcape that " Cenſure by *Commutation of Penance*; they there- " fore moſt humbly pray for a Reformation in the " Premiſes."

In another Petition they repreſent to his Majeſty the great Grievance of the COMMISSION ECCLESIASTICAL, and in all Humility beſeech his Majeſty to ratify the Law they had prepared for reducing it within reaſonable and convenient Limits; they ſay, " That the *Statute* 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. by which the *Com-* " *miſſion* is authorized, has been found dangerous and " inconvenient on many Accounts:

Reaſons for amending the Act of Supremacy.

Firſt, " Becauſe it enables the making ſuch Com- " miſſion to one *Subject born* as well as more.

Secondly, " Becauſe under Colour of ſome Words " in the Statute, whereby the Commiſſioners are " authorized to act according to the Tenor and Ef- " fect of your Highneſs's Letters Patents, and by " Letters Patents grounded thereon, they do fine " and impriſon, and exerciſe other Authorities not " belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, reſto- " red to the Crown by this *Statute*; for by the ſame " Rule your Highneſs may by your Letters Patents " authorize them to fine without ſtint, and impriſon " without Limitation of Time; as alſo, according " to Will and Diſcretion, without regard to any " Laws Spiritual and Temporal; they may impoſe " utter Confiſcation of Goods, Forfeiture of Lands, " yea, and the taking away of Limb and Life it ſelf, " and this for any Matter appertaining to *Spiritual* " *Juriſdiction*, which could never be the Intent of the " Law.

Thirdly, " Becauſe the King by the ſame Statute, " may ſet up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion in every " Dioceſe, County, and Pariſh of *England*, and " thereby all Juriſdiction may be taken from Biſhops " and transferred to Lay-Men.

King James I. 1610.

Fourthly, " Becauſe every petty Offence apper-
" taining to Spiritual Juriſdiction is by Colour of the
" ſaid Words and Letters Patents made ſubject to
" Excommunication, whereby the ſmalleſt Offenders
" may be obliged to travel from the moſt remote
" Parts of the Kingdom to *London*, to their utter
" Ruin.

Fifthly, " Becauſe 'tis very hard, if not impoſſi-
" ble, to know what Matters or Offences are included
" within their Commiſſion, as appertaining to Spiri-
" tual and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, it being un-
" known what ancient Canons or Laws Spiritual are
" in force.

And for reforming the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

" As for the *Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical* it ſelf, ground-
" ed on the *Statute* abovementioned, it is a very
" great Grievance, becauſe,

1. " The ſame Men have both Spiritual and
" Temporal Juriſdiction, and may force the Party
" by *Oath* to accuſe himſelf, and alſo enquire thereof
" by a Jury; and, *Laſtly*, May inflict for the ſame
" Offence, and at the ſame Time, by one and the
" ſame Sentence, both a *ſpiritual* and *temporal* Pu-
" niſhment.

2. " Whereas upon Sentences of Deprivation, or
" other ſpiritual Cenſures, given by force of ordi-
" nary Juriſdiction, an *Appeal* lies for the Party
" grieved; this is here excluded by expreſs Words
" of the *Commiſſion*. Alſo, here is to be a Trial
" by Jury, but no Remedy by *Traverſe* or *Attaint*.
" Nor can a Man have any Writ of Error, though
" Judgment be given againſt him amounting to the
" taking away all his Goods, and impriſoning him
" for Life, yea, to the adjudging him in the Caſe of
" *Præmunire*, whereby his Lands are forfeited, and
" he put out of the Protection of the Law.

3. " Whereas penal Laws, and Offences againſt
" them, cannot be determined in other Courts, or
" by other Perſons, than thoſe entruſted by Par-
" liament, yet the Execution of many ſuch Statutes

King James I. 1610.

" made ſince the firſt *Eliz.* are committed to the " Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, who may inflict the " Puniſhments contained in the Statutes, being *Præ-* " *munire*, and of other high Nature, and ſo inforce a " Man upon his *Oath* to accuſe himſelf, or elſe in- " flict other temporal Puniſhments at Pleaſure; " and after this, the Party ſhall be ſubject in the " Courts mentioned in the Acts, to Puniſhments by " the ſame Acts appointed and inflicted.

4. " The *Commiſſion* gives Authority to oblige " Men, not only to give Recognizance for their " Appearance from Time to Time, but alſo for " performance of whatſoever ſhall be by the Com- " miſſioners ordered, and to pay ſuch Fees as the " Commiſſioners ſhall think fit.

Grievances in the Execution of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion

" The EXECUTION of the *Commiſſion* is no leſs " grievous to the Subject; for, (1.) Lay-Men are " puniſhed for ſpeaking of the *Simony*, and other " Miſdemeanors of *Spiritual Men*, though the Thing " ſpoken be true, and tends to the inducing ſome " condign Puniſhment. (2.) Theſe Commiſſioners " uſually allot to Women, diſcontented, and unwil- " ling to live with their Huſbands, ſuch Portions and " Maintenance as they think fit, to the great En- " couragement of Wives to be diſobedient to their " Huſbands. And, (3.) *Purſuevants*, and other " Miniſters employed in apprehending ſuſpected Of- " fenders, or in ſearching for ſuppoſed ſcandalous " Books, break open Mens Houſes, Cloſets and " Deſks, rifling all Corners and private Places, as " in Caſes of High Treaſon.

A further Grievance is the *Stay of Writs of Prohibition, Habeas Corpus & de Homine replegiando*, which are a conſiderable Relief to the oppreſſed Subjects of the Kingdom. His Majeſty, in order to ſupport the inferior Courts againſt the principal Courts of Common Law, had ordered Things ſo, that *Writs* had been more ſparingly granted, and with greater Caution. They therefore pray his Majeſty, to re-

quire

quire his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to grant ſuch Writs in Caſes wherein they lie. *King* James I. 1610.

But one of the greateſt, and moſt threatning Grievances, was the King's granting Letters Patents for *Monopolies*, and Licenſes for Wine, Ale-houſes, ſelling *Sea-Coal*, &c. which they pray his Majeſty to forbear for the future, that the Diſeaſe may be cured, and others of like Nature prevented. But the King, inſtead of complying with his Parliament, was ſo diſguſted with their Remonſtrance, that he diſſolved them [*December* 31ſt] without paſſing any one Act this Seſſion, after they had continued above ſix Years; and was ſo out of Humour with the Spirit of *Engliſh* Liberty that was growing in the Houſes, that he reſolved (if poſſible) to govern without Parliaments for the future. This was done by the Advice of *Bancroft*, and other ſervile Court Flatterers, and was the beginning of that Miſchief (ſays *Wilſon*) which, when it came to a full Ripeneſs, made ſuch a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms as never will be got out of the Biſhops Lawn Sleeves. Fuller, B. X. p. 56. *Hiſtory of King* James, p 46.

From the Time that King *James* came to the *Engliſh* Throne, and long before, if we may believe Dr. *Heylin*, his Majeſty had projected the reſtoring Epiſcopacy in the Kirk of *Scotland*, and reducing the two Kingdoms to one uniform Government and Diſcipline; for this purpoſe Archbiſhop *Bancroft* maintained a ſecret Correſpondence with him, and corrupted one *Norton*, an *Engliſh* Bookſeller at *Edinburgh* [in the Year 1589.] to betray the *Scots* Affairs to him, as he confeſſed with Tears at his Examination. The many curious Articles he employed him to ſearch into are ſet down in *Calderwood*'s Hiſtory, *p.* 246. In the Month of *January*, 1591. his Letters to Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* were intercepted, wherein he adviſes him, "To give the Queen of *England* more honourable Titles, and to praiſe the Church of *England* above all others. He marvell'd why he came not "to *England*, and aſſured him he would be well ac- *Affairs of* Scotland. Peirce, p. 166.

King James I. 1610.

" cepted by my Lord of *Canterbury's Grace*, and " well rewarded if he came." This *Adamſon* was afterwards excommunicated, but repenting of what he had done againſt the Kirk deſired Abſolution; Part of his Confeſſion run thus, " I grant I was more " buſy with ſome Biſhops in *England*, in prejudice of " the Diſcipline of our *Kirk*, partly when I was " there, and partly by Intelligence ſince, than be- " came a good Chriſtian, much leſs a faithful Pa- " ſtor; neither is there any Thing that more aſha- " meth me, than my often deceiving and abuſing " the *Kirk* heretofore by Confeſſions, Subſcriptions, " and Proteſtations."

Upon his Majeſty's arrival in *England* he took all Occaſions to diſcover his Averſion to the *Scots* Preſbyterians, taxing them with Saucineſs, Ill-manners, and an implacable Enmity to kingly Power; he nominated Biſhops to the thirteen *Scots* Biſhopricks which himſelf had formerly aboliſhed; but their Revenues being annexed to the Crown, their Dignities were little more than Titular. In the Parliament held at *Perth* in the Year 1606. his Majeſty obtained an Act to reſtore the Biſhops to their Temporalities, and to repeal the Act of *Annexation*; by which they were reſtored to their Votes in Parliament, and had the Title of *Lords of Parliament*, contrary to the Senſe both of Clergy and Laity, as appears by the following Proteſt of the General Aſſembly.

Courſe of Scots Conformity, p. 190.

" IN the Name of Chriſt, and in the Name of the " Kirk in general, whereof the Realm hath reap- " ed Comfort this Forty ſix Years; alſo in the Name " of our Preſbyteries, from which we received our " Commiſſion; and in our own Names, as Paſtors " and Office-Bearers within the ſame, for the diſ- " charging of our neceſſary Duty, and for the diſ- " burdening of our Conſciences, we except and pro- " teſt againſt the Erection, Confirmation or Ratifi- " cation of the ſaid *Biſhopricks* and *Biſhops* by this pre-

" ſent

" ſent Parliament; and humbly pray, that this our " Proteſtation may be admitted and regiſter'd among " the Records." *King* James I. 1610.

In the Convention at *Linlithgow*, *December* 12th. Ib. p. 49. conſiſting of Noblemen, Stateſmen, and ſome Court Miniſters, it was agreed, that the Biſhops ſhould be *perpetual Moderators* of the Kirk Aſſemblies, under certain Cautions, and with a Declaration, that they had no purpoſe to ſubvert the Diſcipline of the *Kirk*, or to exerciſe any tyrannous or unlawful Juriſdiction over their Brethren; but the Body of the Miniſters being uneaſy at this, another Convention was held at *Linlithgow*, 1608. and a Committee appointed to compromiſe the Difference; the Committee conſiſted of two Earls, and two Lords, as his Majeſty's Commiſſioners; five new Biſhops; two Univerſity Men, three Miniſters on one part, and ten for the other; they met at *Falkland*, *May* 4. 1609. and debated, (1.) Whether the Moderators of Kirk Aſſemblies ſhould be conſtant or circular; and, (2.) Whether the *Caveats* ſhould be obſerved. But coming to no Agreement they adjourned to *Striveling*, where the Biſhops with great Difficulty obtained their Point. And to encreaſe their Power, his Majeſty was pleaſed next Year [in the Month of *Feb.* 1610.] contrary to Law, to put the *High Commiſſion* into their Hands.

But ſtill They wanted the *Sanction of a general Aſſembly*, and a *Spiritual Character*; to obtain the former an Aſſembly was held at *Glaſgow*, *June* 8th. 1610. Means having been uſed by the Courtiers to model it to their Mind. In that coſtly Aſſembly (ſays my Author) the Biſhops were declared *Moderators* in every Dioceſan Aſſembly, and they or their Deputies Moderators in their weekly Exerciſes; Ordination and Deprivation of Miniſters, Viſitation of Kirks, Excommunication and Abſolution, with Preſentations to Benefices, were pinned to the Lawn Sleeves; and it was farther voted, (1.) That every Mi-

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland. Ibid. p. 53.

King James I. 1610.

Miniſter at his Entry ſhall ſwear Obedience to his Ordinary. (2.) That no Miniſter ſhall preach or ſpeak againſt the Acts of this Aſſembly. (3.) That the Queſtion of the Parity or Imparity of Paſtors ſhall not be mentioned in the Pulpit under pain of Deprivation. This was a vaſt Advance upon the Conſtitution of the Kirk.

Ordination of their Biſhops.

To obtain a *Spiritual Character* ſuperior to the Order of *Preſbyters*, it was neceſſary that the Biſhops elect ſhould be conſecrated by ſome of the ſame Order; for this purpoſe the King ſent for three of them into *England* (*viz.* Mr. *Spotſwood* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Lamb* Biſhop of *Brechen*, and Mr. *Hamilton* Biſhop of *Galloway*) and iſſued a Commiſſion under the Great Seal to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Rocheſter*, requiring them to proceed to the Conſecration of the abovementioned Biſhops according to the *Engliſh* Ordinal: but *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely* was of Opinion, that before their Conſecration they ought to be made *Prieſts*, becauſe they had not been ordained by a Biſhop. This the *Scots* Divines were unwilling to admit, for fear of the Conſequences among their own Countrymen; for what muſt they conclude concerning the Miniſters of *Scotland*, if their Ordination as Preſbyters was not valid? *Bancroft* therefore yielded, that where Biſhops could not be had, Ordination by Preſbyters muſt be valid, otherwiſe the Character of moſt of the reformed Churches might be queſtioned. *Abbot* Biſhop of *London* and others were of Opinion, that there was no Neceſſity of paſſing through the inferior Orders of Deacon and Prieſt, but that the Epiſcopal Character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the Example of St. *Ambroſe*, *Nectarius*, *Eucherius*, and others, who from mere Lay-Men were advanced at once into the Epiſcopal Chair. But whether this Suppoſition does not rather weaken the Arguments for Biſhops being a diſtinct Order from Preſbyters, I leave with the

Collyer, p. 702.

the Reader. However, the *Scotch* Divines were conſecrated in the Chapel at *London Houſe* [*October* 21. 1610.] and upon their Return into *Scotland* they conveyed their new Character in the ſame Manner to their Brethren. Thus the King, by an uſurped Supremacy over the Kirk of *Scotland*, and other violent and indirect Means, ſubverted their Conſtitution; and contrary to the Genius of the People, and the Proteſtation of the General Aſſembly, the Biſhops were made *Lords of Council*, *Lords of Parliament*, and the *King's High Commiſſioners* in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; but with all their high Titles they ſat uneaſy in their Chairs, being generally hated both by the Miniſters and People.

King James I. 1610. Calderwood, p. 644.

About ten Days after this Conſecration Dr. *Richard Bancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, departed this Life; he was born at *Farnworth* in *Lancaſhire*, 1544. and educated in *Jeſus College*, *Cambridge*. He was firſt Chaplain to *Cox* Biſhop of *Ely*, who gave him the Rectory of *Teverſham* near *Cambridge*. In the Year 1585. he proceeded D. D. and being ambitious of Preferment got into the Service of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, by whoſe Recommendation he was made Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*. Here he ſignalized himſelf by preaching againſt the Puritans; a ſure Way to Preferment in thoſe Times. He alſo writ againſt the *Diſcipline*; and was the firſt in the Church of *England* that openly maintained the *Divine Right* of the Order of Biſhops. While he ſat in the High Commiſſion he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an uncommon Zeal againſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, for which he was preferr'd, firſt to the Biſhoprick of *London*, and upon *Whitgift*'s Death to the See of *Canterbury*; how he behaved in that High Station has been ſufficiently related. This Prelate left behind him no extraordinary Character for Piety, Learning, Hoſpitality, or any other Epiſcopal Quality. He was of a rough, uncourtly Temper; a Tool of the Prerogative, and an Enemy to the Laws and Conſtitutions of his Country. Some have

Archbiſhop Bancroft's *Death and Character.*

King James I. 1610.

have repreſented him as inclined to Popery, becauſe he maintained ſeveral ſecular Prieſts in his Houſe; but this was done (ſay his Advocates) to keep up the Controverſy between them and the Jeſuits. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "That he underſtood the Church "excellently well, that he had almoſt reſcued it out "of the Hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very "much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-Con-"formiſts; and that he countenanced Men of "Learning." His Lordſhip might have added, That he was covetous, paſſionate, ill-natur'd, and a cruel Perſecutor of good Men. That he laid aſide that Hoſpitality that becomes a Biſhop, and lived without State or Equipage, which gave Occaſion to the following Satire upon his Death, which happened *Nov.* 2. 1610. *ætatis* 66.

Vol. I. P. 88.

Here lies his Grace in cold Clay clad,
Who died for Want of what he had.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Archbiſhop BANCROFT *to the Death of King* JAMES I.

King James I. 1611.

BANCROFT was ſucceeded by Dr. GEORGE ABBOT, Biſhop of *London*, a Divine of a quite different Spirit from his Predeceſſor; he was a ſound Proteſtant, a thorough Calviniſt, an avowed Enemy to Popery, and even ſuſpected of Puritaniſm, becauſe he relaxed the penal Laws, whereby, ſays Lord *Clarendon*, "He unravell'd all that his Predeceſſor had "been doing for many Years, who, if he had lived "a little longer, would have ſubdued the unruly Spi- "rit of the Non-Conformiſts, and extinguiſhed that "Fire in *England* which had been kindled at *Geneva*; "but ABBOT (ſays his Lordſhip) conſidered the "Chriſtian Religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred "and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe Men moſt "who did that moſt furiouſly. He enquired but "little after the ſtrict Obſervation of the Diſcipline "of the Church, or Conformity to the Articles or "Canons eſtabliſhed, and did not think ſo ill of the "[Preſbyterian] Diſcipline as he ought to have "done, but if Men prudently forbore a publick re- "viling at the Hierarchy and Eccleſiaſtical Govern- "ment, they were ſecure from any Inquiſition from "him, and were equally preferr'd. His Houſe was "a Sanctuary to the moſt eminent of the factious "Party, and he licenſed their pernicious Writings." Such was the Language of the noble Hiſtorian againſt one of the moſt religious and grave Prelates of his Age, and a ſteady Friend of the Conſtitution in Church and State. If *Abbot*'s moderate Meaſures had been purſued, the Liberties of *England* had been ſecured, Popery diſcountenanced, and the Church prevented from running into thoſe Exceſſes which afterwards proved its Ruin.

Abbot *made Archbiſhop.*

B. I. p. 88.

The

King James I. 1611.

The Tranſlation of the Bible, now in uſe, was finiſhed this Year; it was undertaken at the Requeſt of the Puritan Divines in the *Hampton-Court* Conference; and being the laſt, it may not be unacceptable to ſet before the Reader in one View, the various Tranſlations of the Bible into the *Engliſh* Language.

Account of all the Tranſlations of the Bible into Engliſh.

The New Teſtament was firſt tranſlated by Dr. *Wickliffe* out of the vulgar *Latin* about the Year 1380. and is intitled, *The New Teſtament, with the Leſſons taken out of the old Law, read in Churches according to the Uſe of* Sarum.

Wickliffe's *N.T.* 1380.

Lewis's *Prolegom. to* Wickliffe's *New Teſt.*

The next Tranſlation was by *William Tyndal*, printed at *Antwerp*, 1526. in Octavo, without a Name, and without either Calendar, References in the Margin, or Table at the End; it was corrected by the Author, and printed in the Years 1534. and 1536. having paſs'd through five Editions in *Holland*.

Durel. Calmet. Tindal's *New Teſt.* 1526.

In the mean Time *Tyndal* was tranſlating ſeveral Books of the Old Teſtament, as the *Pentateuch*, and the Book of *Jonas*, printed 1531; the Books of *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the four *Books of Kings*, the two *Books of Chronicles* and *Nehemiah*. About the ſame Time *George Joy*, ſometime Fellow of *Peter College*, *Cambridge*, tranſlated the *Pſalter*, the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, and *the Song of Moſes*, and printed them beyond Sea.

Firſt Edition of the Bible, 1535.

In the Year 1535. the whole Bible was printed the firſt Time in Folio, adorned with wooden Cuts, and Scripture References; it was done by ſeveral Hands, and dedicated to King *Henry* VIII. by *Miles Coverdale*. In the laſt Page 'tis ſaid to be printed in the Year of our Lord 1535. and finiſh'd the fourth Day of *October*. This Bible was reprinted in Quarto, 1550. and again with a new Title, 1553.

Mathew's *Bible*, 1537.

Two Years after the Bible was reprinted in *Engliſh*, with this Title, *The Holy Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truelye and purelye tranſlated into* Engliſh *by* [*a fictitious Name*] THOMAS MATHEW, 1537. It

has a Calendar with an Almanack; and an Exhortation to the Study of the Scripture, ſigned *J. R. John Rogers*; a Table of Contents and Marriages; Marginal Notes, a Prologue; and in the *Apocalypſe* ſome wooden Cuts. At the beginning of the Prophets are printed on the Top of the Page *R.G. Richard Grafton*, and at the Bottom *E. W. Edward Whitchurch*, who were the Printers. This Tranſlation, to the End of the Book of *Chronicles*, and the Book of *Jonah*, with all the New Teſtament, was *Tyndal*'s; the reſt was *Miles Coverdale*'s and *John Rogers*'s. *King* James I. 1611.

In the Year 1539. the abovementioned Tranſlation having been reviſed and corrected by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, was reprinted by *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, *cum Privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum*. It has this Title, *The Bible in* Engliſhe, *that is to ſay, the Content of the Holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truly tranſlated after the Veritie of the* Hebrue *and* Greke *Texts, by the diligent Study of divers excellent learned Men, expert in the foreſayde Tongues*. In this Edition *Tyndal*'s Prologue and Marginal Notes are omitted. It was reprinted the following Year in a large Folio, proper for Churches, begun at *Paris*, and finiſhed at *London*. In the Year 1541. it was printed again by *Grafton*, with a Preface by *Cranmer*, having been reviſed by *Tonſtal* and *Heath*, Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*. But after this Time the Popiſh Party prevailing at Court, there were no more Editions of the Bible in this Reign. *Cranmer's Bible*, 1539.

In the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign the Bible of 1541. was reprinted, with *Cranmer*'s Prologue; and the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, being firſt compoſed and eſtabliſhed in this Reign, the Tranſlation of the Pſalter, commonly called the *Old Tranſlation*, in uſe at this Day, was taken from this Edition. Next Year *Coverdale*'s Teſtament of 1535. was reprinted with *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe; but there was no new Tranſlation. 1548. 1549.

In

King James I. 1611.

In the Reign of Queen *Mary* [1655.] the Exiles at *Geneva* undertook a new Tranſlation, commonly called the *Geneva Bible*; the Names of the Tranſlators were *Coverdale*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Whittingham*, *Sampſon*, *Cole*, *Knox*, *Bodleigh* and *Pullain*, who publiſhed the New Teſtament firſt in a ſmall Twelves, 1557. by *Conrad Badius*. This was the firſt that was printed with numerical Verſes. The whole Bible was publiſhed afterwards with marginal Notes, 1559. dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*. The Tranſlators ſay, "They had been employed in this Work Night and "Day, with Fear and Trembling — and they pro- "teſt from their Conſciences, that in every Point "and Word they had faithfully render'd the Text to "the beſt of their Knowledge." But the Marginal Notes having given Offence it was not ſuffered to be publiſhed in *England* till the Death of Archbiſhop *Parker*, when it was printed [1576.] by *Chriſtopher Barker*, in Quarto, *cum Privilegio*, and met with ſuch Acceptance, that it paſt through Twenty or Thirty Editions in this Reign.

Geneva *Bible*, 1559.

Biſhops Bible.

Cranmer's Edition of the Bible was reprinted in the Years 1562. and 1566. for the Uſe of the Churches. But complaint being made of the Incorrectneſs of it, Archbiſhop *Parker* projected a new Tranſlation, and aſſigned the ſeveral Books of the Old and New Teſtament to about fourteen Dignitaries of the Church, moſt of whom being *Biſhops*, it was from them called THE BISHOPS BIBLE, and was printed in an elegant and pompous Folio, in the Year 1568. with Maps and Cuts. In the Year 1572. it was reprinted with ſome Alterations and Additions, and ſeveral Times afterwards, but without any Amendments.

1568.

Rhemiſt *Teſtament*, 1582.

In the Year 1582. the Roman Catholick Exiles tranſlated the New Teſtament for the Uſe of their People, and publiſhed it in Quarto, with this Title, *The New Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, tranſlated faithfully into* Engliſh *out of the authentick* Latin, *according to the beſt corrected Copies of the ſame, diligently conferred with the*

the Greek *and other Editions in divers Languages; with Arguments of Books and Chapters, Annotations, and other neceſſary Helps for the better Underſtanding of the Text, and eſpecially for the Diſcovery of the Corruptions of divers late Tranſlations, and for clearing the Controverſies in Religion of theſe Days.* IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF RHEMES. Printed by *John Fogny*. The Old Teſtament of this Tranſlation was firſt publiſhed at *Doway* in two Tomes Quarto, the firſt in the Year 1609. the other 1610. by *Lawrence Kellam*, at the Sign of the *Holy Lamb*, with a Preface and Tables; the Authors are ſaid to be Cardinal *Allen*, ſometime Principal of *St. Mary Hall, Oxford*, *Richard Briſtow*, Fellow of *Exeter College*, and *Gregory Martin* of *St. John's College*. The Annotations were made by *Tho. Worthington*, B. A. of *Oxford*; all of them Exiles for their Religion, and ſettled in Popiſh Seminaries beyond Sea. The Miſtakes of this Tranſlation, and the falſe Gloſſes put upon the Text, were expoſed by the learned Dr. *Fulke* and Mr. *Cartwright*.

King James I. 1611.

And Bible; 1609. 1610.

At the Requeſt of the Puritans in the *Hampton-Court* Conference, King *James* appointed a new Tranſlation to be undertaken by the moſt learned Men of both Univerſities, under the following Regulations, (1.) That they keep as cloſe as poſſible to the *Biſhops Bible*. (2.) That the Names of the *Holy Writers* be retained according to vulgar Uſe. (3.) That the old Eccleſiaſtical Words be kept, as *Church* not to be tranſlated *Congregation*, &c. (4.) That when a Word has divers Significations, that be kept which has been moſt commonly uſed by the Fathers. (5.) That the Diviſion of Chapters be not alter'd. (6.) No Marginal Notes but for the Explication of a *Hebrew* or *Greek* Word. (7.) Marginal References may be ſet down. The other Regulations relate to the Tranſlators comparing Notes, and agreeing among themſelves; they were to conſult the modern Tranſlations of the *French*, *Dutch*, *German*, &c. but to vary as little as poſſible from the *Biſhops Bible*.

Laſt Tranſlation by Order of K. James I. 1611.

King James I. 1611.

The King's Commiſſion bears date 1604. but the Work was not begun till 1606. and finiſhed 1611. Fifty four of the chief Divines of both Univerſities were nominated; but ſome of them dying ſoon after, the Work was undertook by Forty ſeven, who were divided into ſix Companies; the firſt Company tranſlated from *Geneſis* to the firſt Book of *Chronicles*; the ſecond to the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*; the third tranſlated the four *greater Prophets*, with the *Lamentations* and twelve *ſmaller Prophets*; the fourth had the *Apocrypha*; the fifth had the four *Goſpels*, *the Acts and the Revelations*; and the ſixth the *Canonical Epiſtles*. The Work being finiſhed, and reviſed by learned Men from both Univerſities, the publiſhing it was committed to the Care of Biſhop *Bilſon* and Dr. *Miles Smith*, which laſt writ the Preface that now ſtands before it. It was firſt printed in the Year 1611. with a Dedication to King *James*, and is the ſame that is now read in all the Churches.

K. James's *Zeal againſt* Vorſtius.

Upon the Death of *Arminius* the Curators of the Univerſity of *Leyden* choſe *Conradus Vorſtius* his Succeſſor. This Divine had publiſhed a very exceptionable Treatiſe concerning the *Nature and Properties of God*, in which he maintained, that *God had a Body*; and denied his proper *Immenſity* and *Omniſcience*, as they are commonly underſtood. He maintained the Divine Being to be limited and reſtrained, and aſcribed Quantity and Magnitude to him. The Clergy of *Amſterdam* remonſtrated to the States againſt his Settlement at *Leyden*, the Country being already too much divided about the *Arminian Tenets*. To ſtrengthen their Hands they applied to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to repreſent the Caſe to King *James*; and prevailed with the Curators to defer his Induction into the Profeſſorſhip till his Majeſty had read over his Book; which having done, he declared *Vorſtius* to be an *Arch-Heretick*, a *Peſt*, a *Monſter of Blaſphemies*; and to ſhew his Deteſtation of his Book, ordered it to be burnt publickly in St. *Paul's Church Yard*,

Brandt's, *Hiſt.* Vol. II. p. 97.

Yard, and at both the Univerſities; in the Concluſion of his Letter to the States on this occaſion he ſays, "As "God has honoured us with the Title of *Defender of the* "*Faith*, ſo (if you incline to retain *Vorſtius* any longer) "we ſhall be obliged not only to ſeparate and cut our "ſelves off from ſuch falſe and heretical Churches, "but likewiſe to call upon all the reſt of the reformed "Churches to enter upon the ſame common Conſul- "tation, how we may beſt extinguiſh and ſend back "to Hell theſe curſed [*Arminian*] Hereſies that have "newly broken forth. And as for our ſelves, we "ſhall be neceſſitated to forbid all the Youth of our "Subjects to frequent an Univerſity that is ſo infect- "ed as that of *Leyden*." His Majeſty alſo ſent over ſundry other Memorials, in which he ſtiles *Vorſtius a wicked Atheiſt*; Arminius *an Enemy to God*. And *Bertius* having writ concerning the Apoſtaſy of the Saints, he ſaid the Author was *worthy of the Fire*. *King James I.* 1612.

At length the King publiſhed his Royal Declaration in ſeveral Languages, containing an Account of all he had done in the Affair of *Vorſtius*, with his Reaſons; which were, *his Zeal for the Glory of God, his Love for his Friends and Allies* [*the States*], *and Fear of the ſame Contagion in his own Kingdom*; but their *High Mightineſſes* did not like the King of *England*'s medling ſo much in their Affairs. However, *Vorſtius* was diſmiſſed to *Gouda*, where he lived privately till the *Synod of Dort*, when he was baniſhed the ſeven Provinces; he then retired to *Tonninghen*, in the Dukedom of *Holſtein*, where he died a profeſſed *Socinian*, Sept. 19. 1622. 1612. Bayle's Dict. Crit.

His Majeſty had a further Opportunity of diſcovering his Zeal againſt Hereſy this Year, upon two of his own Subjects; one was *Bartholomew Legate* an *Arian*; he was a comely Perſon, of a black Complexion, and about forty Years of Age, of a fluent Tongue, excellently well verſed in the Scriptures, and of an unblameable Converſation. King *James* himſelf, and ſome of his *Hereticks burnt.* Barth. Legate. Fuller, B. X. p. 63.

King James I. 1612.

Biſhops, conferr'd with him, but could not convince him of his Errors. Having lain a conſiderable Time in *Newgate* he was at length convened before Biſhop *King* in his Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s, who with ſome other Divines and Lawyers there aſſembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate *Heretick*, and certified the ſame into *Chancery* by a *Significavit*, delivering him up to the ſecular Power; whereupon the King ſigned a Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* to the Sheriffs of *London*, who brought him to *Smithfield* *March* 18th. and in the midſt of a vaſt Concourſe of People burnt him to Death. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake if he would recant, but he refuſed it.

And Edward Wightman. Fuller, B. X. p. 64.

Next Month *Edward Wightman* of *Burton* upon *Trent*, was convicted of Hereſy by Dr. *Neile* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and was burnt at *Litchfield* *April* 11th. He was charged in the Warrant with the Hereſies of *Arius*, *Cerinthus*, *Manichæus*, and the *Anabaptiſts*—There was another condemned to the Fire for the ſame Hereſies; but the Conſtancy of the abovemention'd Sufferers moving Compaſſion in the Spectators, it was thought better to ſuffer him to linger out a miſerable Life in *Newgate*, which was done accordingly.

State of the Court.

Nothing was minded at Court but Luxury and Diverſions. Affairs of the Church were left to the Biſhops, and State Affairs to the Civil Officers, while the King himſelf ſunk into a moſt indolent and inactive Life, being govern'd by a Favourite, in chooſing whom he had no regard to Virtue or Merit, but to Youth, Beauty, Gracefulneſs of Perſon, and fine Clothes, *&c.* This expoſed him to the Contempt of foreign Courts, who from this Time paid him very little Regard. At the ſame Time he was laviſh and profuſe in his Expences and Donations to his hungry Courtiers, which exhauſted his *Exchequer*, and obliged him to have recourſe to arbitrary and illegal Methods of raiſing Money by the Prerogative; this

loſt him the Hearts of his People, which with all his *Kingcraft* he could never recover, and laid the Foundation of all thoſe Calamities, which in the next Reign over-turned both Church and State. *King* Jame. I. 1613.

But while the King and his Miniſters were ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of *England*, it pleaſed Almighty God to lay the Foundation of their Recovery by the Marriage of the King's Daughter *Elizabeth* to *Frederick* V. Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, from whom the preſent Royal Family is deſcended. The Match was promoted by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and univerſally approved by all the Puritans in *England*, as the grand Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the Crown in caſe of Failure of Heirs from the King's Son. Mr. *Echard* ſays, They foretold by a diſtant Foreſight, the Succeſſion of this Family to the Crown; and it muſt be owned, that they were always the Delight of the *Puritans*, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all Occaſions exerted themſelves for the Support of the Family in their loweſt Circumſtances. *King marries his Daughter to the Elector* Palatine.

The Solemnity of theſe Nuptials was retarded ſome Months, by the untimely Death of HENRY Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldeſt Son, who died *Nov.* 6th. 1612. and was buried the 7th. of *December* following, being Eighteen Years and eight Months old. Some have ſuſpected that the King his Father cauſed him to be poiſoned, though there is no certain Proof of it; the Body being opened, his Liver appeared white, and his Spleen and Diaphragma black, his Gall without Choler, and his Lungs ſpotted with much Corruption, and his Head full of Blood in ſome Places, and in others full of Water. 'Tis certain the King was jealous of his Son's Popularity, and aſked one Day, *If he would bury him alive*; and upon his Death commanded, that *no Perſon ſhould appear at Court in Mourning for him.* This Prince was one of the moſt accompliſhed Perſons of his Age, ſober, chaſt, temperate, religious, full of Honour and Probity, *Death and Character of* Henry *Prince of* Wales. Rapin, p. 328, 340.

King James I. 1613.

bity, and never heard to ſwear an Oath: Neither the Example of the King his Father, nor of the whole Court, was capable of corrupting him in that reſpect. He had a great Soul, noble and generous Thoughts, and was as much diſpleaſed with Trifles as his Father was fond of them. He had frequently ſaid, that *if ever he mounted the Throne, his firſt Care ſhould be to try to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of* England. As this could not be done without each Parties making ſome Conceſſions; and as ſuch a Proceeding was directly contrary to the Temper of the Court and Clergy, he was ſuſpected to countenance *Puritaniſm*. Prince *Henry* was mild and affable, and yet of a warlike Genius; and to ſay all in a Word, he was the Darling of the Puritans, and of all good Men; for though he lived above Eighteen Years, no Hiſtorian has taxed him with any Vice.

New Methods of Raiſing Money.

To furniſh the *Exchequer* with Money ſeveral new Projects were ſet on foot, as, (1.) His Majeſty created a new Order of *Knights Baronets*; the Number not to exceed two Hundred, and the Expence of the Patent one Thouſand ninety five Pounds. (2.) His Majeſty ſold Letters Patents for Monopolies. (3.) He obliged ſuch as were worth Forty Pounds a Year to compound for not being Knights. (4.) He ſet to ſale the higheſt Honours and Dignities of the Nation: The Price for a Baron was ten Thouſand Pounds; for a Viſcount fifteen Thouſand; and twenty Thouſand for an Earl. (5.) Thoſe who had defective Titles were obliged to compound to ſet them right. And, (6.) The Star-Chamber raiſed their Fines to an exceſſive Degree. But theſe Projects not anſwering the King's Neceſſities, he was obliged at laſt to call a Parliament. When the Houſes met they fell immediately upon Grievances, upon which the King diſſolved them, before one Statute was enacted, and committed ſome of the principal Members of the Houſe of Commons to Priſon, without admitting them to bail, reſolving again to raiſe Money without Parliament.

This

This Year the Articles of the Church of *Ireland* were ratified and confirmed; the Reformation of that Kingdom had made but a ſlow Progreſs in the late Reign, by reaſon of the Wars between the *Engliſh* and Natives, and the ſmall Proportion of the former to the latter. The Natives had a ſtrong Prejudice againſt the *Engliſh*, as coming into the Country by *Conqueſt*; and being bigotted Papiſts, their Prejudices were encreaſed by King *Henry* VIIIth's throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, which threaten'd the Loſs of their Religion, as well as their Civil Liberties. In the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary* they were more quiet, when a Law was paſſed againſt bringing in the *Scots* and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was a great Hindrance to the Progreſs of the Proteſtant Religion in that Country; however, an Univerſity was erected at *Dublin* in the Year 1593. and furniſhed with learned Profeſſors from *Cambridge* of the *Calviniſtical Perſuaſion*. *James Uſher*, afterwards the famous Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, was the firſt Student that was enter'd into the College. The Diſcipline of the *Iriſh* Church was according to the Model of the *Engliſh*; Biſhops were nominated to the Popiſh Dioceſes, but their Revenues being alienated, or in the Hands of Papiſts, or very much diminiſhed by the Wars, they were obliged to throw the Revenues of ſeveral Biſhopricks together, to make a tolerable Subſiſtence for one. The Caſe was the ſame with the inferior Clergy, forty Shillings a Year being a common Allowance for a Vicar in the Province of *Connaught*, and ſometimes but ſixteen. Thus (ſays Mr. *Collyer*) the Authority of the Biſhops went off, and the People followed their own Fancies in the Choice of Religion.

King James I. 1615.

Abſtract of the Reformation in Ireland.

At the *Hampton-Court* Conference the King propoſed ſending Preachers into *Ireland*, complaining that he was but half Monarch of that Kingdom, the Bodies of the People being only ſubject to his Authority, while

Riſe of the Scots *Settlements in* Ireland.

King James I. 1615.

their Conſciences were at the Command of the Pope; but it does not appear that any Attempts were made to convert them till after the Year 1607. when the Act of the 3d and 4th of *Philip* and *Mary* being repealed, the Citizens of *London* undertook for the Province of *Ulſter*. Theſe Adventurers built *Londonderry*, fortified *Colrain*, and purchaſed a great Tract of Land in the adjacent Parts. They ſent over conſiderable Numbers of Planters, but were at a Loſs for Miniſters; for the beneficed Clergy of the Church of *England* being at eaſe in the Enjoyment of their Preferments, would not engage in ſuch a hazardous Undertaking, it fell therefore to the Lot of the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Puritans; the *Scots*, by reaſon of their Vicinity to the northern Parts of *Ireland*, tranſported numerous Colonies; they improved the Country, and brought Preaching into the Churches where they ſettled; but being of the *Preſbyterian Perſuaſion* they formed their Churches after their own Model. The *London* Adventurers prevailed with ſeveral of the *Engliſh Puritans* to remove, who being perſecuted at home, were willing to go any where within the King's Dominions for the Liberty of their Conſciences; and more would have gone, could they have been ſecure of a Toleration after they were ſettled; but their chief Reſort was to the *Scots*; the firſt Miniſter of that Perſuaſion that went over was Mr. *Edward Bryce*, who ſettled in *Broad Iſland* in the County of *Antrim*, 1611. after him Mr. *Robert Cunningham* in *Hollywood*, in the County of *Down*. At the ſame Time came over three *Engliſh* Miniſters, all Puritans, trained up under Mr. *Cartwright* (*viz.*) Mr. *Ridges* of *Antrim*, Mr. *Henry Calvert*, and Mr. *Hubbard* at *Carickfergus*. After theſe Mr. *Robert Blair* came from *Scotland* to *Bangor*, Mr. *Hamilton* to *Ballywater*, and Mr. *Levingſton* to *Killinſhy* in the County of *Down*, with Mr. *Welch*, *Dunbar*, and others. Mr. *Blair* was a zealous Preſbyterian, and ſcrupled Epiſcopal Ordination, but the Biſhop of the Dioceſe

And of their Diſcipline.

Loyalty Presb. p. 102, 103.

Dioceſe compromiſed the Difference, by agreeing that the other *Scots* Preſbyters of Mr. *Blair*'s Perſuaſion ſhould join with him, and that ſuch Paſſages in the eſtabliſhed Form of Ordination, as Mr. *Blair* and his Brethren ſcrupled ſhould be omitted, or exchanged for others of their own Approbation. Thus was Mr. *Blair* ordained publickly in the Church of *Bangor*; the Biſhop of *Raphoe* did the ſame for Mr. *Levingſton*; and all the *Scots* that were ordained in *Ireland* from this Time to the Year 1642. were ordained after the ſame manner; all of them enjoyed the Churches and Tithes though they remained Preſbyterian, and uſed not the Liturgy; nay, the Biſhops conſulted them about Affairs of common Concernment to the Church, and ſome of them were Members of the Convocation in 1634. They had their Monthly Meetings at *Antrim*, for the promoting of Piety and the Extirpation of Popery. They had alſo their quarterly Communions, by which means great Numbers of the Inhabitants were civilized, and many became ſerious Chriſtians. Mr. *Blair* preached before the Judges of Aſſize on the Lord's Day, at the Deſire of the Biſhop of *Down*, and his Curate adminiſter'd the Sacrament to them the ſame Day; ſo that there was a Sort of Comprehenſion between the two Parties, by the Allowance and Approbation of the great Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who encouraged the Miniſters in their Work. Thus Things continued till the Adminiſtration of Archbiſhop *Laud*, who by dividing the Proteſtants weaken'd their Hands, and made way for that prodigious Growth of Popery, that ended in the Maſſacre of almoſt all the Proteſtants in the Kingdom. *King* James I. 1615.

Articles of the Church of Ireland.

It appears from hence, that the Reformation of *Ireland* was built upon a *Puritan Foundation*, though Epiſcopacy was the legal Eſtabliſhment; but it was impoſſible to make any conſiderable Progreſs in the Converſion of the Natives, becauſe of their Bigotry and Prejudice againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, whoſe Language

King James I. 1615.

guage they could not be perſuaded to learn. But the Proteſtant Religion being now pretty well eſtabliſhed, it was thought adviſeable to frame ſome Articles of their common Faith, according to the Cuſtom of other Churches: Some moved in Convocation to adopt the Articles of the *Engliſh* Church, but this was over-ruled, as not ſo honourable to themſelves, who were as much a National Church as *England*; nor ſo conſiſtent with their Independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new Confeſſion of their own; the Draught was referr'd to the Conduct of Dr. *James Uſher*, Provoſt of *Dublin College*, and afterwards Lord Primate; it afterwards paſt both Houſes of Convocation and Parliament with great Unanimity, and being ſent over to the *Engliſh* Court was approved in Council, and ratified by the Lord Deputy *Chicheſter* this Year, in the King's Name.

Remarks. Append. N° I.

Theſe Articles being rarely to be met with I have given them a Place in the *Appendix*, being in a manner the ſame that the Puritans requeſted, at the *Hampton-Court* Conference; for, *Firſt*, The *Nine Articles of* Lambeth are incorporated into this Confeſſion. *Secondly*, The Morality of the *Lord's Day* is ſtrongly aſſerted, and the ſpending it wholly in Religious Exerciſes is required [*Art.* 56.] *Thirdly*, The Obſervation of *Lent* is declared not to be a *Religious Faſt*, but grounded merely on political Conſiderations, for proviſion of Things tending to the better Preſervation of the Commonwealth [*Art.* 50.] *Fourthly*, All Clergy-Men are ſaid to be lawfully called and ſent, who are choſen and called to this Work, by Men who have publick Authority given them in the Church to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard [*Art.* 71.] which is an Acknowledgment of the Validity of the Ordinations of thoſe Churches that have no Biſhops. *Fifthly*, The Power of the Keys is ſaid to be only declarative [*Art.* 74.] *Sixthly*, The Pope is declared to be Antichriſt, or that Man of Sin, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the

the Spirit of his Mouth, and aboliſh with the Brightneſs of his coming [*Art.* 80.] *Seventhly*, The Conſecration of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* is not ſo much as mentioned, as if done on purpoſe (ſays Mr. *Collyer*) to avoid maintaining the Diſtinction between that Order and that of Prieſts. *Laſtly*, No Power is aſcribed to the Church in making Canons, or cenſuring thoſe who either careleſly or wilfully infringe the ſame. Upon the whole, theſe Articles ſeem to be contriv'd to compromiſe the Difference between the Church and the Puritans; and they had that Effect till the Year 1634. when by the Influence of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and of the Earl of *Strafford* theſe Articles were ſet aſide, and thoſe of the Church of *England* received in their room.

King James I. 1616.

To return to *England*. Among the Puritans that fled from the Perſecution of Biſhop *Bancroft* was Mr. *Henry Jacob*, mentioned in the Year 1604. this Divine having conferr'd with Mr. *Robinſon*, Paſtor of an *Engliſh* Church at *Leyden*, embraced his peculiar Sentiments of Church Diſcipline, ſince known by the Name of INDEPENDANCY. In the Year 1610. Mr. *Jacob* publiſhed at *Leyden* a ſmall Treatiſe in Octavo, entitled, *The Divine Beginning and Inſtitution of Chriſt's true viſible and material Church:* And followed it next Year with another from *Middleburgh*, which he called *an Explication and Confirmation of his former Treatiſe*. Some Time after he returned to *England*, and having imparted his Deſign, of ſetting up a ſeparate Congregation, like thoſe in *Holland*, to the moſt learned Puritans of thoſe Times, as Mr. *Throgmorton*, *Wring*, *Manſel*, *Dod*, &c. it was not condemned as unlawful, conſidering there was no Proſpect of a National Reformation. Mr. *Jacob* therefore having ſummoned ſeveral of his Friends together, as Mr. *Staiſmore*, Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Prior*, *Almey*, *Throughton*, *Allen*, *Gibbet*, *Farre*, *Goodal*, and others; and having obtained their Conſent to unite in Church-Fellowſhip, for the enjoying the Ordinances of Chriſt in the pureſt Manner, they

Riſe of the Independants *in* England.

King James I. 1616.

they laid the Foundation of the firſt *Independant*, or *Congregational* Church in *England*, after the following Manner; having appointed a Day of ſolemn Faſting and Prayer for a Bleſſing upon their Undertaking. Towards the Cloſe of the Solemnity each of them made open Confeſſion of their Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and then ſtanding together they joined Hands, and *ſolemnly covenanted with each other in the Preſence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's Ways and Ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or ſhould further make them known to them.* Mr. *Jacob* was then choſen their Paſtor by the Suffrage of the Brotherhood, and others were appointed to the Office of Deacons with Faſting and Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands. The ſame Year [1616.] Mr. *Jacob* publiſhed a *Proteſtation or Confeſſion in the Name of certain Chriſtians, ſhewing how far they agreed with the Church of* England, *and wherein they differ'd, with the Reaſons of their Diſſent drawn from Scripture*; to which was added, a Petition to the King for the Toleration of ſuch Chriſtians. And ſome Time after he publiſhed a *Collection of ſound Reaſons, ſhewing, how neceſſary it is for all Chriſtians to walk in all the Ways and Ordinances of God in Purity, and in a right Church way.* Mr. *Jacob* continued with his Flock about eight Years, but in the Year 1624. being deſirous to enlarge his Uſefulneſs, he went with the Conſent of his Church to *Virginia*, where ſoon after he died. Thus, according to the Teſtimony of the *Oxford* Hiſtorian, and ſome others, Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the firſt Independant Miniſter in *England*, and this the firſt Congregational Church. Upon the Departure of Mr. *Jacob* his Congregation choſe Mr. *Lathorp* their Paſtor, whoſe Hiſtory, together with that of his little Church, will be continued in its proper Place.

Their Manner of erecting a Church.

MS. penes me.

King's Diſcourſe in the Star-Chamber.

The King was ſo full of his Prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his Subjects of its abſolute Extent; for this Purpoſe he turned Preacher in the *Star-Chamber*, and took his Text, *Pſalm* lxxii. 1.

Give

Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteouſneſs to the King's Son. After dividing and ſubdividing, and giving the literal and myſtical Senſe of his Text, he applied it to the Judges and Courts of Judicature, telling them, "That the King ſitting in the "Throne of God, all Judgments center in him, and "therefore for inferior Courts to determine difficult "Queſtions without conſulting him, was to incroach "upon his *Prerogative*, and to limit his Power, "which it was not lawful for the Tongue of a Lawyer, "nor any Subject to diſpute. As it is Atheiſm and "Blaſphemy to diſpute what God can do, (ſays he) ſo "it is Preſumption, and an high Contempt to diſpute "what Kings can do or ſay; it is to take away that "myſtical Reverence that belongs to them who ſit "in the Throne of God." Then addreſſing to the Auditory he adviſes them, "Not to meddle with the "King's Prerogative or Honour. Plead not (ſays "he) upon puritanical Principles, which make all "Things popular, but keep within the ancient "Limits." *King James I. 1616.* Rapin, p. 393.

In ſpeaking of Recuſants he ſays there are three Sorts, "(1.) Some that come now and then to "Church; theſe [the Puritans] are formal to the "Laws, but falſe to God. (2.) Others that have "their Conſciences miſled, ſome of theſe [the Pa-"piſts that ſwear Allegiance] live as peaceable Sub-"jects. (3.) Others are practiſing Recuſants, who "oblige their Servants and Tenants to be of their "Opinion. Theſe are Men of Pride and Preſump-"tion. I am loath to hang a Prieſt only for his Re-"ligion, and ſaying Maſs; but if they refuſe the "Oath of Allegiance I leave them to the Law." He concludes with exhorting the Judges to countenance the Clergy againſt *Papiſts* and *Puritans*; adding, "God and the King will reward your Zeal."

'Tis eaſy to obſerve from hence, His Majeſty's implacable Averſion to the Puritans, by whom we are to underſtand not only thoſe that refuſed the Ceremonies, but

King James I. 1617.

but all ſuch as were Enemies to abſolute Monarchy; for all Arguments againſt the Extent of the Prerogative are ſaid to be founded on Puritan Principles. A King with theſe Maxims ſhould have been frugal of his Revenues, that he might not have ſtood in need of Parliaments; but our Monarch was extravagantly profuſe, and to ſupply his Wants he delivered back this Year to the *Dutch* their cautionary Towns, which were the Keys of their Country, for leſs than a quarter Part of the Money that was borrowed upon them.

Mr. Baynes's Death and Character.

1617. This Year died the learned and judicious Mr. *Paul Baynes*, born in *London*, and educated in *Chriſt College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. He ſucceeded Mr. *Perkins* in the Lecture at St. *Andrews* Church, where he behaved with that Gravity and exemplary Piety, as render'd him univerſally acceptable to all that had any Taſte of ſerious Religion, till Archbiſhop *Bancroft* ſending Dr. *Harſnet* to viſit the Univerſity, called upon Mr. *Baynes* to ſubſcribe according to the Canons, which he refuſing, the Doctor ſilenced him, and put down his Lecture. Mr. *Baynes* appealed to the Archbiſhop, but his *Grace* ſtood by his Chaplains, and threaten'd to lay the good old Man by the Heels, for appearing before him with a little black Edging upon his Cuffs. After this Mr. *Baynes* preached only occaſionally, as he could get Opportunity, and was reduced to ſuch Poverty and Want, that he ſaid, *He had not where to lay his Head*; but at length Death put an End to all his Sufferings in the Year 1617. He publiſhed a *Commentary upon the Epheſians*; the *Dioceſans Trial* againſt Dr. *Downham*; and ſome other practical Treatiſes. Dr. *Sibbes* ſays, He was a Divine of uncommon Learning, clear Judgment, ready Wit, and of much Communion with God and his own Heart. What Pity was it, that ſuch a Divine ſhould be laid aſide, and in a manner ſtarved!

King James I. 1618.

Progreſs of the Arminian Controverſy in Holland.

The Diſputes in *Holland* between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians* upon the five Points, relating to Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Effectual Grace, and Perſeverance, roſe to ſuch an height, as obliged the States General to have Recourſe to a National Synod, which was appointed to meet at *Dort*, *Nov.* 13th, 1618. Each Party had loaded the other with Reproaches, and in the Warmth of Diſpute charged their Opinions with moſt invidious Conſequences, inſomuch that all good Neighbourhood was loſt, the Pulpits were filled with unprofitable Diſputes, and where one Party prevailed the other were turned out of the Churches. The Magiſtrates were no leſs divided, one City and Town being ready to take up Arms againſt another. At length it grew into a State Faction, which endangered the Diſſolution of the Government. *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, tho' a Remonſtrant, put himſelf at the Head of the *Calviniſts* [or Contra-Remonſtrants] becauſe they were for a Stadtholder, and the Magiſtrates who were againſt a *Stadtholder* ſided with the [Remonſtrants, or] *Arminians*, among whom the Advocate of *Holland*, *Oldenbarnevelt*, and the Penſionaries of *Leyden* and *Rotterdam*, *Hogerberts* and *Grotius*, were the chief. Several Attempts were made for an Accommodation, or Toleration of the two Parties; but this not ſucceeding, the three Heads of the Remonſtrants [*Arminians*] were taken into Cuſtody, and the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Towns and Cities changed, by the *Authority of the Prince*, which made way for the chooſing ſuch a Synod as *his Highneſs* deſired. The Claſſes of the ſeveral Towns met firſt in a *Provincial* Synod, and theſe ſent Deputies to the *National* one, with proper Inſtructions. The *Remonſtrants* were averſe to the calling a Synod, becauſe their Numbers were not yet equal to the *Calviniſts*, and their Leaders being in Cuſtody, it was eaſy to foreſee their approaching Fate. They complained of Injuſtice in their Summons to the *Provincial Aſſemblies*; but *Trigland* ſays, That

King James I. 1618.

That where the *Remonſtrants* [*Arminians*] were weakeſt, they were equally regarded with the other Party; but in Truth, their Deputies were angry and diſſatisfied, and in many Places abſented from their Claſſes, and ſo yielded up their Power into the Hands of their Adverſaries, who condemned their Principles, and depoſed ſeveral of their Miniſters.

Synod of Dort.

The National Synod of *Dort* conſiſted of Thirty eight *Dutch* and *Walloon* Divines, five Profeſſors of the Univerſities, and Twenty one Lay-Elders, making together Sixty one Perſons, of which not above three or four were Remonſtrants. Beſides theſe, there were Twenty eight foreign Divines, from *Great Britain*, from the *Palatinate*, from *Heſſia*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *Bremen*, *Emden*, *Naſſau*, and *Wetteravia*; the *French* King not admitting his Proteſtant Divines to appear. Next to the States Deputies ſat the *Engliſh* Divines; the ſecond Place was kept void for the *French* Divines; the reſt ſat in the Order recited. Upon the right and left Hand of the Chair, next to the *Lay-Deputies*, ſat the *Netherland* Profeſſors of Divinity, then the Miniſters and Elders according to the Rank of their Provinces; the *Walloon* Churches ſetting laſt. After the Divines, as well Domeſtick as Foreign, had produced their Credentials, the Reverend Mr. *John Bogerman* of *Leewarden* was choſen Preſident, the Reverend Mr. *Jacob Roland* and *Herman Faukelius*, of *Amſterdam* and *Middleburgh*, Aſſeſſors; *Heinſius* was Scribe, and the Reverend Mr. *Damman* and *Feſtius Hommius* Secretaries; a general Faſt was then appointed, after which they enter'd upon Buſineſs.

Names and Inſtructions of the Engliſh *Divines.* Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 159.

The Names of the *Engliſh* Divines were Dr. *Carlton* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Hall* Dean of *Worceſter*, afterwards Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Davenant* afterwards Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and Dr. *Samuel Ward* Maſter of *Sidney College*, *Cambridge*; but Dr. *Hall* not being able to bear the Climate, Dr. *Goad* Prebendary of *Canterbury*, was appointed in his room. Mr. *Balcan-*

qual

qual a *Scots* Man, but no Friend to the Kirk, was alſo commiſſioned by King *James* to repreſent that Church. He was taken into Conſultation, and join'd in Suffrage with the *Engliſh* Divines, ſo as to make one College; for the Divines of each Nation gave but one Vote in the Synod, as their united Senſe: and though *Balcanqual* did not wear the Habits of the *Engliſh* Divines, nor ſet with them in the Synod, having a Place by himſelf as Repreſentative of the *Scots* Kirk, yet (ſays the Biſhop of *Landaff*) his Apparel was decent, and in all reſpects he gave much Satisfaction. His Majeſty's Inſtructions to them were (1.) To agree among themſelves about the State of any Queſtion, and how far it may be maintained agreeably to the Scriptures and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. (2.) To adviſe the *Dutch* Miniſters not to inſiſt in their Sermons upon Scholaſtick Points, but to abide by their former *Confeſſion of Faith*, and thoſe of their Neighbour reformed Churches. (3.) That they ſhould conſult the King's Honour, the Peace of the diſtracted Churches, and behave in all Things with Gravity and Moderation.

King James I. 1618.

When all the Members of the Synod were got together they took the following Oath, in the Twenty third Seſſion, each Perſon ſtanding up in his Place, and laying his Hand on his Heart.

"I Promiſe before God, whom I believe and wor-
"ſhip, as here preſent, and as the Searcher of
"the Reins and Heart, that during the whole Courſe
"of the Tranſactions of this Synod, in which there
"will be made an Enquiry into, and Judgment and
"Deciſion of, not only the well known *five Points*,
"and all the Difficulties reſulting from thence, but
"likewiſe of all other Sorts of Doctrines, I will
"not make uſe of any kind of human Writings,
"but only of the Word of God, as a ſure and infal-
"lible Rule of Faith. Neither will I have any other

Their Oath. Brandt, Vol. III. p. 62.

King James I. 1618.

" Thing in view throughout this whole Diſcuſſion, " but the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, " and above all, the Preſervation of the Purity of " Doctrine. So help me, my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, " whom I ardently beſeech to aſſiſt me in this my " Deſign by his holy Spirit."

This was all the Oath that was taken (ſays Biſhop *Hall*) as I hope to be ſaved. It was therefore a vile Inſinuation of Mr. *John Goodwin*, who in his *Redemption redeemed*, p. 395. charged them with taking a previous Oath to condemn the oppoſite Party on what Terms ſoever. " It grieves my Soul, ſays the Bi- " ſhop, to ſee any learned Divine raiſing ſuch imagi- " nary Conjectures; but ſince I have ſeen it, I bleſs " God that I yet live to vindicate them [1651.] by " this my knowing, and clear Atteſtation, which I " am ready to ſecond with the ſolemneſt Oath, if " requir'd."

The Synod continued to the 29th of *May*, in which Time there were one Hundred and eighty Seſſions. In the Hundred and forty fifth Seſſion, and 30th of *April*, the *Belgick* Confeſſion of Faith was debated, and put to the Queſtion, which the *Engliſh* Divines agreed to, except the Articles relating to the *Parity of Miniſters and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*. They ſaid, they had carefully examined the ſaid Confeſſion, and did not find any Thing therein, with *reſpect to Faith and Doctrine*, but what was in the main conformable to the Word of God. They added, that they had likewiſe conſidered the Remonſtrants [*Arminians*] Exceptions againſt the ſaid Confeſſion, and declared, that they were of ſuch a Nature as to be capable of being made againſt all the Confeſſions of other reformed Churches. They did not pretend to paſs any Judgment upon the Articles relating to their Church Government, but only maintained, That their own Church Government was founded upon *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*.

Brandt, Vol. III. p. 288.

Mr.

Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton*, Chaplain to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *Carlton*, ſat among the Hearers for ſome Weeks, and having taken Notes of all that paſt, tranſmitted them twice or thrice a Week to his Excellency at the *Hague*. After his Departure Dr. *Balcanqual*, the *Scots* Commiſſioner, and Dr. *Ames* carried on the Correſpondence. Mr. *Hales* obſerves, That the *Remonſtrants* behaved on ſeveral Occaſions very imprudently, not only in the manner of their Debates, but in declining the Authority of the Synod, though ſummoned by the Civil Magiſtrate in the moſt unexceptionable Manner. The five Points of Difference between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, after a long Hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the Remonſtrant Miniſters were diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and baniſhed the Country within a limited Time, except they ſubmitted to the new Confeſſion; on which Occaſion there paſt ſome very hard Speeches on both Sides, and Appeals to the final Judgment of God.

King James I. 1618.

Behaviour of the Remonſtrants. Hales's *Remains*, p. 507, 512, 526, 586, 587.

When the Opinion of the *Britiſh* Divines was read, upon the Extent of Chriſt's Death, it was obſerved, that they omitted the received Diſtinction between the *Sufficiency* and *Efficacy* of it; nor did they touch upon the received Limitation of thoſe Paſſages, which ſpeaking of Chriſt's dying for the *whole World*, are uſually interpreted of the *World of the elect*, Dr. *Davenant* and ſome of his Brethren inclining to the Doctrine of *Univerſal Redemption*. In all other Points there was a perfect Harmony; and even in this *Balcanqual* ſays, King *James* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſired them to comply, though *Heylin* ſays, their Inſtructions were not to oppoſe the Doctrine of *Univerſal Redemption*. But Dr. *Davenant* and *Ward* were for a middle Way between the two Extremes: They maintained the *Certainty of the Salvation of a certain Number of the Elect*, and that Offers of Pardon were ſent not only to all that ſhould believe and repent, but to all that heard the Goſpel;

And of the Engliſh *Divines.* Brandt, p. 256.

King James I. 1618.

and that *Grace ſufficient* to convince and perſuade the *Impenitent* (ſo as to lay the Blame of their Condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe Offers; that the Redemption of Chriſt and his Merits were applicable to theſe, and conſequently there was a Poſſibility of their Salvation. However, they complied with the Synod, and declared their Confeſſion in the main, agreeable to the Word of God; but this gave Riſe to a Report ſome Years after, that they had deſerted the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; upon which Biſhop *Hall* expreſs'd his Concern to Dr. *Davenant* in theſe Words, "I ſhall live and "die in the Suffrage of that Synod of *Dort*; and I "do confidently avow, that thoſe other Opinions "[of *Arminius*] cannot ſtand with the Doctrine of "the Church of *England*." To which Biſhop *Davenant* replied in theſe Words, "I know that no Man "can embrace *Arminianiſm* in the Doctrines of *Pre-*"*deſtination* and *Grace*, but he muſt deſert the Arti-"cles agreed upon by the Church of *England*; nor "in the Point of *Perſeverance*, but he muſt vary "from the received Opinions of our beſt approved "Doctors in the *Engliſh* Church." Yet *Heylin* has the Aſſurance to ſay, "That though the *Arminian* "Controverſy brought ſome Trouble for the preſent "to the Churches of *Holland*, it was of greater Ad-"vantage to the Church of *England*, whoſe Doctrine "in thoſe Points had been ſo over-born by the *Cal-*"*viniſts*, that it was almoſt reckon'd for an Hereſy "to be Sound and Orthodox [*i. e.* an *Arminian*] ac-"cording to the *Book of Articles eſtabliſhed by Law* "*in the Church of* England." He adds, "That "King *James* did not appear for *Calviniſm* out of "Judgment, but for Reaſons of State, and from a "perſonal Friendſhip to Prince *Maurice*, who had "put himſelf at their Head. He therefore ſent ſuch "Divines as had Zeal enough to condemn the Re-"monſtrants, though it was well known that he had "diſapproved the Articles of *Lambeth*, and the Do-

Hiſt. Presb. p. 381. Quinquart. *Hiſt.*

« ſtrine of Predeſtination; nor was it a Secret what « Advice he had given Prince *Maurice* before he put « himſelf at the Head of the *Calviniſts*." *King James I. 1618.*

When the Synod was broke up People ſpake of it in a very different Manner; the States of *Holland* were highly ſatisfied; they gave handſome Rewards to the chief Divines, and ordered the original Records of their Proceedings to be kept amongſt their Archives. The *Engliſh* Divines expreſs'd full Satisfaction in the Proceedings of the Synod. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, The Chriſtian World ſince the Days of the Apoſtles never had an Aſſembly of more excellent Divines till this Time. The learned *Jacobus Capellus*, Profeſſor of *Leyden*, ſaid, That the Equity of the Fathers of this Synod was ſuch, that no Inſtance can be given ſince the Apoſtolick Age, of any other Synod, in which the Hereticks were heard with more Patience, or which proceeded with a better Temper, or more Sanctity. *P. Du Moulin*, *Paulus Servita*, and the Author of the Life of *Walæus* ſpeak the ſame Language. But others poured Contempt upon the Synod, and burleſqu'd their Proceedings in the following Lines. *Cenſures of the Synod.* Brandt, p. 307.

Dordrechti Synodus, Nodus; Chorus integer, æger;
Conventus, ventus, Seſſio, Stramen, Amen.

Lewis du Moulin, with all the Favourers of the *Arminian* Doctrines, as *Heylin*, *Womack*, *Brandt*, &c. charge the Synod with Partiality and unjuſtifiable Severity. But upon the whole, they proceeded as well as moſt Aſſemblies antient or modern, who pretend to eſtabliſh Articles of Faith for other People with penal Sanctions. I ſhall take leave of this venerable Synod with this further Remark, That King *James*'s ſending over Divines to ſet in this Aſſembly, was an open Acknowledgment of the Validity of Ordination by mere Preſbyters; for here was a Biſhop of the Church of *England* ſetting as a private Mem-

King James I. 1618.

ber in a Synod of Divines, of which a mere Preſbyter was the Preſident.

Proceedings in Scotland.

In the Summer of the Year 1617, King *James* made a Progreſs into *Scotland*, to advance the Epiſcopal Cauſe in that Country; the Chapel of *Edinburgh* was adorned after the manner of *Whitehall*; Pictures being carried from hence with the Statues of the twelve Apoſtles, which were ſet up in the Church. His Majeſty treated his *Scots* Subjects with a haughty Diſtance; telling them, both in the Parliament and General Aſſembly, *That it was a Power innate; a princely ſpecial Prerogative which Chriſtian Kings have, to order and diſpoſe external Things in the outward Polity of the Church, as we with our Biſhops ſhall think fit*; *and* SIRS *for your approving or diſapproving; deceive not your ſelves, I will not have my Reaſon oppoſed.* Two Acts relating to the Church were paſs'd this Seſſion; one concerning the Choice of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and another for the Reſtitution of *Chapters*; but the Miniſters proteſted againſt both, for which ſeveral of them were ſuſpended and deprived, and ſome of them baniſhed, as the *Melvins*, Mr. *Forbes*, &c. and as the famous Mr. *Calderwood*, Author of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, had been before; which Book when one of the *Engliſh* Prelates promiſed to anſwer, the King replied, *What will you anſwer, Man? There is nothing here than Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers.*

Calderw. *Ch. Hiſt. in Pref.*

Next Year a Convention or Aſſembly was ſummoned to meet at *Perth*, *Auguſt* 25, 1618. It conſiſted of ſome Noblemen, Stateſmen, Barons and Burgeſſes, choſen on Purpoſe to bear down the Miniſters; and with what Violence Things were carried, God, and all indifferent Spectators, (ſays my Author) are Witneſſes. In this Aſſembly, the Court and Biſhops made a ſhift to carry the following five Articles.

Five Articles of Perth.

1. That the Holy Sacrament ſhall be received kneeling.

2. That

2. That Miniſters ſhall be obliged to adminiſter the Sacrament in private Houſes to the Sick, if they deſire it. *King James I. 1618.*

3. That Miniſters may baptize Children privately at Home, in Caſes of Neceſſity, only certifying it to the Congregation the next Lord's Day. *Courſe Conform.* p. 60.

4. That Miniſters ſhall bring ſuch Children of their Pariſh as can ſay their Catechiſm, and repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, to the Biſhops, to confirm and give them their Bleſſing.

5. That the Feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and the *Aſcenſion* of our Saviour, ſhall for the future be commemorated in the Kirk of *Scotland*.

The King ordered theſe Articles to be publiſhed at the Market Croſſes of the ſeveral Burroughs, and the Miniſters to read them in their Pulpits; but the greateſt Number of the latter refuſed, there being no Penalty, except the King's Diſpleaſure: But the Vote of the Aſſembly at *Perth* not being ſufficient to eſtabliſh theſe Articles into a Law, it was reſolved to uſe all the Intereſt of the Court to carry them thro' the Parliament. This was not attempted till the Year 1621. when the Parliament met on the Firſt of *June*, the Miniſters had prepared a Supplication againſt the *five Articles*, giving Reaſons why they ſhould not be received or confirmed, and came to *Edinburgh* in great Numbers to ſupport it. Upon this, the King's Commiſſioner, by Advice of the Biſhops and Council, iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding all Miniſters to depart out of *Edinburgh* within twenty Hours, except the ſettled Miniſters of the City, and ſuch as ſhall have a Licenſe from the Biſhop. The Miniſters obey'd, but left behind them a Proteſtation againſt the Articles, and an Admonition to the Members of Parliament not to ratify them, as they would anſwer it in the Day of Judgment. They alledged, that the Aſſembly of *Ratified in Parliament.*

King James I. 1618.

Perth was illegal, and that the Articles were againſt the Privileges of the Kirk, and the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom: But the Court Intereſt prevailed, and with much Difficulty the Articles were ratified, contrary to the Senſe of the Kirk and Nation. This bred a great deal of ill Blood, and raiſed a new Perſecution throughout the Kingdom, many of the Preſbyterian Miniſters being fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed by the High Commiſſion, at a Time when, by their Intereſt with the People, it was in their Power to have turned their Taſk-maſters out of the Kingdom.

Thus far King *James* proceeded towards the Reſtitution of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*; but one Thing was ſtill wanting to compleat the Work, which was a *publick Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer.* Several Conſultations were held upon this Head; but the King being aſſured it would occaſion an Inſurrection over the whole Kingdom wiſely drop'd it, and left that unhappy Work to be finiſhed by his Son, whoſe impoſing it upon the Kirk, without Conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly, ſet Fire to the Diſcontents of the People, which had been gathering for ſo many Years.

Selden's *Recantation.*

To return to *England.* This Year the learned Mr. *Selden* was ſummoned before the High Commiſſion, for publiſhing his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, in which he proves them not to be of *divine*, but *human Appointment*; and, after many Threatnings, was obliged to ſign the following Recantation.

My good Lords,

" I Moſt humbly acknowledge my Error in pub-
" liſhing the *Hiſtory of Tithes*, and eſpecially in
" that I have at all (by ſhewing any Interpreta-
" tion of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with Coun-
" cils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what elſe ſoever
" occurs in it) offered any Occaſion of Argument
" againſt any Right of Maintenance, *Jure Divino*,

" of

" of the Miniſters of the Goſpel; beſeeching your " Lordſhips to receive this ingenuous and humble Ac- " knowledgment, together with the unfeigned Prote- " ſtation of my Grief, for that I have ſo incur'd his " Majeſty's and your Lordſhips Diſpleaſure, concei- " ved againſt me in Behalf of the Church of *England*." *Jan.* 28, 1618. *John Selden.*

King James I. 1618.

But notwithſtanding this Submiſſion, Mr. *Fuller* ſays, 'tis certain that a fiercer Storm never fell upon all Parſonage Barns ſince the Reformation, than what was raiſed up by this Treatiſe; nor did Mr. *Selden* quickly forget their ſtopping his Mouth after this Manner.

Fuller, Book X. p. 70. Collyer, p. 717.

This Year died the Reverend Mr. *William Bradſhaw*, born at *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, 1571. and educated in *Emanuel* College, *Cambridge*. He was afterwards removed, and admitted Fellow of *Sidney* College; where he got an eaſy Admiſſion into the Miniſtry, being diſpenſed with in ſome Things that he ſcrupled. He preached firſt as a Lecturer at *Abington*, and then at *Steeple-Morton*. At length, by the Recommendation of Dr. *Chadderton*, he was ſettled at *Chatham* in *Kent*, in the Year 1601; but before he had been there a Twelve-month, he was ſent for by the Archbiſhop to *Shorne*, a Town ſituate between *Rocheſter* and *Graveſend*, and commanded to ſubſcribe; which he refuſing, was immediately ſuſpended. The Inhabitants of *Chatham*, in their Petition for his Reſtoration, ſay, that his Doctrine was moſt wholeſome, true, and learned, void of Faction and Contention; and his Life ſo garniſhed with unblemiſhed Virtues and Graces, as Malice it ſelf could not reprove him. But all Interceſſions were to no Purpoſe: He therefore removed into another Dioceſe, where he obtained a Licenſe, and at length was choſen Lecturer of *Chriſt* Church in *London*. Here he publiſhed a Treatiſe againſt the *Ceremonies*, for which he was obliged to leave the City, and retire

Mr. Bradſhaw's *Death and Character.*

to

King James I. 1618.

to his Friend Mr. *Redriche*'s at *Newhall* in *Leiceſterſhire*. The Biſhop's Chancellor followed him thither, with an Inhibition to preach, but by the Mediation of a Couple of good *Angels*, (ſays my Author) the Reſtraint was taken off. In this ſilent and melancholy Retirement he ſpent the Vigour and Strength of his Days. At length, as he was attending Mrs. *Redriche* on a Viſit to *Chelſea*, he was ſeized with a violent Fever, which in a few Days put an End to his Life, in the forty eighth Year of his Age. He was full of heavenly Expreſſions in his laſt Sickneſs, and died with great Satisfaction in his Non-Conformity. Dr. *Hall*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, gives him this Character: "That he was of a ſtrong Brain, and of a "free Spirit, not ſuffering himſelf for ſmall Diffe-"rences of Judgment, to be alienated from his "Friends, to whom, notwithſtanding his ſeeming "Auſterity, he was very pleaſing in Converſation, "being full of witty and harmleſs Urbanity: He "was very ſtrong and eager in arguing, hearty in "Friendſhip, regardleſs of the World, a Deſpiſer of "Compliments, a Lover of Reality, full of digeſted "and excellent Notions, a painful Labourer in "God's Vineyard, and now, no doubt, glorioufly "rewarded." Such was this Light, which, by the Severity of the Times, was put under a Buſhel!

Gatak. *Life of* Bradſh. p. 49.

Book of Sports publiſhed.

In order to put a Stop to the Growth of Puritaniſm, and ſilence the Objections of Papiſts againſt the Strictneſs of the reformed Religion; his Majeſty this Year publiſhed, *A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day*, contrary to his Proclamation in the firſt Year of his Reign; and to the Articles of the Church of *Ireland*, ratified under the Great Seal, 1615. in which the Morality of the Lord's Day is affirmed. "But (ſays *Heylin*) the Puritans, "by raiſing the Sabbath, took Occaſion to depreſs "the *Feſtivals*, and introduced, by little and little, "a general Neglect of the weekly Faſts, the holy "Time of *Lent*, and the *Embring Days*, reducing "all

Heyl. *Hiſt. Presb.* p. 389.

" all Acts of Humiliation to ſolemn and occaſional " Faſts." Sad, indeed! " But this was not all " the Miſchief that enſued (ſays the Doctor) for ſe- " veral Preachers and Juſtices of the Peace took " Occaſion from hence to forbid all lawful Sports on " the Lord's Day, by means whereof the Prieſts and " Jeſuits perſuaded the People in the Northern " Counties, that the reformed Religion was incom- " patible with that Chriſtian Liberty which God and " Nature had indulged to the Sons of Men: So that " to preſerve the People from Popery, his Majeſty " was brought under a Neceſſity to publiſh the " Book of Sports." *King James I.* 1618.

It was drawn up by Biſhop *Moreton*, and dated from *Greenwich*, *May* 24, 1618. and is to this Effect: " That for his good People's Recreation, his Maje- " ſty's Pleaſure was, that after the End of divine " Service, they ſhould not be diſturbed, letted, or " diſcouraged from any lawful Recreations; ſuch as " *Dancing*, either of Men or Women, *Archery* for " Men, *Leaping*, *Vaulting*, or any ſuch harmleſs " Recreations; nor having of *May-games*, *Whitſon-* " *ales*, or *Morrice-dances*, or ſetting up of *May-poles*, " or other Sports therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame " may be had in due and convenient Time, without " Impediment, or Let of divine Service; and that " Women ſhould have Leave to carry *Ruſhes* to the " Church for the decoring of it, according to their " old Cuſtoms; withall prohibiting all unlawful Games " to be uſed on *Sundays* only; as *Bear-baiting*, *Bull-* " *baiting*, *Interludes*, and at all Times (in the meaner " ſort of People prohibited) *Bowling*." Two or three Reſtraints were annexed to the Declaration, which deſerve the Reader's Notice: (1.) No Recuſant, [*i. e.* Papiſt] was to have the Benefit of this Declaration. (2.) Nor ſuch as were not preſent at the whole of divine Service. Nor (3.) ſuch as did not keep to their own Pariſh Churches, that is, *Puritans*.

This

King James I. 1618.

This Declaration was ordered to be read in all the Pariſh Churches of *Lancaſhire*, which abounded with Papiſts; and *Wilſon* adds, that it was to be read in all the Churches of *England*; but that Archbiſhop *Abbot* being at *Croydon*, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an imprudent Project, as well as a Grief to all ſober Proteſtants; and had the King inſiſted upon its being read throughout all the Churches at this Time, I am apt to think it would have produced the ſame Convulſions, as it did about fifteen Years afterwards.

Remarks. 'Tis hard to account for the Diſtinction between *lawful* and *unlawful* Sports on the Lord's Day: If any Sports are lawful, why not all? What Reaſon can be given why *Morrice-dances*, *Revels*, *May-games*, *Whitſon-ales*, *Wakes*, &c. ſhould be more lawful than Interludes, Bull-baiting, or Bowls. It cannot ariſe from their moral Nature; for the former have as great a Tendency to promote Vice, as the latter. But the Exceptions to the Benefit of this Declaration are more extraordinary: Could his Majeſty think that the Puritans, who were preſent at part of divine Service, though not at the whole; or that thoſe who went to other Pariſh Churches for their better Edification, would lay hold of the Liberty of his Declaration, when he knew they believed the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, and that no Ordinance of Man could make void the Law of God? Further, his Majeſty debars *Recuſants*, [*i. e.* Papiſts] from this Liberty, which their Religion had always indulged them; but theſe are now to be reſtrained: The Papiſt is to turn *Puritan*, with regard to the Sabbath, being forbid the Uſe of lawful Recreations on the Lord's Day; and Proteſtants are to dance and revel, and go to their May-games on that ſacred Day, to preſerve them from Popery: But this Subject will return again in the next Reign.

This

This Year and the next proved fatal to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, by the Loſs of the *Palatinate* into the Hands of the Papiſts, and the Ruin of the Elector *Frederick* V. King of *Bohemia*, who had married the King's only Daughter. This being a remarkable Period, relating to the Anceſtors of his preſent Majeſty King *George* II. it will be no unuſeful Digreſſion to ſet it in a proper Light. The Kingdom of *Bohemia* was elective, and becauſe their King did not always reſide with them, a certain Number of Perſons were choſen by the *States*, called DEFENDERS, to ſee the Laws put in Execution. There were two Religions eſtabliſhed by Law; one was called *Sub-una*, the other *Sub-utraque*; the former were *Roman* Catholicks, and communicated under *one Kind*; the latter, *Huſſites*, and ſince the Reformation, *Proteſtants*, who communicated under *both Kinds*. The Emperor *Sigiſmund*, in order to ſecure his Election to this Kingdom, granted the *Huſſites* an Edict in the Year 1435. whereby it was decreed that there ſhould be no Magiſtrate or Freeman of the City of *Prague*, but what was of *their* Religion. This was religiouſly obſerved till the Year 1570. when, by Order of *Maximilian*, a Catholick was made a Citizen of *Prague*; after which Time, the Edict was frequently broken, till at length the Jeſuits erected a ſtately College, and put the Papiſts on a Level with the Proteſtants. *Matthias* the preſent Emperor, having adopted his Couſin *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, had a Mind to get him the Crown of *Bohemia*; for which Purpoſe, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of the States, without ſending, as uſual, to the Proteſtants of *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and the Upper and Lower *Alſatia*: Theſe therefore not attending (according to the Emperor's Wiſh) made the Catholicks a Majority, who declared *Ferdinand* preſumptive Succeſſor to *Matthias*; after which, he was crowned at *Prague*, and reſided at *Gratz*. The DEFENDERS taking Notice of this Breach of their Conſtitution, and per-

King James I. 1619.

State of the Proteſtant Religion in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

Rapin.

King James I. 1619.

perceiving the Deſign of the Imperial Court to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, ſummoned an Aſſembly of all the States, and among others, thoſe of *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and *Alſatia*, who drew up a Petition to the Emperor, to demand the Execution of the Laws, and a reaſonable Satisfaction for the Injuries they had received; after which they adjourned themſelves to the Monday after *Rogation* Week, 1618. The Emperor, inſtead of granting their Requeſts, ordered his Lieutenant to hinder the Re-aſſembling of the States, as being called without his Licence; but the States aſſembled according to their Adjournment, and being informed of the Force that was deſigned againſt them, went in a Body to the *Chancery*, and having ſeized the Emperor's Chief Juſtice, the Secretary, and another of his Council, they threw them out of the Caſtle Window, and then drove the *Jeſuits* out of the City. In order to juſtify their Proceedings they publiſhed to the World an Apology, and having ſigned a Confederacy, to ſtand by one another againſt all Oppoſers, they choſe Twenty four *Protectors*, empowering them to raiſe Forces, and levy ſuch Taxes as they ſhould find neceſſary.

Elector Palatine *choſen K. of* Bohemia.

In this Situation of Affairs the Emperor, who was alſo King of *Bohemia*, died, and on the 18th of *Aug.* 1619. *Ferdinand* was choſen his Succeſſor in the Empire, but the *Bohemians* not only diſowned him for their King, but declared the Throne vacant, and on *Sept.* 5. elected *Frederick*, Elector *Palatine*, King *James*'s Son in Law, for their Sovereign. Deputies were immediately ſent to acquaint him with the Choice, and pray him to repair immediately to *Prague*. *Frederick* diſpatched an Expreſs to *England*, to deſire the Advice of his Father in Law; but the Affair not admitting of ſo long delay, he accepted of the Kingdom, and was crowned at *Prague Nov.* 4.

All the Proteſtant Electors rejoiced at this Providence, and gave him the Title of King of *Bohemia*; as did moſt of the Proteſtant Powers of *Europe*, except

cept the King of *England*. It was acceptable News to the *Engliſh* Puritans, to hear of a Proteſtant King in *Bohemia*; and they earneſtly deſired his Majeſty to ſupport him, as appears by Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Letter, who was known to ſpeak the Senſe of that whole Party. This Prelate being aſked his Opinion as a Privy Counſellor, while he was confined to his Bed with the Gout, writ the following Letter to the Secretary of State. "That it was his "Opinion, that the Elector ſhould accept the "Crown; that *England* ſhould ſupport him openly; "and, that as ſoon as News of his Coronation ſhould "arrive, the Bells ſhould be rung, Guns fired, and "Bonfires made, to let all *Europe* ſee, that the King "was determined to countenance him." The Archbiſhop adds, "'Tis a great Honour to our King, to "have ſuch a Son made a King; methinks, I foreſee in this the Work of God, that by Degrees the "Kings of the Earth ſhall leave the Whore to Deſolation. Our ſtriking in, will comfort the *Bohemians*, and bring in the *Dutch* and the *Dane*, and "*Hungary* will run the ſame Fortune. As for Money "and Means let us truſt God and the Parliament, "as the old and honourable Way of raiſing Money. "This from my Bed, (ſays the brave old Prelate) "*Sept.* 12th. 1619. and when I can ſtand I will do "better Service."

King James I. 1619.

Acceptable to the Puritans.

Cabbala, B. I. p. 124.

But the King diſliked the Archbiſhop's Letter, as built upon Puritan Principles; he had an ill Opinion of *Elective Kingdoms*, and of the Peoples Power to diſpoſe of Crowns; beſides, he was afraid of diſobliging the Roman Catholick Princes, and in particular the King of *Spain*, a near Relation of the new Emperor's, with whom he was in Treaty for a Wife for his Son; ſo that the Elector's Envoy, after long waiting, was ſent back, with an Admonition to his Son in Law to refuſe the Crown; but this being too late, he took it into his Head to perſuade him to quit it, and ſtood ſtill, offering his Mediation, and

But diſlik'd by the Engliſh *Court.*

ſend-

King James I. 1620. ſending Ambaſſadors, while the Emperor raiſed a powerful Army, not only to reduce the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but to diſpoſſeſs the Elector of his Hereditary Dominions. Several Princes of *Europe* gave the King Notice of the Deſign, and exhorted him to ſupport the Proteſtant Religion in the Empire; but his Majeſty was deaf to all Advice, and for the ſake of a *Spaniſh* Wife for his Son, ſuffered his own Daughter, with her numerous Family of Children, to be ſent a begging, and the Balance of Proteſtant Power to be loſt in the Empire; for the next Summer the Emperor and his Allies having conquer'd the *Palatinate* enter'd *Bohemia*, and about the middle of *November* fought the deciſive Battle of *Prague*, wherein *Frederick*'s Army was entirely routed; his hereditary Dominions, which had been the Sanctuary of the Proteſtants in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, were given to the Duke of *Bavaria* a Papiſt; the noble Library of *Heidelburgh* was carried off to the Vatican at *Rome*, and the Elector himſelf, with his Wife and Children, forc'd to fly into *Holland* in a ſtarving Condition.

Remarks. Had the King of *England* had any Remains of Honour, Courage, or Regard for the Proteſtant Religion, he might have preſerved it in the *Palatinate*, and eſtabliſhed it in *Bohemia*, by which the Balance of Power would have been on that Side; but this cowardly Prince would never draw his Sword for the beſt Cauſe in the World; however, this noble Family was the Care of Divine Providence, during a long Exile of Twenty eight Years; after which they were reſtored to their Dominions by the Treaty of *Munſter*, 1648. and declared preſumptive Heirs of the Crown of *Great Britain*, in the laſt Year of King *William* III. of which they took Poſſeſſion upon the Death of Q. *Anne*, 1714. to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and of all that loved the Reformed Religion and the Liberties of their Country.

1620. Puritans ſettle in New England. Among the BROWNISTS in *Holland* we have mention'd the Reverend Mr. *John Robinſon* of *Leyden*, the Father of the *Independants*, whoſe numerous Congregation

gregation being on the Decline, by their aged Members dying off, and their Children marrying into *Dutch* Families, they conſulted how to preſerve their Church and Religion; and at length, after ſeveral ſolemn Addreſſes to Heaven for Direction, the younger Part of the Congregation reſolved to remove into ſome part of *America*, under the Protection of the King of *England*, where they might enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, and be capable of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to follow them. Accordingly they ſent over Agents into *England*, who, after they had obtained a Patent from the Crown, agreed with ſeveral Merchants to become Adventurers in the Undertaking. Several of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation ſold their Eſtates, and made a common Bank, with which they purchaſed a ſmall Ship of ſixty Tons, and hired another of one Hundred and eighty. The Agents ſailed into *Holland* with their own Ship, to take in as many of the Congregation as were willing to embark, while the other Veſſel was freighting with all Neceſſaries for the new Plantation. All Things being ready, Mr. *Robinſon* kept a Day of Faſting and Prayer with his Congregation, and took his leave of the Adventurers with the following Exhortation.

King James I. 1620.

Brethren,

Mr. Robinſon's parting Speech to his Congregation.

"WE are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to ſee "your Faces on Earth any more, the God of Hea- "ven only knows; but whether the Lord has ap- "pointed that or no, I charge you before God and "his bleſſed Angels, that you follow me no farther "than you have ſeen me follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"If God reveal any Thing to you, by any other "Inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive it as "ever you was to receive any Truth by my "Miniſtry; for I am verily perſuaded, the Lord "has more Truth yet to break forth out of

King James I. 1620.

" his holy Word. For my part, I cannot ſufficient-
" ly bewail the Condition of the Reformed Churches,
" who are come to a Period in Religion, and will go
" at preſent no farther than the Inſtruments of their
" Reformation. The *Lutherans* can't be drawn to
" go beyond what *Luther* ſaw; whatever Part of
" his Will our God has revealed to *Calvin*, they will
" rather die than embrace it; and the *Calviniſts*, you
" ſee, ſtick faſt where they were left by that great
" Man of God, who yet ſaw not all Things.

" This is a Miſery much to be lamented, for
" though they were burning and ſhining Lights in
" their Times, yet they penetrated not into the
" whole Counſel of God, but were they now living,
" would be as willing to embrace further Light as
" that which they firſt received. I beſeech you, re-
" member, 'tis an Article of your Church Covenant,
" that *You be ready to receive whatever Truth ſhall be*
" *made known to you from the written Word of God.*
" Remember that, and every other Article of your
" ſacred Covenant. But I muſt herewithal exhort
" you, to take heed what you receive as Truth,
" examine it, conſider it and compare it with
" other Scriptures of Truth, before you receive it;
" for it is not poſſible the Chriſtian World ſhould
" come ſo lately out of ſuch thick Antichriſtian
" Darkneſs, and that Perfection of Knowledge ſhould
" break forth at once.

" I muſt alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid, and ſhake
" off the Name of BROWNISTS, 'tis a mere Nick-
" Name, and a Brand for the making Religion, and
" the Profeſſors of it, odious to the Chriſtian World."

Colony of New Plimouth.

On the 1ſt of *July* the Adventurers went from *Leyden* to *Delfthaven*, whither Mr. *Robinſon* and the Ancients of his Congregation accompanied them; they continued together all Night, and next Morning, after mutual Embraces, Mr. *Robinſon* kneeled down on the Sea-Shore, and with a fervent Prayer committed

mitted them to the Protection and Bleſſing of Heaven. The Adventurers were about one Hundred and twenty, who, having joined their other Ship, ſail'd for *New England Auguſt* 5. but one of their Veſſels proving leaky they left it, and imbarked in one Veſſel, which arrived at *Cape Cod*, *November* the Ninth, 1620. Sad was the Condition of theſe poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no Accommodations at Land for their Entertainment; moſt of them were in a weak and ſickly Condition with the Voyage, but there was no Remedy; they therefore mann'd their Long-Boat, and having coaſted the Shore, at length found a tolerable Harbour, where they landed their Effects, and on the 25th of *December* began to build a Store-houſe, and ſome ſmall Cottages to preſerve them from the Weather. Their Company was divided into nineteen Families, each Family having an Alotment of Land for Lodging and Gardens, in proportion to the Number of Perſons of which it conſiſted; and to prevent Diſputes, the Situation of each Family was decided by Lot. They agreed likewiſe upon ſome Laws for their Civil and Military Government, and having choſen a Governor, they called the Place of their Settlement by the Name of NEW PLIMOUTH. *King* James I. 1620.

Inexpreſſible were the Hardſhips theſe new Planters underwent the firſt Winter; a ſad Mortality raged among them, occaſioned by the Fatigues of their late Voyage, by the Severity of the Weather, and their Want of Neceſſaries. The Country was full of Woods and Thickets; their poor Cottages could not keep them warm; they had no Phyſician, nor wholeſome Food, ſo that within two or three Months half the Company was dead, and of them that remained which were about fifty, not above ſix or ſeven at a Time were capable of helping the reſt; but as the Spring came on they recovered, and having received ſome freſh Supplies from their Friends in *England*, they maintained their Station,

King James I. 1621.

and laid the Foundation of one of the nobleſt Settlements in *America*, which from that Time has proved an *Aſylum* for the Non-Conformiſts under all their Oppreſſions.

Riſe of the Arminians *at Court.*

To return to *England*; though the King had ſo lately expreſſed a Zeal for the Doctrines of *Calvin* at the Synod of *Dort*, it now appeared that he had ſhaken them off, by his advancing the moſt zealous *Arminians*, as *Buckeridge*, *Neile*, *Harſnet* and *Laud*, to ſome of the beſt Biſhopricks in the Kingdom. Theſe Divines apprehending their Principles hardly conſiſtent with the Thirty nine Articles fell in with the Prerogative, and covered themſelves under the Wing of his Majeſty's Pretenſions to unlimited Power, which gave Riſe to a new Diſtinction at Court between CHURCH and STATE PURITANS. All were Puritans with King *James*, who ſtood by the Laws of the Land in Oppoſition to his arbitrary Government, though otherwiſe never ſo good *Church-Men*; theſe were *Puritans in the State*, as thoſe who ſcrupled the Ceremonies, and ſtood by the Doctrines of *Calvin*, were in the *Church*. The Church Puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by thoſe who ſtood by the Conſtitution, they became the Majority of the Nation. To balance theſe the King protected and countenanced the *Arminians* and *Papiſts*, who joined heartily with the Prerogative and became a State Faction againſt the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution. The Parties being thus formed grew up into a Hatred of each other. All that oppoſed the King's arbitrary Meaſures were called at Court by the Name of PURITANS; and thoſe that ſtood by the Crown in Oppoſition to the Parliament, went by the Names of *Papiſts* and *Arminians*. Theſe were the Seeds of thoſe Factions which occaſioned all the Diſturbances of the following Reign.

1621. *Proceedings of Parliament.*

The *Palatinate* being loſt, and the King's Son in Law and Daughter forced to take Sanctuary in *Holland*, all the World murmured at his Majeſty's Indolence, both as a Father and a Proteſtant; theſe Murmurs

murs obliged him at length to have Recourſe to a Parliament, from whom he hoped to ſqueeze a little Money to ſpend upon his Pleaſures; at the opening of the Parliament, *Jan.* 20. 1620-1 his Majeſty told them, "That they were no other than his Council, to "give him Advice as to what he ſhould aſk. 'Tis *the* "*King* (ſays he) *that makes Laws*, and ye are to adviſe "him to make ſuch as will be beſt for the Common-"wealth;—" With regard to his tolerating Popery, on the Account of his Son's Match, he profeſſes, "He "will do nothing but what ſhall be for the good of Re-"ligion.—" With regard to the *Palatinate* he ſays, "If he can't get it reſtor'd by fair Means, his "Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, ſhall be "ſpent for its Recovery." He therefore commands them not to hunt after Grievances, but to be quick and ſpeedy in giving him Money. Though the Parliament did not believe the King's Speech, yet the Occaſion was ſo reaſonable, that the Commons immediately voted him two entire Subſidies, and the Clergy three; but finding his Majeſty awed by the *Spaniard*, and making no Preparation for War, they began to enquire into *Grievances*, upon which the King *adjourned* the Houſes; (a Power not claimed by any of his Predeceſſors.) But upon the Day of Adjournment the Commons drew up a Declaration, wherein they ſay, "That being touched with a true Senſe, "and Fellow-feeling of the Sufferings of the King's "Children, and of the true Profeſſors of the ſame "Chriſtian Religion profeſſed by the Church of "*England* in foreign Parts, as Members of the ſame "Body, they unanimouſly declare, That they will "be ready, to the utmoſt of their Power, both with "their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſiſt his Majeſty ſo, "as that he may be able to do that with the Sword "which by a peaceable Courſe ſhall not be effected."

King James I. 1621.

Upon their Re-aſſembling in the Month of *November*, finding the King ſtill amuſed by the *Spaniſh* Match, while the Proteſtant Intereſt in the *Palati-*

Their Remonſtrance againſt Papiſts.

King James I. 1621.

nate was expiring, the Commons drew up a large Remonſtrance, in which they repreſent the Danger of the Proteſtant Religion from the Growth of Popery, from the open Reſort of Papiſts to the Ambaſſadors Chapels; from the frequent and numerous Conventicles both in City and Country; from the interpoſing of foreign Ambaſſadors in their Favour; from the compounding of their Forfeitures for ſuch ſmall Sums of Money as amounts to little leſs than a Toleration; from the Education of Gentlemen's Children in Popiſh Seminaries, and the licentious printing and publiſhing Popiſh Books; wherefore they pray his Majeſty to take his Sword in hand for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, to put the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts, to break off the *Spaniſh* Match, and to marry his Son to a *Proteſtant Princeſs*.

The King's arbitrary Behaviour. Rapin, p. 466, &c.

The King hearing of this Remonſtrance ſent the Speaker a Letter from *New-Market* to acquaint the Houſe, *That he abſolutely forbid their meddling with any Thing concerning his Government, or with his Son's Match*; and to keep them in Awe, his Majeſty declared, that *he thinks himſelf at liberty to puniſh any Man's Miſdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their ſitting, as after, which he means not to ſpare hereafter upon Occaſion of any Man's inſolent Behaviour in the Houſe.* In anſwer to this Letter the Commons drew up a Petition to preſent with their Remonſtrance, in which they inſiſt upon the Laws of their Country, and the Freedom of Debates in Parliament. The King writ them a long Anſwer, which concludes with denying them, what they call *their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance.* The Commons in debate upon his Majeſty's Anſwer drew up a *Proteſtation* in Maintenance of their Claim, and cauſed it to be enter'd in their *Journal Book.* Upon this the King being come to *London*, declared in Council the Proteſtation to be null, and with great Indignation tore it out of the *Book* with his own Hand. A few Days after he diſſolved the Parliament, and iſſued out a Proclamation,

forbidding his Subjects to talk of State Affairs. He also committed the leading Members to Priſon, as Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallery*; others were ſent into *Ireland*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton* were ſent to the *Tower*. *King* James I. 1622. Wilſon, p. 150. Rapin, p. 493. 1622.

The King having parted with his Parliament was at liberty to gratify the *Spaniard*, by indulging the Papiſts; for this purpoſe the Lord Keeper *Williams*, by his Majeſty's Command, writ to all the Judges, "That in their ſeveral Circuits they diſcharge all Priſoners for Church Recuſancy; or for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy; or for diſperſing Popiſh Books; or hearing or ſaying Maſs; or for any other Point of Recuſancy that concerned Religion only." Accordingly all the Jeſuits and Popiſh Recuſants of all Sorts were enlarged, to the Number (ſays Mr. *Prynne*) of four Thouſand; all Proſecutions were ſtay'd, and the penal Laws ſuſpended. Upon this, great Numbers of Jeſuits, and other Miſſionaries, flocked into *England*; Maſs was celebrated openly in the Countries; and in *London* their private Aſſemblies were ſo crouded, that at a Meeting in *Black Fryars* [*Nov.* 5. 1622. *N. S.*] the Floor ſunk under them and killed the Preacher and Ninety three of the Hearers. *Laws againſt Papiſts relaxed.* Fuller, B. X. p. 101.

While the Papiſts were countenanced, the Court and the new Biſhops bore hard upon the *Puritans*, filling the Pulpits with Men of arbitrary Principles, and puniſhing thoſe who dared to preach for the Rights of the Subject. The Reverend Mr. *Knight* of *Broadſgate Hall*, in a Sermon before the Univerſity of *Oxford* on 2 *Kings* xix. 9. advanced this Propoſition, That *ſubordinate Magiſtrates might lawfully make uſe of Force, and defend Themſelves, the Commonwealth, and the true Religion in the Field, againſt the chief Magiſtrate, within the Caſes and Conditions following*; 1. *When the chief Magiſtrate turns Tyrant.* 2. *When he forces his Subjects upon Blaſphemy or Idolatry.* 3. *When any* *Mr.* Knight's *Sermon againſt the Prerogative.*

King James I. 1622.

intolerable Burdens or Preſſures are laid upon them. And, 4. *When Reſiſtance is the only Expedient to ſecure their Lives, their Fortunes, and the Liberty of their Conſciences.* The Court being informed of this Sermon ſent for the Preacher, and aſk'd him, What Authority he had for his Aſſertion? He anſwered, *Paræus* on *Romans* xiiith. but, that his principal Authority was King *James* himſelf, who was ſending Aſſiſtance to the *Rochellers* againſt their natural Prince. Upon this bold Anſwer Mr. *Knight* was confined in the *Gate-Houſe*; *Paræus*'s Commentaries were burnt at *Oxford* and *London*; his Aſſertions were condemned as falſe and ſeditious; and the Univerſity of *Oxford* in full Convocation paſs'd a Decree, *That it was not lawful for Subjects to appear offenſively in Arms againſt their King on the Score of Religion, or on any other Account, according to the Scripture.* How this was reconcileable with the King's aſſiſting the *French* Huguenots, I muſt leave with the Reader. But to bind the Nation down for ever in Principles of Slavery, all Graduates of the Univerſity of *Oxford* were enjoined to ſubſcribe the above-mentioned Decree, and to ſwear, *That they would always continue of the ſame Opinion.* Was there ever ſuch an unreaſonable Oath? For a Man to ſwear he will always be of the ſame Mind! But ſuch was the Severity of the Times!

Oxford Decree.

But to diſtreſs the Puritans more effectually, the King ſent the following Directions to the Archbiſhop, to be communicated to all the Clergy of his Province. Dated from *Windſor*, *Aug.* 10. 1622.

King's Injunctions to reſtrain Preaching the Doctrines of Calvin.

1. "That no Preacher under a Biſhop or Dean, "ſhall make a ſet Diſcourſe, or fall into any com- "mon Place of Divinity in his Sermons, not com- "prehended in the Thirty nine Articles.

2. "That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate or Lecturer, "ſhall preach any Sermon hereafter, on Sundays "or Holidays in the Afternoon, but expound the "Catechiſm, Creed, or Ten Commandments; and

"that

" that thoſe be moſt encouraged who catechiſe Chil- *King James I. 1622.*
" dren only.

3. " That no Preacher under a Biſhop or Dean, " preſume to preach in any popular Auditory on " the deep Points of *Predeſtination*, *Election*, *Re-* " *probation*; or of the *Univerſality*, *Efficacy*, *Reſiſti-* " *bility*, or *Irreſiſtibility of* God's Grace.

4. " That no Preacher of any Degree ſoever, " ſhall henceforth preſume in any Auditory to de- " clare, limit, or ſet Bounds to the *Prerogative*, " *Power*, or *Juriſdiction of Sovereign Princes*, or " meddle with Matters of State.

5. " That no Preacher ſhall uſe railing Speeches " againſt *Papiſts* or *Puritans*, but endeavour to free " the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church in a " grave Manner from the Aſperſions of both Adver- " ſaries.

6. " That the Archbiſhop and Biſhops be more " wary for the future, in licenſing Preachers; and " that all Lecturers throughout the Kingdom be li- " cenſed in the Court of Faculties, by Recommen- " dation from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, with a *Fiat* " from the Archbiſhop, and a Confirmation under " the Great Seal of *England*.

" Thoſe that offended againſt any of theſe Injun- " ctions were to be ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio* " for a Year and a Day, till his Majeſty ſhould pre- " ſcribe ſome further Puniſhment with Advice of " Convocation."

Here is nothing that could affect Papiſts or Ar- *Remarks.*
minians, but almoſt every Article points at the Puritans. The King had aſſiſted in maintaining theſe Doctrines in *Holland*, but will not have them propagated in *England*. The Thirty nine Articles were eſtabliſhed by Law, and yet none under a Biſhop or Dean may preach on the Seventeenth, concerning Predeſtination. The Miniſters of God's Word may not *limit* the Prerogative, but they may preach concern-

King James I. 1622.

Book X. p. 111.

ing its *unlimited Extent*; and though the ſecond Injunction admits of their expounding the Catechiſm, *Fuller* ſays, "The Biſhops Officials were ſo active, "that in many Places they tied up Preachers in the "Afternoon to the very Letter of the Catechiſm, "allowing them no Liberty to expound or enlarge "upon any of the Anſwers." The Puritans had ſuffered hitherto only for the Neglect of Ceremonies, but now their very Doctrine is an Offence. From this Time, all *Calviniſts* were in a manner excluded from Court Preferments. The way to riſe in the Church, was to preach up the abſolute Power of the King, to declaim againſt the Rigours of *Calviniſm*, and to ſpeak favourably of Popery. Thoſe that ſcrupled this, were neglected, and diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *doctrinal Puritans*; but it was the Glory of this People that they ſtood together, like a Wall, againſt the arbitrary Proceedings of the King, both in Church and State.

Archbiſhop Abbot *accidentally kills a Man, and retires from Court.*

Archbiſhop *Abbot* was at the Head of the *doctrinal Puritans*; and often adviſed the King to return to the old Parliamentary Way of raiſing Money: But this coſt him his Intereſt at Court; and an Accident happen'd this Year, which quite broke his Spirits, and made him retire from the World. Lord *Zouch* invited his *Grace* to a Buck-hunting in *Bramſhill-Park* in *Hampſhire*; and while the Keeper was running among the Deer, to bring them to a fairer Mark, the Archbiſhop ſitting on Horſeback, let fly a barbed Arrow, which ſhot him under the Arm-pit, and killed him dead upon the Spot. His *Grace* was ſo diſtreſſed in Mind with this Accident, that he retired to one of his own Alms-houſes at *Guilford*; and though upon Examination of the Caſe, it was judged *caſual Homicide*, he kept that Day as a Faſt as long as he lived; and gave the Keeper's Widow twenty Pounds a Year for her Maintenance. The King alſo being moved with Compaſſion, ſent for him to *Lambeth*, and gave him a Royal Pardon and Diſpenſation,

to

to prevent all Exceptions to his Epiſcopal Character; but he prudently withdrew from the Council Board, where his Advice was but little regarded before, as coming from a Perſon of unfaſhionable Principles. *King James I. 1622.*

The Puritans loſt an eminent practical Writer and Preacher about this Time, *Nicholas Byfield*, born in *Warwickſhire*, and educated in *Exeter* College, *Oxford*. After four Years, he left the Univerſity, and went for *Ireland*; but preaching at *Cheſter*, the Inhabitants gave him an unanimous Invitation to St. *Peter*'s Church in that City, where he continued ſeven Years. From thence he removed to *Iſleworth* in *Middleſex*, where he continued to his Death. He was a Divine of a profound Judgment, a ſtrong Memory, quick Invention, and unwearied Induſtry, which brought the Stone upon him, of which he died this Year, in the forty fifth Year of his Age. His Body being opened, a Stone was taken out of his Bladder, that weighed thirty three Ounces, and was in Meaſure about the Edge, fifteen Inches and a half; about the Length and Breadth, thirteen Inches, and ſolid like a Flint; an almoſt incredible Relation! But Dr. *William Gouge*, who writ this Account, was an Eye-witneſs of it, with many others. Mr. *Byfield* was a Calviniſt, a Nonconformiſt to the Ceremonies, and a ſtrict Obſerver of the Sabbath. He publiſhed ſeveral practical Books in his Life-time; and his Commentaries upon the *Coloſſians* and St. *Peter*, publiſhed after his Death, ſhew him to be a Divine of great Piety, Learning, and Capacity. *Death and Character of Mr.* Byfield.

The Archbiſhop being in Diſgrace, the Council were of a Piece, and met with no Interruption in their Proceedings. The Puritans retired to the new Plantations in *America*, and Popery came in like an armed Man. This was occaſioned partly by the new Promotions at Court, but chiefly by the *Spaniſh* Match, which was begun about the Year 1617. and drawn out to a Length of ſeven Years, till the Palatinate was loſt, and the Proteſtant Religion, in a man-

King James I. 1622.

manner, extirpated out of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and other Parts of *Germany*; and then the Match it ſelf was broke off.

Of the Spaniſh Match.

To trace this Affair from its beginning, becauſe it was the Source of the remaining Calamities of this and the following Reign. Prince *Charles* being arrived at the State of Manhood, the King had Thoughts of marrying him, but could not find a Proteſtant Princeſs fit for him. He deſpiſed the Princes of *Germany*, and would hear of nothing below a King's Daughter for his Son. This put him upon ſeeking a Wife for him out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſworn Enemies to the Proteſtant Religion; for which Purpoſe he enter'd into a Treaty with *Spain* for the *Infanta*. Under Colour of this Match, *Gondamar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, made the King do whatever he pleaſed. If he enclined to aſſiſt his Son-in-Law in recovering the *Palatinate*, he was told he muſt keep fair with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or the Match would break off: If he denied any Favours to the Papiſts at Home, the Court of *Rome*, and all the *Roman* Catholick Powers, were diſobliged, and then it could never take Place. To obviate theſe and other Objections to the Match, his Majeſty promiſed, upon the Word of a King, that no *Roman* Catholick ſhould be proceeded againſt capitally; and though he could not at preſent repeal the pecuniary Laws, he promiſed to mitigate them, to the Satisfaction of the King of *Spain*; and the Lengths his Majeſty went in Favour of Papiſts on this Occaſion, will appear by the following Articles, which were inſerted both into the *Spaniſh* and *French* Treaty, which afterwards took Place.

Articles of Marriage.

The Articles of the intended *Spaniſh* Match relating to Religion, were theſe.

Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 86. Rapin. p. 543.

Art. 6. "The Infanta her ſelf, her Men and Maid "Servants, her Children and Deſcendants, and all "their Families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her "High-

" Highneſs, may freely and publickly profeſs themſelves Catholicks. *King James I.* 1623.

Art. 5, 7, and 8. " Provide a Church, a Chapel, " and an Oratory for her Highneſs, with all Popiſh " Ornaments, Utenſils, and Decorations.

Art. 10 and 11. " Allow her twenty four Prieſts " and Aſſiſtants, and over them a Biſhop, with full " Authority and ſpiritual Juriſdiction.

Art. 13. " Admits the Infanta and her Servants to " procure from *Rome* Diſpenſations, Indulgences, " Jubilees, *&c.* and all Graces, as ſhall ſeem meet " to them.

Art. 16. " Provides, that the Laws made againſt " *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, or in any of the " King's Dominions, ſhall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; nor ſhall they loſe their " Succeſſion to the Crown, although they be *Roman* " Catholicks.

Art. 17. " Authorizes the Infanta to chooſe " Nurſes for her Children, and to bring them up in " her Religion till they are ten Years of Age." But the Term was afterwards enlarged to twelve; and in the Match with *France*, to thirteen.

King *James* ſwore to the Obſervation of theſe Articles, in the Preſence of the two *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and twenty four Privy-Counſellors, who ſet their Hands to the Treaty. Beſides which, his Majeſty and Prince of *Wales* ſwore to four following private ones, " (1.) That no Laws againſt Papiſts ſhould hereafter " be put in Execution. (2.) That no new Laws ſhall " be made againſt them; but that there ſhall be a " perpetual Toleration of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in private Houſes, throughout all his Majeſty's Dominions which his Council ſhall ſwear to. " (3.) That he will never perſuade the *Infanta* to " change her Religion. (4.) That he will uſe all " his Authority and Influence to have theſe Conditions ratified by Parliament, that ſo all penal Laws " againſt 1623. *Sworn to by the King and Prince of Wales.*

King James I. 1623.

" againſt Papiſts may not only be ſuſpended, but " legally diſannulled."

The Words of the Prince of *Wales*'s Oath were theſe: " I *Charles* Prince of *Wales* engage my ſelf— " that all Things contained in the foregoing Articles, " which concern as well the Suſpenſion as Abroga- " tion of all Laws made againſt *Roman* Catholicks, " ſhall within three Years infallibly take Effect, and " ſooner, if poſſible; which we will have to lie upon " our Conſcience and Royal Honour: And I will " intercede with my Father that the ten Years of " Education of the Children that ſhall be born of " this Marriage, which the Pope of *Rome* deſires " may be lengthen'd to twelve, ſhall be prolonged " to the ſaid Term. And I ſwear, that if the entire " Power of diſpoſing this Matter be devolved upon " me, I will grant and approve of the ſaid Term. " Furthermore, as oft as the *Infanta* ſhall deſire that " I ſhould give Ear to Divines and others, whom " her Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to employ in Matters " of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, I will hearken " to them willingly, without all Difficulties, and " laying aſide all Excuſes."

Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 89.

Under theſe Advantages, the Papiſts appeared openly, and behaved with an offenſive Inſolence; but the Hearts of all true Proteſtants trembled for themſelves and their Poſterity. And Archbiſhop *Abbot*, though under a Cloud, ventured to write to the King upon this Subject; beſeeching him, in his Letter, to conſider, " Whether by the Toleration which his " Majeſty propoſes, he is not ſetting up that moſt " damnable and heretical Doctrine of the Church of " *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon?* How hateful muſt " this be to God, and grievous to your good Subjects, " (ſays he) that your Majeſty, who hath learnedly " written againſt theſe wicked Hereſies, ſhould now " ſhew your ſelf a Patron of thoſe Doctrines, which " your Pen has told the World, and your Conſcience " tells your ſelf, are ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and " deteſtable

Archbiſhop Abbot *againſt them.*

" deteſtable — Beſides, this Toleration which you " endeavour to ſet up by Proclamation, cannot be " done without a Parliament, unleſs your Majeſty " will let your Subjects ſee that you will take a li- " berty to throw down the Laws at your Pleaſure. " And above all, I beſeech your Majeſty to con- " ſider, leſt by this Toleration your Majeſty do not " draw upon the Kingdom in general, and on your " ſelf in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Indig- " nation."

King James II. 1623. Fuller, B. X. p. 106.

But this wiſe King, inſtead of hearkning to the Remonſtrances of his Proteſtant Subjects, put the Peace of his Kingdom, and the whole Proteſtant Religion, into the Hands of the *Spaniard*, by ſending his Son with the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Madrid*, to fetch home the Infanta; a Piece of Confidence that the *Solomon of the Age* ſhould not have been guilty of. When the Prince was gone 'tis ſaid, That *Archy*, the King's *Fool*, clap'd his Cap upon the King's Head. The King aſking him the Reaſon, he anſwer'd, *Becauſe he had ſent the Prince into Spain.* But, ſays his Majeſty, What if he ſhould come back ſafe? Why then, ſays *Archy*, *I will take my Cap off from your Head and put it on the King of Spain's.* The *Spaniards* gave out, that the Deſign of the Prince's Journey was to reconcile himſelf to the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis certain the Pope writ to the Biſhop of *Conchen*, to lay hold of this Opportunity to convert him; and directed a moſt perſuaſive Letter to the Prince himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, dated *April* 20. 1623. which the Prince anſwered *June* 20th. in a very obliging Manner, giving the Pope the Title of MOST HOLY FATHER, and encouraging him to expect, that when he came to the Crown there ſhould be but *One Religion* in his Dominions, ſeeing (ſays he) that both Catholicks and Proteſtants believe in one Jeſus Chriſt. He was ſtrongly ſolicited to change his Religion by ſome of the firſt Quality, and by the moſt learned Prieſts and Jeſuits, who careſſed his Highneſs with

Prince of Wales *goes to* Madrid. Wilſon, p. 233. Rapin, p. 535.

King James I. 1624.

with Speeches, dedicated Books to him, invited him to their Proceſſions, and gave him a View of their moſt magnificent Churches and Reliques; by which Artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his Reſolution of attempting a *Coalition of the two Churches*; for the Accompliſhment of which he afterwards loſt both his Crown and Life. It was happy, after all, that the Prince got ſafe out of the *Spaniſh* Territories, which, as *Spanheim* obſerves, that politick Court would not have permitted, had they not conſidered, *That the Queen of* Bohemia, *next Heir to the Crown, was a greater Enemy to Popery than her Brother*. But after all, when this memorable Treaty of Marriage had been upon the Carpet ſeven Years, and wanted nothing but *Conſummation*, the Portion being ſettled, the Pope's Diſpenſation obtained, the Marriage Articles ſworn to on both ſides, and the very Day of Conſummation by Proxy appointed, it was broke off by the Influence of the Duke of *Buckingham* upon the Prince, who ordered the Earl of *Briſtol* not to deliver the Proxy till the Time limited by the *Diſpenſation* was expired; the King of *Spain* ſuſpecting the Deſign, in order to throw all the Blame upon the King of *England*, ſign'd a Promiſe with his own Hand and deliver'd it to the Ambaſſador, wherein he obliged himſelf to cauſe the *Palatinate* to be reſtored to the Elector *Palatine*, in caſe the Marriage took effect; but his Highneſs was immoveable, and obliged the King to recal his Ambaſſador.

Rapin, p. 558. *Vide Note.*

The Match broke off.

1624. *A new Parliament.*

From this Time the Prince and Duke ſeemed to turn Puritans, the latter having taken Dr. *John Preſton*, one of their chief Miniſters, into his Service, to conſult him about alienating the Dean and Chapter Lands to the Purpoſes of Preaching. They alſo adviſed the King to call a Parliament, which his Majeſty did, and made ſuch a Speech to them, as one would think impoſſible to come from the ſame Lips with the former. "I aſſure you (ſays he, ſpeaking

"of

" of the *Spaniſh* Match) on the Faith of a Chriſtian " King, that it is *res integra* preſented unto you, and " that I ſtand not bound, nor either way engaged, " but remain free to follow what ſhall be beſt advi- " ſed." His Majeſty adds, " I can truly ſay, and " will avouch it before the Seat of God and Angels, " That never King governed with a purer, ſincerer, " and more uncorrupt Heart than I have done, far " from ill will and meaning of the leaſt Error and " Imperfection in my Reign —— It has been talked " of my Remiſſneſs in Maintenance of Religion, and " Suſpicion of a Toleration [of Popery]; but as " God ſhall judge me, I never thought nor meant, " nor ever in word expreſſed any Thing that ſavour- " ed of it —— I never in all my Treaties agreed to " any Thing to the Overthrow and diſannulling of " thoſe Laws, but had in all a chief Regard to the " Preſervation of that Truth which I have ever pro- " feſſed." The Reader will remember how this agrees with the Marriage Articles above-mentioned, which the King had ſworn to.

King James I. 1624.

Rapin, p. 567.

But the Parliament taking Things as the King had repreſented them, adviſed his Majeſty to break off the Match, and to declare War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and at the ſame Time petitioned his Majeſty, That all Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts might be commanded to depart the Realm; that the Laws might be put in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants; that all ſuch might be removed from Court, and ten Miles from *London*. To which the King made this remarkable Anſwer, which muſt ſtrike the Reader with Surprize and Wonder. " —— What " Religion I am of my Books declare; I wiſh it " may be written in Marble, and remain to Poſte- " rity as a Mark upon me, when I ſhall ſwerve " from my Religion; for he that diſſembles with " God is not to be truſted with Men ——. I pro- " teſt before God, that my Heart hath bled when

King's Anſwer to their Petition.

Rapin, p. 529. Ruſh. V. I. p. 143.

King James I. 1624.

" I have heard of the Increaſe of Popery. God is " my Judge, it hath been ſuch a Grief to me, that " it has been as Thorns in my Eyes, and Pricks in " my Sides. —— It hath been my Deſire to hinder " the Growth of Popery; and I could not be an ho- " neſt Man, if I had done otherwiſe. —— I will or- " der the Laws to be put in Execution againſt Po- " piſh Recuſants as they were before theſe Treaties, " for the Laws are ſtill in being, and were never " diſpenſed with by me; God is my Judge, they " were never ſo intended by me."

Remarks. What ſolemn Appeals to Heaven are theſe, againſt the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt Facts! It requires a good Degree of Charity, to believe this Prince had either Religion or Honeſty. For though he told his Parliament, that his Heart bled within him when he heard of the Increaſe of Popery, yet this very Parliament preſented him with a Liſt of Fifty ſeven Popiſh Lords and Knights who were in publick Offices, none of which were diſplaced, while the Puritan Miniſters were driven out of the Kingdom, and hardly a Gentleman of that Character advanced to the Dignity of a Juſtice of Peace.

French Match. Rapin, P. 589.

The Parliament being prorogued, the King, inſtead of going heartily into the War, or marrying his Son to a *Proteſtant Princeſs*, enter'd into a Treaty with *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, for his Siſter *Henrietta Maria*. Upon this Occaſion the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* was ſent into *England*, who told the King, the beſt way to accompliſh the Match for his Son, was to grant a full Toleration to the Catholicks. The King replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an Aſſembly of Divines to compromiſe the Difference between Proteſtants and Papiſts, and promiſed to ſend a Letter to the Pope to bring him into the Project. In this Letter, ſays Monſieur *Deageant* in his Memoirs, the King ſtiles the Pope, Chriſt's Vicar, and Head of the *Church Univerſal*,

verſal, and aſſures him, he would declare himſelf a Catholick as ſoon as he could provide againſt the Inconveniencies of ſuch a Declaration; but whether this was ſo or not, 'tis certain he immediately relaxed the penal Laws againſt Papiſts, and permitted *Ambrun* to adminiſter Confirmation to ten Thouſand Catholicks at the Door of the *French* Ambaſſador's Houſe, before a great Concourſe of People. In the mean Time, the Treaty of Marriage went forwards, and was at laſt ſigned, *Nov.* 10. in Thirty three Articles, and three ſecret ones, wherein the very ſame, or greater Advantages, were ſtipulated for the Catholicks than in thoſe of *Madrid*; but before the Diſpenſation from the Pope could be procured his Majeſty fell ſick at *Theobalds* of a Tertian Ague, which put an End to his Life, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon, *March* 27. 1625. in the 59th Year of his Age.

King James I. 1624.

The King dies.

To review the Courſe of this Reign; 'tis evident that both Popery and Puritaniſm encreaſed prodigiouſly, while the Friends of the Hierarchy ſunk into Contempt; this was owing partly to the Spiritual Promotions, and partly to the arbitrary Maxims of State that the King had advanced. In promoting of Biſhops the King had a greater Regard to ſuch as would yield a ſervile Compliance with his abſolute Commands, than to ſuch as would fill the Pulpit with Reputation, and be an Example to the People of Religion and Virtue, of which Number were Biſhop *Neile*, *Buckeridge*, *Harſnet*, *Laud*, &c. The faſhionable Doctrines at Court were ſuch as the King had condemned at the Synod of *Dort*, and which in the Opinion of the old *Engliſh* Clergy, were ſubverſive of the Reformation. The new Biſhops admitted the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church, and the Pope the firſt Biſhop of Chriſtendom. They declared for the Lawfulneſs of Images in Churches; for the real Preſence; and that

Summary State of Religion in this Reign.

King James I. 1624.

the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was a School Nicety. They pleaded for Confeſſion to a Prieſt; for ſacerdotal Abſolution, and the proper Merit of good Works. They gave up the Morality of the Sabbath, and the five diſtinguiſhing Points of Calviniſm which their Predeceſſors had contended for. They claimed an uninterrupted Succeſſion of the Epiſcopal Character from the Apoſtles through the Church of *Rome*, which obliged them to maintain the Validity of her Ordinations, when they denied the Validity of thoſe of the foreign Proteſtants. Further, they began to imitate the Church of *Rome* in her gaudy Ceremonies, in the rich Furniture of their Chapels, and the Pomp of their Worſhip. They complimented the Roman Catholick Prieſts with their Dignitary Titles, and ſpent all their Zeal in ſtudying how to compromiſe Matters with *Rome*, while they turned their Backs upon the old Proteſtant Doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or inſtructing the People in Chriſtian Knowledge. Things were come to ſuch a paſs, that *Gondamar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador writ to *Spain*, That there never was more Hopes of *England*'s Converſion, *for* "*there are more Prayers (ſays he) of-*"*fered to the Mother than to the Son of God.*" The Prieſts and Jeſuits challenged the eſtabliſhed Clergy to publick Diſputations; the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Mother being a Papiſt, a Conference was held in her Preſence between *Fiſher* a Jeſuit on the one part, and Dr. *White*, *Williams*, and *Laud*, on the other. Each of them diſputed with the Jeſuit a Day before a great Concourſe of People, but not to the Counteſs's Converſion, which was not at all ſtrange upon their Principles. Amongſt other Popiſh Books that were publiſhed, one was entitled, *A new Gag for the old Goſpel*; which Dr. *Montague*, Rector of *Stamford Rivers* anſwered in ſuch a manner, as gave great Offence to the old Clergy, for he yielded up all the Points above-mentioned,

tioned, and not only declared for *Arminianiſm*, but made very dangerous Advances towards Popery it ſelf. The Book making a great Noiſe, Mr. *Ward* and *Yates*, two Miniſters at *Ipſwich*, made a Collection of the Popiſh and Arminian Tenets contained in it, in order to lay them before the next Parliament; but the Author, with the King's Leave, took ſhelter under the Royal Wing, and prepared for the Preſs, his *Apello Cæſarem*, or a juſt Appeal from two unjuſt Informers; which *White*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, licenſed in theſe Words, That *there was nothing contained in the ſame but what was agreeable to the publick Faith, Doctrine, and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England. But before the Book was publiſhed the King died. *King* James I. 1624.

Theſe Advances of the Court Divines towards Popery made moſt of the People fall in with the Puritans, who being conſtant Preachers, and of exemplary and holy Lives, wrought them up by their awakening Sermons to an Abhorrence of every Thing that looked that way. Many of the Nobility and Gentry favoured them. Lady *Bowes*, afterwards Lady *Darcy*, gave a Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to maintain Preachers in the North, where there were none, and all her Preachers were ſilenced Non-Conformiſts. Almoſt all the famous practical Writers of this Reign, except Biſhop *Andrews*, were Puritans, and Sufferers for Non-Conformity, as Dr. *Willet*, Mr. *Jer. Dyke*, Dr. *Preſton*, *Sibbs*, *Byfield*, *Bolton*, *Hilderſham*, *Dod*, *Ball*, *Whately*, and others, whoſe Works have done great Service to Religion. The Character of theſe Divines was the Reverſe of what the learned *Selden* ſays of the Clergy of theſe Times in his Hiſtory of Tithes, where he taxes them with *Ignorance* and *Lazineſs*; and adds, "That they had nothing to ſupport their Credit but "*Beard*, *Title* and *Habit*; and that their Learning "reached no further than the Poſtils and the Polyan-"thia." Clark's *Life of* Rothwel, p. 69. *In Pref.*

King James I. 1614.

"thia." Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. *Coke*, the Puritan Party had gathered ſuch Strength, and was in ſuch Reputation with the People, that they were more in number than all the other Parties in the Kingdom put together.

Character of K. James I

Character of the Court of K. James.

With regard to King *James* himſelf, 'tis hard to draw his juſt Character, for no Prince was ever ſo much flatter'd that had ſo little to deſerve it. He was of a middle Stature, not very corpulent, but ſtuff'd out with Clothes, which hung ſo looſe, and being quilted, were ſo thick, as to reſiſt a Dagger. His Countenance was homely, and his Tongue too big for his Mouth, ſo that he could not ſpeak with Decency. While he was in *Scotland* he appeared ſober and chaſte, and acquired a good Degree of Learning, but upon his Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Crown he threw off the Maſk, and by Degrees gave himſelf up to Luxury and Eaſe, and all Kinds of Licentiouſneſs. His Language was obſcene, and his Actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane Swearer, and would often be drunk, but when he came to himſelf would weep like a Child, and ſay, he hoped God would not impute his Infirmities to him. He valued himſelf upon what he called KING-CRAFT, which was nothing elſe but deep Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation in every Character of Life, reſulting from the exceſſive Timorouſneſs of his Nature. If we conſider him as a *King*, he never did a great or generous Action throughout the Courſe of his Reign, but proſtituted the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation beyond any of his Predeceſſors. He ſtood ſtill while the Proteſtant Religion was ſuppreſſed in *France*, in *Bohemia*, in the *Palatinate*, and other Parts of *Germany*. He ſurrender'd up the Cautionary Towns to the *Dutch* for leſs than a fourth Part of the Value, and ſuffered them to diſpoſſeſs us of our Factories in the

Eaſt

East Indies. At home, he committed the Direction of all Affairs in Church and State to two or three Favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no Trouble. He broke through all the Laws of the Land, and was as absolute a Tyrant as his Want of Courage would admit. He revived the Projects of Monopolies, Loans, Benevolences, *&c.* to supply his *Exchequer*, which was exhausted by his Profuseness towards his Favourites, and laid the Foundation of all the Calamities of his Son's Reign. Upon the whole, tho' he was flatter'd by hungry Courtiers as the *Solomon* and *Phœnix* of his Age, he was in the Opinion of Bishop *Burnet*, "The Scorn of the Age, a "mere Pedant, without true Judgment, Courage, "or Steadiness, his Reign being a continued "Course of mean Practices." *King* James I. 1624.

'Tis hard to make any Judgment of his Religion, for one while he was a Puritan, and then a zealous Churchman; at first a Calvinist and Presbyterian, afterwards a Remonstrant or Arminian, and at last a half, if not an entire Doctrinal Papist; Sir *Ralph Winwood*, in his Memoirs says, That as long ago as the Year 1596. he sent Mr. *Ogilby*, a *Scots* Baron, to *Spain*, to assure his Catholick Majesty he was then ready to turn Papist, and to propose an Alliance with that King and the Pope against the Queen of *England*; but for Reasons of State the Affair was hush't. *Rapin* says, he was neither a sound Protestant, nor a good Catholick, but had formed a Plan of uniting both Churches, which must effectually have ruined the Protestant Interest, for which, indeed, he never expressed any real Concern. But I am rather of Opinion, that all his Religion was his pretended KING-CRAFT. He was certainly the meanest Prince that ever sat upon the *British* Throne: *England* never sunk in its Reputation, nor was so much exposed to the Scorn *State Tracts*, V. I. p. 1;

King James I. 1624.

and Ridicule of its Neighbours, as in his Reign. How willing his Majeſty was to unite with the Papiſts the foregoing Hiſtory has diſcovered; and yet in the Preſence of many Lords, and in a very remarkable Manner, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, *That he would ſpend the laſt Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than his own* [the Proteſtant] *that God would take them out of the World.* How far this Imprecation took Place upon himſelf or any of his Poſterity, I leave with Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* to the Determination of an Omniſcient Being.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of King JAMES I. *to the Diſſolution of the third Parliament of King* CHARLES I. *in the Year* 1628.

King Charles I. 1625.

BEFORE we enter upon this Reign, it will be proper to take a ſhort View of the Court, and of the moſt active Miniſters under the King for the firſt fifteen Years.

Character of King Charles I.

King CHARLES I. came to the Crown at the Age of twenty five Years, being born at *Dumferling* in *Scotland*, in the Year 1600. and baptized by a Preſbyterian Miniſter of that Country. In his Youth, he was of a weakly Conſtitution, and ſtammering Speech; his Legs were ſomewhat crooked, and he was ſuſpected *(ſays Mr. Eachard)* to be of a perverſe Nature. When his Father [King *James*] came to the *Engliſh* Crown, he took him from his *Scots* Tutors, and placed him under thoſe that gave him an early Averſion to that *Kirk*, into which he had been bap ized, and to thoſe Doctrines of Chriſtianity, for which they had the greateſt Veneration. As the Court of King *James* leaned towards Popery and arbitrary Power, ſo did the Prince, eſpecially after his Journey into *Spain*; where he imbibed not only the pernicious Maxims of that Court, but their reſerved and diſtant Behaviour. He aſſured the Pope by Letter, in order to obtain a Diſpenſation to marry the Infanta, "That he would not marry any "Mortal whoſe Religion he hated: He might "therefore depend upon it, that he would always "abſtain from ſuch Actions as might teſtify an Ha-"tred to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and would "endeavour that all ſiniſter Opinions might be taken "away; that as we all profeſs one individual Trinity, "we may unanimouſly grow up into one Faith." His Majeſty began his Reign upon moſt arbitrary Princi-

King Charles I. 1625.

Principles; and though he had good natural Abilities, was always under the Direction of ſome Favourite, to whoſe Judgment and Conduct he abſolutely reſigned himſelf. Nor was he ever Maſter of ſo much Judgment in Politicks, as to diſcern his own and the Nation's true Intereſt, or to take the Advice of thoſe that did. With regard to the Church, he was a punctual Obſerver of the Ceremonies, and had the higheſt Diſlike and Prejudice to that Part of his Subjects that were againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution: "Looking "upon them as a very dangerous and ſeditious Peo- "ple, who would, under Pretence of Conſcience, "which kept them from ſubmitting to the ſpiritual "Juriſdiction, take the firſt Opportunity they could "find or make (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) to withdraw "themſelves from his temporal Juriſdiction; and "therefore his Majeſty cauſed this People [the Pu- "ritans] to be watched and provided againſt with "the utmoſt Vigilance."

Claren. Vol. I. p. 81.

Of his Queen.

Upon his Majeſty's Acceſſion, and before the Solemnity of his Father's Funeral, he married HENRIETTA MARIA, Daughter of *Henry* IV. and Siſter of *Lewis* XIII. preſent King of *France*. The Marriage was ſolemnized by Proxy; firſt at *Paris*, with all the Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church, and afterwards at *Canterbury*, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*; the Articles being in a manner the ſame with thoſe already mentioned in the *Spaniſh* Match. Her Majeſty arrived at *Dover* *June* 13. and brought with her a long Train of Prieſts and menial Servants of the *Romiſh* Religion; for whoſe Devotions a Chapel was fitted up in the King's Houſe at St. *James*'s. "The Queen was an agree- "able and beautiful Lady, and by Degrees (ſays "Lord *Clarendon*) obtained a Plenitude of Power "over the King.—His Majeſty had her in perfect "Adoration, and would do nothing without her, "but was inexorable as to every Thing that he pro- "miſed her." Biſhop *Burnet* ſays: "The Queen "was

Hiſt. Life and Times.

" was a Lady of great Vivacity, and loved Intrigues " of all ſorts, but was not ſecret in them, as ſhe " ought: She had no manner of Judgment, being " bad at Contrivance, but worſe at Execution. By " the Livelineſs of her Diſcourſe, ſhe made great " Impreſſions upon the King; ſo that to the Queen's " little Practice, and the King's own Temper, the " Sequel of all his Misfortunes were owing." *King* Charles I. 1625.

Biſhop *Kennet* adds: " That the King's Match with " this Lady, was a greater Judgment to the Nation " than the Plague, which then raged in the Land; " for conſidering the Malignity of the Popiſh Reli- " gion, the Imperiouſneſs of the *French* Government, " the Influence of a ſtately Queen over an affe- " ctionate Huſband, and the Share ſhe muſt needs " have in the Education of her Children, [till thirteen " Years of Age] it was then eaſy to foreſee it might " prove very fatal to our *Engliſh* Prince and People, " and lay in a Vengeance to future Generations." The Queen was a very great *Bigot* to her Religion; her Conſcience was directed by her Confeſſor, aſſiſted by the Pope's Nuncio, and a ſecret Cabal of Prieſts and Jeſuits. Theſe directed the Queen, and ſhe the King; ſo that in effect the Nation was governed by Popiſh Councils, till the long Parliament.

The Prime Miniſter under the King was G. VILLIERS, Duke of *Buckingham*, a graceful young Gentleman, but very unfit for his high Station. He had a full Poſſeſſion of the King's Heart, inſomuch that his Majeſty broke Meaſures with all his Parliaments for his ſake. " Moſt Men (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) " imputed all the Calamities of the Nation to his " arbitrary Councils; ſo that few were diſpleaſed at " the News of his Murder by *Felton*, in the Year " 1628. when he was not above thirty four Years of " Age." *The Duke of* Buckingham. Claren. Vol. I. p. 837.

Upon the Duke's Death, Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, then Biſhop of *London*, became the Chief Miniſter, both in Church and State. He was born at *Reading*, and *Archbiſhop* Laud.

King Charles I. 1625.

educated in St. *John*'s College, *Oxford*, upon the charitable Donation of Mr. *White*, Founder of *Merchant-Taylors School*. Here he continued till he was fifty Years of Age, and behaved in such a manner, that no Body knew what to think of him. "I "would I knew (says the pious Bishop *Hall*, in one "of his Letters) where to find you; to Day you are "with the *Romanists*, to Morrow with us; our Ad-"versaries think you ours, and we theirs; your "Conscience finds you with both and neither: How "long will you halt in this Indifferency?" Dr. ABBOT says: "He spent his Time in picking Quarrels "with the Lectures of publick Readers, and giving "Advice to the then Bishop of *Durham*, that he "might fill the Ears of the King [*James* I.] with "Prejudices against honest Men, whom he called "*Puritans*." *Heylin* confesses, it was thought dangerous to keep him Company. By the Interest of Bishop *Williams*, he was first advanced to a *Welch* Bishoprick, and from thence by Degrees to the highest Preferments in Church and State. He was a little Man, of a quick and rough Temper, impatient of Contradiction even at the Council Table, of arbitrary Principles, both in Church and State; always enclined to Methods of Severity, especially against the *Puritans*; vastly fond of external Pomp and Ceremony in divine Worship; and though he was not an absolute Papist, he was ambitious of being the Sovereign Patriarch of three Kingdoms.

Rushw. Vol. I. p. 440.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

L. C. J. Finch, and the rest of the Judges.

Lord Chief Justice FINCH was a Man of little Knowledge in his Profession, except it was for making the Statute Laws of the Land give Place to Orders of Council. Mr. Attorney-General *Noy* was a Man of affected Pride and Morosity, who valued himself (says Lord *Clarendon*) upon making that to be Law which all other Men believed not to be so. Indeed, all the Judges were of this Stamp, who, instead of upholding the Law, as the Defence and Security of the Subjects Properties, set it aside upon

Claren. Vol. I. p. 71, 73, 74.

every little Occaſion, diſtinguiſhing between a *Rule of Law*, and a *Rule of Government:* So that thoſe whom they could not convict by *Statute Law*, were ſure to ſuffer by the *Rule of Government*, or the general Juſtice of the Kingdom. The Judges held their Places during the King's Pleaſure; and when the Prerogative was to be ſtretched above Law, in any particular Inſtances; *Laud* would ſend to them for their Opinions before-hand, to give the greater Sanction to the Proceedings of the Council and Star-Chamber, by whom they were often put in Mind, that *if they did not do his Majeſty's Buſineſs to Satisfaction, they would be removed.* Upon the whole, they were mercenary Men, and (according to Lord *Clarendon*) ſcandalous to their Profeſſion. *King* Charles I. 1625.

The Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* had little to do between the King and the Subject; all Buſineſs of this Kind being tranſacted at the COUNCIL TABLE, the STAR-CHAMBER, and the Court of HIGH COMMISSION.

The COUNCIL TABLE was the Legiſlature of the Kingdom; their Proclamations and Orders being made the Rule of Government, and the Meaſure of the Subjects Obedience. Though there was not one ſingle Law made in twelve Years, there were no leſs than two hundred and fifty Proclamations; every one of which had the Force of a Law, and bound the Subject under the ſevereſt Penalties. The Lord Keeper *Finch*, upon a Demurrer put into a Bill, that had no other Equity than an *Order of Council*, declared upon the Bench, that while he was Keeper, *no Man ſhould be ſo ſawcy as to diſpute thoſe Orders, but that the Wiſdom of that Board ſhould always be Ground good enough for him to make a Decree in Chancery.* Judge *Berkeley*, upon a like Occaſion, declared, that *there was a Rule of Law, and a Rule of Government, that many Things that might not be done by the Rule of Law, might be done by the Rule of Government:* His Lordſhip added, that *no Act of Parliament could bind the* *Of the Council Table.*

Claren. Vol. I. p. 74.

King

King Charles I. 1625.

King not to command away his Subjects Goods and Money.

The Star-Chamber. Vol. I. p. 68, 69.

" The STAR-CHAMBER (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) " was in a manner the ſame Court with the COUNCIL " TABLE, being but the ſame Perſons in ſeveral " Rooms: They were both grown into Courts of " Law, to determine *Right*; and Courts of *Revenue*, " to bring Money into the Treaſury: The *Council* " *Table*, by Proclamations, enjoining to the People " what was not enjoined by Law, and prohibiting " that which was not prohibited; and the *Star-* " *Chamber* cenſuring the Breach and Diſobedience to " thoſe Proclamations, by very great Fines and Im- " priſonment; ſo that any Diſreſpect to any Acts " of State, or to the Perſons of Stateſmen, was in " no Time more penal, and thoſe Foundations of " Right, by which Men valued their Security, were " never in more Danger of being deſtroy'd.

The High Commiſſion.

" The HIGH COMMISSION alſo had very much " overflowed the Banks that ſhould have contained " it, not only in meddling with Things not within " their Connuſance, but in extending their Sentences " and Judgments beyond that Degree that was juſti- " fiable, and grew to have ſo great a Contempt of the " Common Law, and the Profeſſors of it, that Pro- " hibitions from the ſupream Courts of Law, which " have and muſt have the Superintendency over all " the inferior Courts, were not only neglected, but " the Judges were reprehended for granting them, " which, without Perjury, they could not deny.—

Ib. p. 283.

" Beſides, from an Eccleſiaſtical Court for Refor- " mation of Manners, it was grown to a Court of " Revenue, and impoſed great Fines upon thoſe " who were culpable before them; ſometimes above " the Degree of the Offence, *had the Juriſdiction of* " *fining been unqueſtionable, which it was not*; which " Courſe of fining was much more frequent, and the " Fines heavier, after the King had granted all that " Revenue for the Reparation of St. *Paul*'s, which

" made

" made the Grievance greater;" and gave Occaſion to an unlucky Obſervation, *That the Church was built with the Sins of the People.* Theſe Commiſſioners, not content with the Buſineſs that was brought before them, ſent their Commiſſaries over the whole Kingdom, to ſuperintend the Proceedings of the Biſhops Courts in their ſeveral Dioceſes, which of themſelves made ſufficient Havock among the Puritans, and were under a general Diſlike for the ſevere Exerciſe of their Power: But if the Biſhop, or his Officers, were negligent in their Citations, or ſhewed any Degree of Favour to the *Puritan Miniſters*, Notice was immediately ſent to *Lambeth*, and the *accuſed Perſons* were cited before the High Commiſſion, to their utter Ruin. They alſo kept Men in Priſon many Months, without bringing them to a Trial, or ſo much as acquainting them with the Cauſe of their Commitment. Sir *Edward Deering* ſays, that " their Proceedings were in ſome Senſe " worſe than the *Romiſh Inquiſition*, becauſe they do " not puniſh Men of their own Religion, eſtabliſh'd " by Law; but with us (ſays he) how many Scores " of poor diſtreſſed Miniſters have, within a few " Years, been ſuſpended, degraded, and excommu- " nicated, though not guilty of a Breach of any " eſtabliſhed Law?" All which was ſo much the worſe, becauſe they knew that the Court had no Juriſdiction of fining at all; for the Houſe of Commons, in the third and ſeventh of King *James* I. reſolved, *that the Court of High Commiſſion's fining and impriſoning Men for Eccleſiaſtical Offences, was an intolerable Grievance, Oppreſſion, and Vexation, not warranted by the Statute* 1 Eliz. Chap. 1. And Sir *Edward Coke*, with the reſt of the Judges, at a Conference with the Prelates, in the Preſence of King *James*, gave it as their unanimous Opinion, *that the High Commiſſion could fine in no Caſe, and impriſon only in Caſes of Hereſy and Incontinence of a Miniſter, and that only after Conviction, but not by way of Proceſs before it:*

King Charles I. 1625.

King Charles I. 1625.

it: So that the Juriſdiction of the Court *to fine* was not only *queſtionable*, but *null and void*. Notwithſtanding which, they hunted after their Prey with full Cry, "and brought in the greateſt and moſt ſplendid "Tranſgreſſors: Perſons of Honour and great Qua- "lity (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) were every Day "cited into the High Commiſſion, upon the Fame "of their Incontinency, or Scandal of Life, and "very heavy Fines were levied upon them, and ap- "plied to the repairing of St. *Paul*'s Cathedral."

State of Arminian-iſm.

Upon the Acceſſion of King CHARLES to the Throne, the Duke of *Buckingham* threw off the Maſk, and ſhook Hands with his old Friend Dr. *Preſton*, whom he never loved, any further than as a Tool to ſerve his Intereſt with the People. LAUD was his Confeſſor and Privy-Counſellor for the Church, whoſe firſt Care was to have none but Arminian and Anti-puritanical Chaplains about the King: For this Purpoſe, he drew up a ſmall Treatiſe, and put it into the Duke's Hand, proving that the *Arminian* Doctrines were *Orthodox*; and ſhewing, in ten Particulars, that the *Anti-arminian Tenets* were no better than *doctrinal Puritaniſm*. Agreeably to this Scheme, he preſented the Duke [*April* 9.] with a Liſt of Divines for his Majeſty's Chaplains, diſtinguiſhing their Characters by the two capital Letters, O. for Orthodox, [that is Arminian] and P. for Puritan, [that is, Calviniſts.] At the ſame Time, he received Orders to conſult Biſhop *Andrews* how to manage, with reſpect to the five diſtinguiſhing Points of Calviniſm, in the enſuing Convocation; but the wiſe Biſhop adviſed his Brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the Controverſy out of the Houſe: "For "(ſays he) the Truth in this Point is not ſo generally "entertained among the Clergy; nor is Archbiſhop "*Abbot*, nor many of the Prelates, ſo inclinable to "it, as to venture the deciding it in Convocation." It was therefore wiſely dropt, becauſe the Majority of the lower Houſe were zealous Calviniſts; and forty five

five of them (according to Dr. *Leo*, who was one of the Number) had made a Covenant among themſelves to oppoſe every Thing that tended towards *Pelagianiſm*, or *Semi-Pelagianiſm:* But the Controverſy was warmly debated without Doors, till the King put a Stop to it, by his Royal Declaration. *King Charles I. 1625.*

Popery advanced hand in hand with Arminianiſm, and began the Diſputes between the King and his firſt Parliament, which met *June* 16, 1625. His Majeſty, towards the Cloſe of his Speech, having aſked their Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, aſſured them, that though he had been ſuſpected as to his Religion, he would let the World ſee, *that none ſhould be more deſirous to maintain the Religion he profeſſed, than himſelf.* The Houſes thank'd the King for his moſt gracious Speech; but before they enter'd upon other Buſineſs, joined in a Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants, which his Majeſty promiſed to examine, and give a ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Particulars. *And of Popery.*

The Petition ſets forth the Cauſes of the Encreaſe of Popery, with the Remedies: The Cauſes are, *Cauſes of the Encreaſe of Popery.* Ruſhw. p. 281.

(1.) The want of the due Execution of the Laws againſt them.

(2.) The interpoſing of foreign Powers by their Ambaſſadors and Agents in their Favour.

(3.) The great Concourſe of Papiſts to the City, and their frequent Conferences and Conventicles there.

(4.) Their open Reſort to the Chapels of foreign Ambaſſadors.

(5.) The Education of their Children in foreign Seminaries.

(6.) The want of ſufficient Inſtruction in the Proteſtant Religion in ſeveral Places of the Country.

(7.) The licentious printing of Popiſh Books.

(8.) The Employment of Men ill affected to the Proteſtant Religion in Places of Government.

They therefore pray that the Youth of the Kingdom may be carefully educated under Proteſtant

King Charles I. 1625.

School-maſters; *which his Majeſty*, in his Anſwer to their Petition, *promiſed:* That the ancient Diſcipline of the Univerſities may be reſtored; *which his Majeſty approved:* That the preaching of the Word of God may be enlarged; and that to this Purpoſe the Biſhops be adviſed to make Uſe of the Labours of ſuch able Miniſters as have been formerly ſilenced, adviſing and beſeeching them to behave themſelves peaceably; and that Pluralities, Non-Reſidencies, and Commendams, may be moderated. ANSWER, *This his Majeſty approved, ſo far as the Miniſters would conform to Church Government. But he apprehends that Pluralities*, &c. *are now ſo moderated, that there is no Room for Complaint; and recommends it to the Parliament to take Care that every Pariſh allow a competent Maintenance for an able Miniſter.* That Proviſion might be made againſt tranſporting Children to Popiſh Seminaries, and for recalling thoſe that were there. ANSW. *To this his Majeſty agreed.* That no Popiſh Recuſant be admitted to come to Court, but upon ſpecial Occaſion, according to Statute 3 *Jac.* ANSW. *This alſo his Majeſty promiſed.* That the Laws againſt Papiſts be put in Execution, and that a Day be fixed for the Departure of all Jeſuits and ſeminary Prieſts out of the Kingdom; and that no natural born Subject, nor ſtrange Biſhops, nor any other by Authority from the See of *Rome*, confer any Eccleſiaſtical Orders, or exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical Function upon your Majeſty's Subjects. ANSW. *It ſhall be ſo publiſhed by Proclamation.* That your Majeſty's learned Council may have Orders to conſider of all former Grants of Recuſants Lands, that ſuch may be avoided as are avoidable by Law. ANSW. *It ſhall be done, according as is deſired.* That your Majeſty give Order to your Judges, and all Officers of Juſtice, to ſee the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants duly executed. ANSW. *His Majeſty leaves the Laws to their Courſe.* That your Majeſty will remove from Places of Authority and Government all Popiſh

Petitions of the Commons with the King's Anſwer.

Popiſh Recuſants. ANSW. *His Majeſty will give Order accordingly.* That Order be taken for diſarming all Popiſh Recuſants convict according to Law, and that Popiſh Recuſants be commanded to retire to their Houſes, and be confined within five Miles of Home. ANSW. *The Laws ſhall be put in Execution.* That none of your Majeſty's natural born Subjects go to hear Maſs at the Houſes or Chapels of foreign Ambaſſadors. ANSW. *The King will give Order accordingly.* That the Statute of 1 *Eliz.* for the Payment of twelve Pence every Sunday by ſuch as abſent from divine Service in the Church, without a lawful Excuſe, be put in Execution. ANSW. *The King promiſes the Penalties ſhall not be diſpenſed with.* That your Majeſty will extend your princely Care to *Ireland*, that the like Courſes may be taken there for eſtabliſhing the true Religion. ANSW. *His Majeſty will do all that a religious King can do in that Affair.* *King* Charles I. 1625.

'Tis ſurprizing that the King ſhould make theſe Promiſes to his Parliament within ſix Months after he had ſign'd his Marriage Articles, in which he had engaged to ſet all *Roman* Catholicks at Liberty, and to ſuffer no Search or Moleſtation to be given them for their Religion, and had in Conſequence of it pardoned twenty *Romiſh* Prieſts, and (in Imitation of his Royal Father) given Orders to his Lord-Keeper to direct the Judges and Juſtices of Peace all over *England*, "to forbear all manner of Proceedings againſt his *Roman* "Catholick Subjects, by Information, Indictment, or "otherwiſe; it being his Royal Pleaſure that there "ſhould be a Ceſſation of all and ſingular Pains and "Penalties whereunto they were liable by any Laws, "Statutes, or Ordinances of this Realm." But as a judicious Writer obſerves, it ſeems to have been a Maxim in this and the laſt Reign, that *no Faith is to be kept with Parliaments.* The Papiſts were ſenſible of the Reaſons of State that obliged the King to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and therefore though his Majeſty directed a *Remark.* Ruſhw. p. 169. Rapin.

King Charles I. 1625.

Letter to his Archbiſhop, [*December* 15, 1625.] to proceed againſt Popiſh Recuſants, and a Proclamation was publiſhed to recal the *Engliſh* Youth from Popiſh Seminaries, little Regard was paid to it. The King himſelf releaſed eleven *Romiſh* Prieſts out of Priſon, by ſpecial Warrant the next Day; The titular Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, by Letters dated *June* 1, 1625. appointed a Popiſh Vicar-General, and Archdeacons all over *England*; whoſe Names were afterwards publiſhed in the Year 1643. And when the next Parliament petitioned for the Removal of Papiſts from Offices of Truſt, it appeared, by a Liſt annexed to their Petition, that there were no leſs than fifty nine of the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion in the Commiſſion.

Ruſhw. p. 391.

King contributes to the Loſs of Rochel.

But the King not only connived at the *Roman* Catholicks at Home, but unhappily contributed to the Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion Abroad. Cardinal *Richlieu* having formed a Deſign to extirpate the *Hugonots* out of *France*, by ſecuring all their Places of Strength, laid Siege to *Rochel*, a Sea Port Town, with a good Harbour, and a Number of Ships ſufficient for its Defence. *Richlieu*, taking Advantage of the King's late Match with *France*, ſent to borrow ſeven or eight Ships, to be employ'd as the King of *France* ſhould direct, who appointed them to block up the Harbour of *Rochel*; but when the honeſt Sailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown over-board, or hang'd up upon the Top of the Maſts, than fight againſt their Proteſtant Brethren. Admiral *Pennington* and the *French* Officers uſed all their Rhetorick to perſuade them, but they were inflexible. The Admiral therefore acquainted the King, who ſent him a Warrant to the following Effect: "That he ſhould conſign his own "Ship immediately into the Hands of the *French* "Admiral, with all her Equipage, Artillery, &c. "and require the other ſeven to put themſelves into "the Service of our dear Brother, the *French* King; "and

" and in caſe of Backwardneſs or Refuſal, we com- " mand you to uſe all forcible Means, even to their " ſinking." In purſuance of this Warrant the Ships were delivered into the Hands of the *French*, but all the *Engliſh* Sailors and Officers abandon'd them except two. The *French* having got the Ships and Artillery, quickly manned them with Sailors of their own Religion, and joining the reſt of the *French* Fleet they blocked up the Harbour, deſtroyed the little Fleet of the *Rochellers*, and cut off their Communication by Sea with their Proteſtant Friends, by which Means they were reduced to all the Hardſhips of a moſt dreadful Famine; and after a long Blockade both by Sea and Land, were forced to ſurrender the chief Bulwark of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *France* into the Hands of the Papiſts.

King Charles I. 1625.

To return to the Parliament; it has been remember'd, that Mr. *Richard Montague*, a Clergyman, and one of the King's Chaplains, publiſhed a Book in the Year 1623. entitled, *A new Gag for an old Gooſe*, in anſwer to a Popiſh Book, entitled, *A Gag for the new Goſpel*. The Book containing ſundry Propoſitions tending to the Diſturbance of Church and State, was complained of in the Houſe of Commons, who, after having examined the Author at their Bar, referr'd him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who diſmiſſed him, with an expreſs Prohibition to write no more about ſuch Matters. But *Montague* being encouraged from Court went on, and writ *an Appeal to Cæſar*, deſigning it for King *James*, but he being dead before it was ready, it was dedicated to King *Charles*, and recommended at firſt by ſeveral Court Biſhops, who upon better Conſideration artfully withdrew their Names from before it; and left Dr. *Fr. White* to appear by himſelf, as he complained publickly. The Appeal was calculated to promote *Arminianiſm*; to attempt a Reconciliation with *Rome*, and to advance the King's Prerogative above Law. The Houſe appointed a Committee to examine into the Errors of it; after

Mr. Montague *cited before the Commons.* Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 173.

King Charles I. 1625.

ter which they voted it to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, and bound the Author in a Recognizance of two Thouſand Pounds for his Appearance.

Montague *cenſur'd by Parliament.*

Biſhop *Laud* apprehending this to be an Invaſion of the Prerogative, and a dangerous Precedent, join'd with two other Biſhops in a Letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to engage his Majeſty to take the Cauſe into his own Hands: The Letter ſays, "That the "Church of *England* when it was reformed would "not be too buſy with School Points of Divinity; "now the Points for which Mr. *Montague* is brought "into Trouble, are of this kind; ſome are the re-"ſolved Doctrines of the Church of *England*, which "he is bound to maintain; and others are fit only for "Schools, wherein Men may abound in their own "Senſe. To make Men ſubſcribe School Opinions "is hard, and was one great Fault of the Council of "*Trent*. Beſides, Diſputes about Doctrines in Reli-"gion ought to be determined in a National Synod "or Convocation, with the King's Licence, and not "in Parliament; if we ſubmit to any other Judge we "ſhall depart from the Ordinance of Chriſt, we ſhall "derogate from the Honour of the late King, who "ſaw and approved of all the Opinions in that Book; "as well as from his preſent Majeſty's Royal Prero-"gative, who has Power and Right to take this "Matter under his own Care, and refer it in a right "Courſe to Church Conſideration. Some of the "Opinions which are oppoſite to Mr. *Montague*'s will "prove fatal to the Government if publickly taught "and maintained: When they had been concluded "upon at *Lambeth*, Queen *Elizabeth* cauſed them to "be ſuppreſſed, and ſo they continued, till of late "ſome of them received Countenance from the Sy-"nod of *Dort*; a Synod, whoſe Concluſions have no "Authority in this Country, and 'tis to be hoped "never will." Signed, *Jo. Roffenſis*, *Jo. Oxon*, and *Gulielmus Menevenſis*, Aug. 2d. 1625.

Biſhops Letter in his Favour. Cabbala, p. 105. Ruſhw. p. 176.

This

This Letter had its effect, and procured *Montague* his *Quietus* at preſent. The King declared he would bring the Cauſe before the Council, it being a Branch of his Supremacy to determine Matters of Religion. He expreſſed his Diſpleaſure againſt the *Commons*, for bringing his Chaplain to their Bar, and for alarming the Nation with the Danger of Popery. But theſe Affairs, together with the King's aſſiſting at the Siege of *Rochel*, made ſuch a Noiſe at *Oxford*, where the Parliament was re-aſſembled, becauſe of the Plague at *London*, that the King was obliged to diſſolve them [*Aug.* 12.] before they had granted the Supplies neceſſary for carrying on the War. Nor did his Majeſty paſs any Act relating to Religion, except one, which was ſoon after ſuſpended by his Royal Declaration; it was *to prevent unlawful Paſtimes on the Lord's Day*. The Preamble ſets forth, That the holy Keeping of the Lord's Day is a principal Part of the true Service of God — "Therefore it is enacted, "That there ſhall be no Aſſemblies of People out "of their own Pariſhes, for any Sports or Paſtimes "whatſoever; nor any Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, "Interludes, common Plays, or other unlawful Ex-"erciſes or Paſtimes, within their own Pariſhes, on "forfeiture of three Shillings and ſix Pence for eve-"ry ſuch Offence to the Poor." But this Law was never put in Execution. Men were reproached and cenſured for too ſtrict an Obſervation of the Lord's Day, but none that I have met with for the Profanation of it.

King Charles I. 1625.

Parliament diſſolved.

His Majeſty having diſmiſſed his Parliament before they had given him the neceſſary Supplies for the War with *Spain*, reſolved to try his Credit, by borrowing Money, by way of Loan, of ſuch Perſons as were beſt able to lend; for this purpoſe Gentlemen were taxed at a certain Sum, and had promiſſory Letters under the Privy Seal to be repay'd in eighteen Months. With this Money the King fitted out a Fleet againſt *Spain*, which, after it had waited about

Arbitrary Methods of raiſing Money. Ruſhw. p. 193.

King Charles I. 1626.

two Months for the Plate-Fleet, returned without doing any Action worth remembrance.

King's Coronation. Rapin, p. 35.

The Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was not performed till the beginning of *February*, was another Expence which his Majeſty thought fit to provide for, by iſſuing out a Proclamation That all ſuch as had forty Pounds a Year, or more, and were not yet Knights, ſhould come and receive the Order of Knighthood, or compound for it. This was a new Grievance, loudly complained of in the following Parliaments. The Coronation was performed by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, aſſiſted by Biſhop *Laud* as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who, beſides the old *Regalia* which were in his Cuſtody, that is, the Crown, the Sceptre, the Spurs, *&c.* of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, brought forth an old Crucifix, and placed it upon the Altar. As ſoon as the Archbiſhop had put the Crown upon the King's Head, and performed the other uſual Ceremonies, his Majeſty being ſeated on the Throne, ready to receive the Homage of the Lords, Biſhop *Laud* came up to him, and read the following extraordinary Paſſage, which is not to be found in former Coronations. "—— Stand, and hold faſt, "from henceforth, the Place to which you have "been Heir by the Succeſſion of your Fore-fathers, "being now delivered to you by the Authority of "Almighty God, and by the Hands of us, and all "the Biſhops and Servants of God. And as you "ſee the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar than "others, ſo remember, that in all Places convenient you give them greater Honour, that the Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the Kingly Throne, to be a Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity, and that you may Reign "for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the King of Kings, "and Lord of Lords." This, and ſundry other Alterations were objected to the Archbiſhop at his Trial, which we ſhall take Notice of hereafter.

The

The King's Treaſury being exhauſted, and the War with *Spain* ſtill open, his Majeſty was obliged to call a new Parliament; but to avoid the Choice of ſuch Members as had exclaimed againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and inſiſted upon Redreſs of Grievances, the Court pricked them down for *Sheriffs*, which diſqualified them from being choſen Members of Parliament; of this Number were Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Lord *Strafford*. The Houſes met *Feb.* 6. and fell immediately upon Grievances. A Committee for Religion was appointed, of which Mr. *Pym* was Chairman, who examined Mr. *Montague*'s Writings, *(viz.) his Gag*, *his Appeal*, and his Treatiſe *of the Invocation of Saints*, out of which they collected ſeveral Opinions contrary to the Book of Homilies and the Thirty nine Articles, which they reported to the Houſe; as,

King Charles I. 1626.

A new parliament.

Articles exhibited againſt Montague Ruſhw. p. 209.

1. "That he maintained the Church of *Rome* is, "and ever was a true Church, contrary to the ſix- "teenth Homily of the Church of *England*.

2. "That the ſaid Church had ever remained firm "upon the ſame Foundation of Sacraments and Do- "ctrine inſtituted by God.

3. "That, ſpeaking of the Doctrines of *Faith*, "*Hope*, and *Charity*, he affirmed, That none of "theſe are controverted between the Papiſts and "Proteſtants; but that the controverted Points "are of a leſſer and inferior Nature, of which a "Man may be ignorant without any Danger of his "Soul.

4. "That he maintained the Uſe of Images, for "Inſtruction of the Ignorant, and exciting De- "votion.

5. "That in his Treatiſe of the *Invocation of* "*Saints* he affirmed, That ſome Saints have a pecu- "liar Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection and Power, "(as Angels have) over certain Perſons and Coun- "tries.

King Charles I. 1626.

6. "That in his *Appeal* he maintained, That "Men juſtified may fall away from Grace, and "may recover again, but not certainly nor neceſ- "ſarily.

7. "That the ſaid *R. Montague* has endeavoured "to raiſe Factions among the King's Subjects, by "caſting the odious and ſcandalous Name of *Puritans* "upon thoſe who conform to the Doctrine and Cere- "monies of the Church. That he ſcoffed at Preach- "ing, at Lectures, and all Shews of Religion; "and, that the Deſign of his Book was apparently "to reconcile the Church of *England* with the See "of *Rome*."

In what manner the Commons deſigned to proſe- cute this Impeachment is uncertain, for *Montague* was not brought to his Defence, the King having in- timated again to the Houſe, that their Proceedings againſt him without his leave was diſpleaſing to him; that as to their holding him to Bail, he thought his Servants might have the ſame Protection as an ordi- nary Burgeſs, and therefore he would take the Cauſe into his own Hands; and ſoon after he diſſolved the Parliament.

Conferences between Calviniſts and Armi- nians.

Though the *Arminian* Controverſy was thus taken out of the Hands of the Parliament, it was warmly de- bated without Doors; *Montague* was attack'd in print by Dr. *Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Sutliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Goad*, Mr. *Ward*, *Burton*, *Yates*, *Wotton*, *Prynne*, and *Fran. Rouſe*, Eſq; *&c.* Conferences were appointed to debate the Point, *Of the Poſſibility of the Elects falling from Grace.* One was at *York Houſe*, *Feb.* 11. 1625-6. before the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Warwick*, and other Lords; Dr. *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *White* Dean of *Carliſle*, being on one ſide; and Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Coventry*, and Dr. *Preſton*, on the other. The Succeſs of the Diſpute is variouſly related; but the Earl of *Pembroke* ſaid, That none went from thence *Arminians*, ſave thoſe who came thither with the

Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 158, 159. Fuller, B. XI. p. 124.

the ſame Opinions. Soon after, *Feb.* 17th. there was a ſecond Conference in the ſame Place, Dr. *White* and Mr. *Montague* on one ſide, and Dr. *Moreton* and *Preſton* on the other; Dr. *Preſton* carried it clear at firſt, by dividing his Adverſaries, who quickly perceiving their Error, united their Forces (ſays my Author) in a joint Oppoſition to him; but upon the whole, theſe Conferences ſerved rather to encreaſe the Differences than abate them. The King therefore iſſued out a Proclamation, containing very expreſs Commands not to preach or diſpute upon the controverted Points of Arminianiſm. It was dated *Jan.* 14. 1626. and ſets forth, "That the King "will admit of no Innovations in the Doctrine, "Diſcipline, or Government of the Church, and "therefore charges all his Subjects, and eſpecially "the Clergy, not to publiſh or maintain in preach-"ing or writing, any new Inventions or Opinions, "contrary to the ſaid Doctrine and Diſcipline eſta-"bliſhed by Law, aſſuring them, that his Majeſty "will proceed againſt all Offenders againſt this Or-"der, with all that Severity their Contempt ſhall "deſerve, that by the exemplary Puniſhment of a "few, others may be warned againſt falling under "the juſt Indignation of their Sovereign."

King Charles I. 1626.

Ib. p. 125.

King puts an end to the Controverſy.

Ruſhw. p. 412. Bib. Regia.

One would have thought this Proclamation to be in favour of *Calviniſm*, but the Execution of it being in the Hands of *Laud*, and the Biſhops of his Party, the Edge was turned againſt the Puritans, and it became, (ſays *Ruſhworth*) the ſtopping of their Mouths, and gave an uncontrouled Liberty to the Tongues and Pens of the Arminian Party. Others were of Opinion, that *Laud* and *Neile* procured this Injunction, in order to have an Opportunity to oppreſs the *Calviniſts* who ſhould venture to break it, while the Diſobedience of the contrary Party ſhould be winked at. The Puritans thought they might ſtill write in Defence of the received Doctrine of the Thirty nine Articles, but the Preſs being in the Hands of their Adverſaries, ſome

Reſtraint of the Preſs in favour of Arminianiſm.

Ruſhw. p. 413. Rapin, p. 107.

King Charles I. 1626.

ſome of their Books were ſtopt, ſome were caſtrated, and others that got abroad were called in, and the Authors and Publiſhers queſtioned in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion*, for engaging in a Controverſy prohibited by the Government. By theſe Methods effectual Care was taken, that the Puritan and Calvinian Writers ſhould do their Adverſaries no harm. Biſhop *Laud*, with two or three of his Chaplains, undertaking to judge of Truth and Error, Civility and good Manners, for all the wiſe and great Men of the Nation, in doing which they were ſo ſhamefully partial, that Learning and Induſtry were diſcouraged, Men of Gravity and great Experience not being able to perſuade themſelves to ſubmit their Labours to be mangled and torn in Pieces by a few younger Divines, who were both Judges and Parties in the Affair. At length the Bookſellers being almoſt ruined, preferr'd a Petition to the next Parliament [1628.] complaining, that the Writings of their beſt Authors were ſtifled in the Preſs, while the Books of their Adverſaries [Papiſts and Arminians] were publiſhed, and ſpread over the whole Kingdom. Thus *Cheney*'s *Collectiones Theologicæ*, an Arminian and Popiſh Performance was licenſed; when the learned Dr. *Twiſſe*'s Anſwer to *Arminius*, though writ in *Latin*, was ſtopt in the Preſs. Mr. *Montague*'s Book, entitled, *God's Love to Mankind*, was licenſed and publiſhed, when Dr. *Twiſſe*'s Reply to the ſame Book was ſuppreſſed. Many Affidavits of this kind were made againſt *Laud* at his Trial, by the moſt famous Calviniſtical Writers, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Prynne, p. 158, 159.

Complaint of the Bookſellers. Ruſhw. p. 655.

Prynne, p 166, 167, &c.

And in favour of Popery.

The Caſe was the ſame with regard to Books againſt Popery; the Queen and the Roman Catholicks muſt not be inſulted, and therefore all offenſive Paſſages, ſuch as calling the Pope *Antichriſt*; the Church of *Rome no true Church*; and every Thing that tended to expoſe *Images* in Churches, *Crucifixes*, *Penance*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, and *Popiſh Abſolution*, muſt

King Charles I. 1626.

muſt be expunged. Sir *Edward Deering* compares the *Licenſers of the Preſs* to the Managers of the *Index Expurgatorius* among the Papiſts, "who clip the "Tongues of ſuch Witneſſes whoſe Evidences they "do not like; in like manner (ſays he) our Licen- "ſers ſuppreſs the Truth, while popiſh Pamphlets "fly abroad *Cum Privilegio*; nay, they are ſo bold "as to deface the moſt learned Labours of our anci- "ent and beſt Divines. But herein the *Roman Index* "is better than *ours*, that they approve of their own "eſtabliſhed Doctrines; but our Innovators alter "our ſettled Doctrines, and ſuperinduce Points re- "pugnant and contrary. This I do affirm, and can "take upon my ſelf to prove."

Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, impriſoned, on Account of the Loan. Rushw. p. 418, 420, 428, 473.

Terrible were the Triumphs of ARBITRARY POWER over the Liberties and Eſtates of the Subject, in the Intervals between this and the next Parliament; Gentlemen of Birth and Character, who refuſed to lend what Money the Council was pleaſed to aſſeſs them, were taken out of their Houſes and impriſoned at a great Diſtance from their Habitations; among theſe were Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Thomas Grantham*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, *John Hampden*, Eſq; and others; ſome were confined in the *Fleet*, the *Marſhalſea*, the *Gate-Houſe*, and other Priſons about *London*, as Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Selden*, &c. Upon the whole, there were impriſoned by Orders of Council, nineteen Knights, thirteen Eſquires, and four Gentlemen, in the County Gaols; three Knights, one Eſquire, and four wealthy Citizens in the *Fleet*, beſides great Numbers in other Places. Thoſe of the lower Sort that refuſed to lend were preſſed for the Army, or had Soldiers quartered upon them, who by their inſolent Behaviour diſturbed the Peace of Families, and committed frequent Robberies, Burglaries, Rapines, Murders, and other barbarous Cruelties, inſomuch that the Highways were dangerous to travel, and the Markets unfrequented. The King would have borrowed

King Charles I. 1626.

borrowed one hundred Thouſand Pounds of the City of *London*, but they excuſed themſelves. However, his Majeſty got a round Sum of Money from the Papiſts, by iſſuing out a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *York*, to compound with them for all their Forfeitures that had been due for Recuſancy, ſince the Tenth of King *James* I. or that ſhould be due hereafter. By this fatal Policy, (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) Men well affected to the Hierarchy, but Enemies to arbitrary Power, were obliged to ſide with the *Puritans* to ſave the Nation, and enable them to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Court.

Sibthorp's *Sermon for the Prerogative.* Ruſhw. p. 423.

To convince the People that it was their Duty to ſubmit to the Loan, the Clergy were employed to preach up the Doctrines of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, and to prove, that the abſolute Submiſſion of Subjects to the Royal Will and Pleaſure of their Sovereign, was the Doctrine of Holy Scripture; among theſe was Dr. *Sibthorp*, a Man of mean Parts, but of ſordid Ambition, who in his Sermon at the Lent Aſſizes at *Northampton*, from *Rom.* xiii. 7. told the People, "That if Princes commanded any Thing which Subjects might not perform, becauſe it is againſt the Laws of God or of Nature, or impoſſible, yet Subjects are bound to undergo the Puniſhment, without reſiſting or railing, or reviling; and ſo to yield a Paſſive Obedience where they cannot yield an Active one." Dr. *Manwaring* went further, in two Sermons preached before the King at *Oatlands*, and publiſhed under the Title of *Religion* and *Allegiance*. He ſays, "The King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, but that his Royal Will and Pleaſure, in impoſing Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Conſcience on pain of Damnation; and, that thoſe who refuſe Obedience tranſgreſs the Laws of God, inſult the King's ſupreme Authority, and are guilty of Impiety,

And Dr. Manwaring's.

"Diſ-

" Diſloyalty, and Rebellion. That the Authority " of both Houſes of Parliament is not neceſſary for " the Raiſing Aids and Subſidies, as not ſuitable to " the Exigencies of the State." Theſe were the Doctrines of the Court; " which (ſays the noble " Hiſtorian) were very unfit for the Place, and " very ſcandalous for the Perſons, who preſumed of- " ten to determine Things out of the Verge of their " own Profeſſion, and in *ordine ad ſpiritualia*, gave " unto *Cæſar* that which did not belong to him." *King* Charles I. 1627.

Sibthorp dedicated his Sermon to the King, and carried it to Archbiſhop *Abbot* to be licenſed, which the honeſt old Prelate refuſed, for which he was ſuſpended from all his Archiepiſcopal Functions, and ordered to retire to *Canterbury* or *Ford*, a mooriſh, unhealthy Place, five Miles beyond *Canterbury*. The Sermon was then carried to the Biſhop of *London*, who licenſed and recommended it *as a Sermon learnedly and diſcreetly preached, agreeable to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Church, both for Faith and good Manners, and to the eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church of* England. *Abp.* Abbot *ſuſpended for refuſing to licenſe* Sibthorp's *Sermon.*

Archbiſhop *Abbot* had been out of Favour for ſome Time, becauſe he would not give up the Laws and Liberties of his Country, nor treat the great Duke of *Buckingham* with that ſervile Submiſſion that he expected. *Heylin* ſays, The King was diſpleaſed with him for being too favourable to the *Puritans*, and too remiſs in his Government; and that for this Reaſon he ſeized his Juriſdiction, and put it into Hands more diſpoſed to act with Severity. *Fuller* ſays, that a Commiſſion was granted to five Biſhops, whereof *Laud* was one, to ſuſpend him for *caſual Homicide* that he had committed ſeven Years before, and of which he had been cleared by Commiſſioners appointed to examine into the Fact in the Reign of King *James*; beſides, *his Grace* had a Royal Diſpenſation to ſhelter him from the Canons, and had ever ſince exerciſed his Juriſdiction without Interruption, even to the conſecrating of *Laud* himſelf to a Biſhoprick. But the Commiſſion 1627. *Other Reaſons of the Abp's Suſpenſion.* Ruſhw. p. 442. Collyer, p. 742.

King Charles I. 1627.

miſſion mentions no Cauſe of his Suſpenſion, and only takes Notice, that the *Archbiſhop can't at preſent, in his own Perſon, attend the Services which are otherwiſe proper for his Connuſance and Juriſdiction.* But why could he not attend them? But becauſe his Majeſty had commanded him to retire, for refuſing to licenſe *Sibthorp*'s Sermon. The Blame of this Severity fell upon *Laud*, as if not having Patience to wait for the Reverend old Prelate's Death, he was deſirous to ſtep into the Archiepiſcopal Chair while he was alive; for no ſooner was *Abbot* ſuſpended but his Juriſdiction was put into the Hands of five Biſhops, by Commiſſion, of which *Laud* was the chief.

Bp. of Lincoln *favourable to the* Puritans. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 420.

There was another Prelate that gave the Court ſome Uneaſineſs (*viz.*) Dr. WILLIAMS Biſhop of *Lincoln*, late Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal, who being in Diſgrace at Court retir'd to his Dioceſe, and became very popular among his Clergy. He declared againſt the Loan, and fell in with the *Puritans* and Country Party, inſomuch that Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* informed the Council, that they were grieved to ſee the Biſhop of *Lincoln* give place to unconformable Miniſters, when he turned his Back upon thoſe that were conformable. That the Puritans ruled all with him; and, that divers Puritans in *Leiceſterſhire* being convened before the Commiſſaries, his Lordſhip would not admit Proceedings to be had againſt them. That they [the Commiſſaries for the High Commiſſion] had informed the Biſhop then at *Bugden*, that ſeveral of the factious Puritans in his Dioceſe would not come up to the Table to receive the Communion kneeling; that they kept unlawful Faſts and Meetings; that one Faſt held from eight in the Morning till nine at Night; and that Collections for Money were made without Authority, upon pretence for the *Palatinate*. That therefore they had deſired leave from the Biſhop to proceed againſt them *ex officio*; but the Biſhop replied, That he would not meddle againſt the Puri-

Puritans, that for his part he expected not another Biſhoprick; they might complain of them if they would to the *Council Table*, for he was under a Cloud already. He had the Duke of *Buckingham* for his Enemy, and therefore would not draw the Puritans upon him, for *he was ſure they would carry all Things at laſt.* Beſides he ſaid, the King in the firſt Year of his Reign, had given Anſwer to a Petition of the lower Houſe at *Oxford* in favour of the Puritans. *King Charles I. 1627.*

It appeared, by the Information of others, that *Lamb* and *Sibthorp* preſs'd the Biſhop again to proceed againſt the Puritans in *Leiceſterſhire*; that the Biſhop then aſked them, what ſort of People they were, and of what Condition? To which Sir *John Lamb* replied, in the Preſence of Dr. *Sibthorp*, "That they "ſeemed to the World to be ſuch as would not "ſwear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they would "lye, cozen, and deceive; that they would fre-"quently hear two Sermons a Day, and repeat the "ſame again too, and afterwards pray, and that "ſometimes they would faſt all Day long." Then the Biſhop aſked, whether the Places where thoſe Puritans were, did lend Money freely upon the Collection for the Loan? To which Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp* replied that they did. Then ſaid the Biſhop, no Man of Diſcretion can ſay, that that Place is a Place of Puritans: For my Part (ſaid the Biſhop) I am not ſatisfied to give way to Proceedings againſt them; at which *Sibthorp* was much diſcontented, and ſaid, he was troubled to ſee that the Church was no better regarded. This Information being tranſmitted to the Council, was ſealed up for the preſent, but was afterwards, with ſome other Matters, produced againſt his Lordſhip in the Star-Chamber, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Though the King was at War with *Spain*, and with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and (if I may be allowed to ſay it) with his own Subjects, though he had no Money in his *Exchequer*, and was at the greateſt *War with France.*

King Charles I. 1628.

Loſs how to raiſe any; yet he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with to enter into a new War with *France*, under the Colour of ſupporting the Proteſtant Religion in that Country, without ſo much as thinking of Ways and Means to ſupport it. But when one conſiders the Character of this King and his Miniſtry, we can hardly believe that this could be the real Motive of the War; for his Majeſty and his whole Court had a mortal Averſion to the *French* Hugonots. *Buckingham* had no Religion at all; *Weſton* and *Conway* were Catholicks; *Laud* and *Neile* thought there was no Salvation out of the Church of *England*: How then can it be ſuppoſed that they ſhould make War for the Support of a Religion, for which they had the utmoſt Contempt? Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the War was owing to *Buckingham*'s Diſappointment in his Amours at the *French* Court; but 'tis more likely he adviſed it to keep up the Miſunderſtandings between the King and his Parliaments, by continuing the Neceſſity of raiſing Money by extraordinary Methods, upon which his Credit and Reputation depended. War being declared, the Queen's Domeſticks were ſent Home, and a Fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitleſs Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Rhee*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Loſs of five thouſand Men. This raiſed a World of Complaints and Murmurs againſt the Duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy King to try the Experiment of another Parliament, which was appointed to meet *March* 17, 1627-8.

Rapin, p. 119.

1628. *A new Parliament.*

As ſoon as this Reſolution was taken in Council, Orders were diſpatched to all Parts of the Kingdom, to releaſe the Gentlemen impriſoned for the Loan, to the Number of ſeventy eight, moſt of whom were choſen Members for the enſuing Parliament. In the mean Time, his Majeſty went on with raiſing Money by Exciſe; and inſtead of ſoftning the Miſtakes of his Government, put on an Air of high Sovereignty, and told his Parliament, that if they did

did not provide for the Neceſſities of the State, he ſhould uſe thoſe other Means that God had put into his Hands, to ſave that which the Follies of other Men would hazard. "Take not this (ſays his Ma- "jeſty) as a Threatning, for I ſcorn to threaten "my Inferiors, but as an Admonition from him, "who, by Nature and Duty, has moſt Care of "your Preſervation and Proſperity." *King* Charles I. 1628. Ruſhw. p. 476.

But the Parliament not being awed with this Language, began with Grievances; and though they voted five Subſidies, they refuſed to carry the Bill through the Houſe, till they had obtained the Royal Aſſent to their PETITION OF RIGHT, which contained, among others, the following Claims, contained in *Magna Charta*. *Petition of Right.*

1. That no Freeman ſhall be detained in Priſon by the King and Privy-Council, without the Cauſe of Commitment be expreſſed, for which by Law he ought to be detained.

2. That an *Habeas Corpus* ought not to be denied, where the Law allows it.

3. That no Tax, Loan, or Benevolence, ſhall be impoſed without Act of Parliament.

4. That no Man ſhall be fore-judged of Life or Limb, or be exiled or deſtroy'd, but by the Judgment of his Peers, according to the Laws of the Land, or by Act of Parliament.

The King gave the Royal Aſſent to this Bill in the moſt ample manner, which I mention, that the Reader may remember what Regard his Majeſty paid to it in the following twelve Years of his Reign.

In the mean time, the Houſe of Lords went upon *Manwaring*'s Sermons, already mentioned, and paſs'd the following Sentence upon the Author; *That he be impriſoned during Pleaſure, and be fined one thouſand Pounds; that he make his Submiſſion at the Bar of the Houſe, and be ſuſpended from his Miniſtry for three Years; that he be diſabled for ever from preaching at Court, be uncapable of any Eccleſiaſtical or Secular Preferment, and* Manwaring's *ſevere Sentence.* Ruſhw. p. 493, 605. Fuller, p. 129.

King Charles I. 1628.

that his Sermons be burnt in London *and both Univerſities.* According to this Sentence, *Manwaring* appeared upon his Knees at the Bar of the Houſe, *June* 23. and made an ample Acknowledgment and Submiſſion, craving Pardon of God, the King, the Parliament, and the whole Commonwealth, in Words drawn up by a Committee: But the Houſes were no ſooner riſen, but his Fine was remitted, and himſelf prefer'd firſt to the Living of *Stamford Rivers*, with a Diſpenſation to hold St. *Giles*'s *in the Fields*, then to the Deanry of *Worceſter*, and after ſome Time to the Biſhoprick of St. *David*'s.

He is pardoned and preferred.

Montague *conſecrated Biſhop of* Chicheſter.

Within a Month after this, [*Auguſt* 22.] *Montague* was prefer'd to the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, while he lay under the Cenſure of Parliament. At his Conſecration at *Bow Church*, Mr. *Jones*, a Stationer of *London*, ſtood up, and excepted againſt his Qualification for a Biſhoprick, becauſe the Parliament had voted him uncapable of any Preferment in the Church; but his Exceptions were over-ruled, becauſe they were not deliver'd in by a Proctor; though *Jones* aver'd that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offer'd them their Fees: So the Conſecration proceeded.

Sibthorp *preferred.*

Sibthorp, the other Incendiary, was made Prebendary of *Peterborough*, and Rector of *Burton Latimer* in *Wiltſhire*; though the *Oxford* Hiſtorian confeſſes he had nothing to recommend him but Forwardneſs and ſervile Flattery.

While the Money Bill was going through the Houſe of Lords, the Commons were buſy in drawing up a Remonſtrance of the Grievances of the Nation, with a Petition for Redreſs: But as ſoon as the King had got his Money, he came to the Houſe *June* 26. and prorogued the Parliament, firſt to the 20th of *October*, and then to the 26th of *January*. The Commons being diſappointed of preſenting their Remonſtrance, publiſhed it to the Nation; but the King called it in, and, after ſome Time, publiſhed an

an Anſwer, drawn up by Biſhop *Laud*, as was proved againſt him at his Trial.

King Charles I. 1628.

Parliament's Remonſtrance, and the King's Anſwer.

The *Remonſtrance* was dated *June* 11. and beſides the *civil* Grievances of billetting Soldiers, *&c.* complains with regard to Religion,

1. Of the great Encreaſe of Popery by the Laws not being put in Execution; by conferring Honours and Places of Command upon Papiſts; by iſſuing out Commiſſions to compound for their Recuſancy, and by permitting Maſs to be ſaid openly at *Denmark Houſe*, and other Places.

The *Anſwer* denies any noted Encreaſe of Popery, or that there is any Cauſe to fear it. As for Compoſitions, they are for the Encreaſe of his Majeſty's Profit, and for returning that into his Purſe, which the Connivance of inferior Officers might perhaps divert another way.

2. The *Remonſtrance* complains of the diſcountenancing orthodox and painful Miniſters, though conformable and peaceable in their Behaviour, inſomuch that they are hardly permitted to Lecture where there is no conſtant Preaching.—That their Books are prohibited, when thoſe of their Adverſaries are licenſed and publiſhed.—That the Biſhops *Neile* and *Laud* are juſtly ſuſpected of Arminianiſm and Popiſh Errors; and that this being the way to Church Preferment, many Scholars bend the Courſe of their Studies to maintain them.

The *Anſwer* denies the diſtreſſing or diſcountenancing *good Preachers*, if they be, as they are called, *good*; but affirms, that it was neceſſary to prohibit their Books, becauſe ſome whom the Remonſtrance calls Orthodox, had aſſumed an inſufferable Licenſe in Printing.—That great wrong was done to the two eminent Prelates mentioned, without any Proof: For ſhould they or any others attempt Innovation of Religion (ſays his Majeſty) we ſhould quickly take Order with them, without ſtaying for the Remonſtrance; and as for Church Preferments, we will

King Charles I. 1628.

always beſtow them as the Reward of Merit; but as the Preferments are ours, we will be Judge, and not be taught by a Remonſtrance.

3. The *Remonſtrance* complains of the Growth of Arminianiſm, as a cunning Way to bring in Popery.

The *Anſwer* ſays, this is a great Wrong to our ſelf and Government; for our People muſt not be taught by a Parliamentary Remonſtrance, or any other way, that we are ſo ignorant of Truth, or ſo careleſs of the Profeſſion of it, that any Opinion or Faction ſhould thruſt it ſelf ſo faſt into our Dominions without our Knowledge. This is a mere Dream, and would make our loyal People believe we are aſleep.

Jeſuit's Letter about the Growth of Arminianiſm.

But the following Letter, writ at this Time by a Jeſuit in *England*, to the Rector of the College at *Bruſſels*, will ſufficiently ſupport the Parliament's Charge, and ſhew how Arminianiſm and Popery, which have no natural Connection, came to be united at this Time againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*.

Foxes and Firebrands Part II. p. 118. Ruſhw. p. 474.

"Let not the Damp of Aſtoniſhment ſeize upon "your ardent and zealous Soul, *(ſays the Jeſuit)* in "apprehending the unexpected calling of a Parlia- "ment; we [the Papiſts] have not oppoſed, but "rather furthered it. ——

"You muſt know the Council is engaged to aſſiſt "the King by way of Prerogative, in caſe the Par- "liament fail. You ſhall ſee this Parliament will "reſemble the Pelican, which takes Pleaſure to "dig out with her Beak her own Bowels.

"The Elections have been in ſuch Confuſion of "apparent Faction, as that which we were wont to "procure with much Art and Induſtry, when the "*Spaniſh* Match was in Treaty. ——

"We have now many Strings to our Bow, and "have ſtrongly fortified our Faction, and have "added two Bulwarks more; for when King *James*

"lived,

" lived, he was very violent againſt *Arminianiſm*, " and interrupted our ſtrong Deſigns in *Holland*—— *King* Charles I. 1618.

" Now we have planted that ſovereign Drug *Ar-* " *minianiſm*, which we hope will purge the Prote- " ſtants from their Hereſy, and it flouriſhes and " bears Fruit in due Seaſon.

" The Materials that build up our Bulwark, are " the Projectors and Beggars of all Ranks and Qua- " lities; however, both theſe Factions co-operate " to deſtroy the Parliament, and to introduce a " new Species and Form of Government, which is " *Oligarchy*.

" Theſe ſerve as *Mediums* and Inſtruments to our " End, which is *the univerſal Catholick Monarchy*; " our Foundation muſt be Mutation, and Mutation " will cauſe a Relaxation ——

" We proceed now by Counſel and mature Deli- " beration, how and when to work upon the Duke's " [*Buckingham*'s] Jealouſy and Revenge; and in " this we give the Honour to thoſe that merit it, " which are the *Church Catholicks*.

" There is another Matter of Conſequence which " we muſt take much into our Conſideration and ten- " der Care, which is to ſtave off *Puritans*, that they " hang not in the Duke's Ears: They are an impu- " dent ſubtile People, and it is to be feared leſt they " ſhould negotiate a Reconciliation between the Duke " and the Parliament at *Oxford* and *Weſtminſter*; but " now we aſſure our ſelves, that we have ſo handled " the Matter, that both the Duke and Parliament " are irreconcilable.

" For the better Prevention of the Puritans, the " Arminians have already lock'd up the Duke's " Ears, and we have thoſe of our own Religion that " ſtand continually at the Duke's Chamber, to ſee " who goes in and out. We cannot be too circum- " ſpect and careful in this Regard. I cannot chooſe " but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have " accoutred themſelves; and 'tis admirable how in

King Charles I. 1628.

" Speech and Geſture they act the Puritans. The " *Cambridge* Scholars, to their woful Experience " ſhall ſee, we can act the Puritans a little better " than they have done the Jeſuits. They have abu- " ſed our ſacred Patron in jeſt, but we will make " them ſmart for it in earneſt.

" But to return to the main Fabrick, our Foun- " dation is *Arminianiſm*; the Arminians and Proje- " ctors affect Mutation; this we ſecond and enforce " by probable Arguments. We ſhew how the King " may free himſelf of his Ward, and raiſe a vaſt " Revenue without being beholden to his Subjects, " which is by way of Exciſe. Then our *Church* " *Catholicks* ſhew the Means how to ſettle the Ex- " ciſe, which muſt be by a mercenary Army of Fo- " reigners and *Germans*; their Horſe will eat up the " Country where they come, though they be well " paid, much more if they be not paid. The Ar- " my is to conſiſt of twenty Thouſand Foot, and " two Thouſand Horſe; ſo that if the Country riſe " upon ſettling the Exciſe, as probably they will, " the Army will conquer them, and pay themſelves " out of the Confiſcation. Our Deſign is to work " the Proteſtants as well as the Catholicks to wel- " come in a Conqueror. We hope to diſſolve Trade, " to hinder the Building of Shipping, and to take " away the Merchant Ships, that they may not " eaſily light upon the *Weſt India* Fleet, *&c.*"

It appears from this Letter, that PURITANISM was the only Bulwark of the Conſtitution, and of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the Inroads of Popery and arbitrary Power.

State of Religion in Ireland.

4. To go on with the Parliament's *Remonſtrance*, which complains further of the miſerable Condition of *Ireland*, where the Popiſh Religion is openly profeſſed, and their Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline avowed, Monaſteries, Nunneries, and other Religious Houſes re-edified, and filled with Men and Women of ſeveral Orders, even in the City of *Dublin* it ſelf.

The

King Charles I. 1628.

The *Anſwer* ſays, That the Proteſtant Religion is not in a worſe Condition than Queen *Elizabeth* left it; and adds, that it is a Diſparagement to the King's Government to report the Building of Religious Houſes in *Dublin*, and other Places, when the King himſelf had no Account of it.

But it ſeems the Parliament knew more of the Affairs of *Ireland* than Biſhop *Laud*; the Agents for that Kingdom had repreſented the Proteſtant Religion in great Danger, by the ſuſpending all Proceedings againſt them ever ſince the King came to the Crown; by this means they were become ſo bold, that when Lord *Falkland* ſummoned their Chiefs to meet at *Dublin*, 1626. in order to a general Contribution for Defence of the Kingdom againſt a foreign Invaſion, they declared roundly, That they would contribute nothing without a Toleration, and liberty to build Religious Houſes; upon which the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed. This awakened the Proteſtant Biſhops, who met together, and ſigned the following Proteſtation, *Novemb.* 26. 1626.

Proteſtation of the Iriſh Biſhops againſt a Toleration of Popery.

"THE Religion of Papiſts is ſuperſtitious and "idolatrous, and their Church Apoſtatical; "to give them therefore a Toleration is a grievous "Sin, becauſe it makes our ſelves acceſſary to all "the Abominations of Popery, and to the Perdition "of thoſe Souls that periſh thereby; and becauſe "granting a Toleration in reſpect of any Money to "be given, or Contribution to be made by them, "is to ſet Religion to ſale, and with it the Souls that "Chriſt has redeemed with his Blood. We there-"fore beſeech the God of Truth, to make thoſe who "are in Authority zealous for God's Glory, and re-"ſolute againſt all Popery, Superſtition and Ido-"latry."

Sign'd by Archbiſhop USHER, *and eleven of his Brethren.*

But

King Charles I. 1628.

But notwithſtanding this Proteſtation, the Papiſts gained their Point, and in the fourth Year of the King's Reign had a Toleration granted them, in conſideration of the Sum of one Hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds to be paid in three Years.

Proclamation of the Lord Deputy Falkland *againſt them.*

With regard to the Building Religious Houſes, 'tis wonderful that neither the King nor his prime Miniſter ſhould know any Thing of it, when the Lord Deputy *Falkland* had this very Summer iſſued out a Proclamation with this Preamble, "Foraſmuch as "we cannot but take Notice, that the late Intermiſ- "ſion of the legal Proceedings againſt Popiſh pre- "tended, or titular Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, "Deans, Vicars-General, and others of that ſort, "that derive their Authority and Orders from *Rome*, "hath bred ſuch an extraordinary Inſolence and Pre- "ſumption in them, as that they have dared of late, "not only to aſſemble themſelves in publick Places, "but alſo *have erected Houſes and Buildings, called* "*publick Oratories, Colleges, Maſs-Houſes, and Con-* "*vents of Friars, Monks and Nuns, in the Eye and open* "*View of the State, and elſewhere, and* do frequently "exerciſe Juriſdiction againſt his Majeſty's Subjects, "by Authority derived from *Rome*, and by Colour "of teaching Schools in their pretended Monaſte- "ries, to train up Youth in their ſuperſtitious Re- "ligion, contrary to the Laws and Eccleſiaſtical "Government of this Kingdom: We therefore will "and require them, to forbear to exerciſe their Ju- "riſdiction within this Kingdom, and to relinquiſh "and break up their Convents and Religious Hou- "ſes, *&c.* —" Could ſuch a Proclamation be printed and diſperſed over the Kingdom of *Ireland*, without being known to the *Engliſh* Court?

Biſhop Beadle's *Account of their Numbers.* Prynne's *Introd.* p. 101, 102. Collyer's *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 750.

But further, to ſhew that Biſhop *Laud* himſelf could not be ignorant of the dangerous Increaſe of Popery in *Ireland*, the Biſhop elect of *Kilmore*, Dr. *Beadle*, ſent him the following Account about this Time: "The "Popiſh Clergy are more numerous than thoſe of "the

" the Church of *England*; they have their Officials " and Vicars-General for Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, " and are ſo hardy as to excommunicate thoſe who " appear at the Courts of the Proteſtant Biſhops. " Almoſt every Pariſh has a Prieſt of the *Romiſh* " Communion; Maſſes are ſometimes ſaid in " Churches, and excepting a few *Britiſh* Planters, " not amounting to the tenth Part of the People, " the reſt are all declared Recuſants. In each Dio- " ceſe there are about ſeven or eight of the Reform- " ed Clergy well qualified, but theſe not underſtand- " ing the Language of the Natives, cannot perform " Divine Service, nor converſe with their Pariſhi- " oners to advantage, and conſequently are in no " Capacity to put a Stop to Superſtition."

King Charles I. 1628.

Let the Reader now judge, whether the *Anſwer to the Remonſtrance* be not very evaſive? Could this great Stateſman be ignorant of ſo many notorious Facts? Was the Growth of Arminianiſm and arbitrary Power a Dream? Was any Wrong done to himſelf, or his Brother of *Wincheſter*, by ſaying, they countenanced theſe Principles? Was not the Increaſe of Popery both in *England* and *Ireland* notorious, by ſuſpending the penal Laws, ever ſince the King came to the Crown, and granting the Papiſts a Toleration for a Sum of Money? Where then was the Policy of lulling the Nation aſleep, while the Enemy were encreaſing their Numbers, and whetting their Swords for a general Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, which they accompliſhed in *Ireland* about twelve Years afterwards.

Remarks.

The Biſhop obſerves in his Diary, that this Parliament laboured his Ruin, becauſe they charged him with *Unſoundneſs of Opinion*; But his Lordſhip had ſuch an Influence over the King as render'd all their Attempts fruitleſs; for the See of *London* becoming vacant this Summer, LAUD was tranſlated to it *July* 15. and the Duke of *Buckingham* being ſtabbed at *Portſmouth* by *Felton*, *Aug.* 23. following, this ambi-

LAUD *made Biſhop of* London.

King Charles I. 1628.

ambitious Prelate became *prime Miniſter* in all Affairs both of Church and State.

King's Declaration before the Thirty nine Articles.

One of the Biſhop's firſt Attempts, after his Tranſlation to *London*, was to ſtifle the *Predeſtinarian Controverſy*, for which purpoſe he procured the Thirty nine Articles to be reprinted, with the following Declaration at the Head of them.

Bib. Reg. Sect. 3. N° IV.

By the King.

" BEING by God's Ordinance, and our juſt " Title, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* within " theſe Dominions, we hold it agreeable to our " Kingly Office, for the Preſervation of Unity and " Peace, not to ſuffer any unneceſſary Diſputations " which may nouriſh Faction in the Church or Com- " monwealth: We therefore, with the Advice of our " Biſhops declare, that the Articles of the Church " of *England* which the Clergy generally have ſub- " ſcribed, do contain the true Doctrine of the Church " of *England*, agreeable to God's Word, which we " do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our " loving Subjects to continue in the uniform Profeſ- " ſion thereof, and prohibiting the leaſt Difference " from the ſaid Articles. —— We take comfort in " this, that all Clergymen within our Realm have " always moſt willingly ſubſcribed the Articles, " which is an Argument, that they all agree in the " true, uſual, literal Meaning of them; and that " in thoſe curious Points, in which the preſent Diffe- " rences lie, Men of all Sorts take the Articles to " be for them, which is an Argument again, that " none of them intend any Deſertion of the Articles " eſtabliſhed: Wherefore we will, that all curious " Search into theſe Things be laid aſide, and theſe " Diſputes be ſhut up in God's Promiſes, as they " be generally ſet forth to us in Holy Scriptures, " and the general Meaning of the Articles according " to them; and that no Man hereafter preach or " print to draw the Article aſide any way, but ſhall

" ſubmit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, " and ſhall not put his own Senſe or Comment to the " Meaning of the Article, but ſhall take it in the " literal and grammatical Senſe: That if any publick " Reader in the Univerſities, or any other Perſon, " ſhall affix any new Senſe to any Article, or ſhall " publickly read, or hold Diſputation on either " ſide; or if any Divine in the Univerſities ſhall " preach, or print any Thing either way, they ſhall " be liable to cenſure in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſ- " ſion, and we will ſee there ſhall be due Execution " upon them." *King* Charles I. 1628.

Surely there never was ſuch a confuſed unintelligible Declaration ever printed; but the Calviniſt Divines underſtood the King's Intention, and complained in a Petition of " the Reſtraints they were laid under by " his Majeſty's forbidding them to preach the ſaving " Doctrines of God's Free Grace in Election, and " Predeſtination to Eternal Life, according to the " ſeventeenth Article of the Church. That this had " brought them under a very uncomfortable Dilem- " ma, either of falling under the Divine Diſpleaſure, " if they did not execute their Commiſſion in decla- " ring the whole Counſel of God, or of being cenſu- " red for Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Authority, " in caſe they preached the received Doctrines of " the Church, and attacked the Pelagian and Ar- " minian Hereſies boldly publiſhed from Pulpit " and Preſs, though cenſured by King *James* as " arrogant and atheiſtical; and thoſe who avow " them to be agreeable to the Church of *England* are " called groſs Liars. Therefore they humbly in- " treat, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to take " the forementioned Evils and Grievances into his " princely Conſideration, and as a wiſe Phyſician, " apply ſuch ſpeedy Remedies as may both cure the " preſent Diſtemper, and preſerve the Church and " State from thoſe Plagues with which their Neigh- " bours

Petition of the Calviniſts *againſt it.* Prynne, p. 165.

King Charles I. 1628.

" bours had not been a little diſtreſſed." But this Addreſs was ſtopt in its Progreſs, and never reach'd the King's Ears.

In purſuance of his Majeſty's Declaration all Books relating to the *Arminian* Controverſy were called in by Proclamation and ſuppreſſed, and among others *Montague*'s and *Manwaring*'s, which was only a Feint to cover a more deadly Blow to be reached at the Puritans; for at the ſame Time *Montague* and *Manwaring* received the Royal Pardon, and were prefer'd to ſome of the beſt Livings in the Kingdom (as has been obſerved) while the Anſwers to their Books, by Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Goad*, Mr. *Burton*, *Ward*, *Yates* and *Rouſe*, were not only ſuppreſſed, but the Publiſhers queſtion'd in the *Star Chamber*.

The King put on the ſame thin Diſguiſe with regard to Papiſts; a Proclamation was iſſued out againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits, and particularly againſt the Biſhop of *Chalcedon*; Orders were alſo ſent to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to make Search after them and commit them to Priſon, but at the ſame Time his Majeſty appointed Commiſſioners to compound with them for their Recuſancy; ſo that inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, they became a Branch of the Revenue, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, a notorious Papiſt, was created Earl of *Portland*, and made Lord High Treaſurer of *England*.

Proceedings of Parliament.

When the Parliament met according to Prorogation, *January* 20th. they began again with Grievances of Religion: OLIVER CROMWELL, *Eſq*; being of the Committee, reported to the Houſe the Countenance that was given by Dr. *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to Divines that preached Arminian and Popiſh Doctrine; he mentioned the Favours that had been beſtowed upon *Montague* and *Manwaring*, who had been cenſured the laſt Seſſions of Parliament; and added, *If this be the Way to Church Preferment, What may we expect?* Upon debating the King's late Declaration, the Houſe voted, *That the main End of that Declaration was to ſuppreſs the Puritan Party, and to*

give liberty to the contrary ſide. Several warm Speeches were made againſt the new Ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the Church, as Images of Saints and Angels, Crucifixes, Altars, and lighted Candles, *&c.* *King Charles I. 1628.*

Mr. *Rouſe* ſtood up and ſaid, " — I deſire it may " be conſidered, what new Paintings have been laid " upon the old Face of the Whore of *Babylon*, to " make her ſhew more lovely. I deſire it may be " conſidered, how the See of *Rome* doth eat into our " Religion, and fret into the very Banks and Walls " of it, the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. — I " deſire we may conſider the Increaſe of Armini- " aniſm, an Error that makes the Grace of God " lackey after the Will of Man. — I deſire we " may look into the Belly and Bowels of this *Trojan* " Horſe, to ſee if there be not Men in it ready to " open the Gates to *Romiſh* Tyranny, for an Armi- " nian is the Spawn of a Papiſt; and if the Warmth " of Favour come upon him, you ſhall ſee him turn " into one of thoſe Frogs that roſe out of the bot- " tomleſs Pit; theſe Men having kindled a Fire in " our Neighbour Country, are now endeavouring to " ſet this Kingdom in a Flame —" *Speech of Mr. Rouſe.* Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 653. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 654.

Mr. *Pym* ſaid, " That by the Articles ſet forth " 1562. by the Catechiſm ſet forth in King *Edward* " VIth's Days, by the Writings of *Martin Bucer* and " *Peter Martyr*; by the conſtant Profeſſions ſealed " with the Blood of many Martyrs, as *Cranmer*, " *Ridley*, and others; by the Thirty ſix Articles " of Queen *Elizabeth*, and by the Articles agreed " upon at *Lambeth* as the Doctrine of the Church of " *England*, which King *James* ſent to *Dort*, and to " *Ireland*, it appears evidently what is the eſtabliſhed " Religion of the Realm. Let us therefore ſhew " wherein theſe late Opinions differ from thoſe " Truths; and what Men have been ſince preferr'd " who have profeſs'd the contrary Hereſies; what " Pardons they have had for falſe Doctrine; what " pro- *Of Mr. Pym.* Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 647.

King Charles I. 1628.

" prohibiting of Books and Writings againſt their Doctrine, and permitting of ſuch Books as have " been for them. Let us enquire after the Abettors, " and after the Pardons granted to them that preach " the contrary Truth before his Majeſty. It belongs " to Parliaments to eſtabliſh true Religion, and to " puniſh falſe. We muſt know what Parliaments " have done formerly in Religion. Our Parlia- " ments have confirmed General Councils. In the " Time of King *Henry* VIII. the Earl of *Eſſex* was " condemned [by Parliament] for countenancing " Books of Hereſy. The Convocation is but a Pro- " vincial Synod of *Canterbury*, and cannot bind the " whole Kingdom. As for *York* it is diſtant, and " cannot bind us or the Laws; and as for the High " Commiſſion it is derived from Parliament —"

Of Sir J. Elliot. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 649.

Sir *John Elliot* ſaid, " — If there be any Diffe- " rence in Opinion concerning the Interpretation of " the Thirty nine Articles, it is ſaid, the Biſhops " and Clergy in Convocation have Power to diſpute " it, and to order which way they pleaſe. A ſlight " Thing, that the Power of Religion ſhould be left " to theſe Men! I honour their Profeſſion; there " are among our Biſhops ſuch as are fit to be made " Examples for all Ages, who ſhine in Virtue, and " are firm for Religion; but the contrary Faction I " like not. I remember a Character I have ſeen in " a Diary of King *Edward* VI. where he ſays of the " Biſhops, that *ſome for Age, ſome for Ignorance, ſome* " *for Luxury, and ſome for Popery, were unfit for Di-* " *ſcipline and Government.* We ſee there are ſome " among our Biſhops that are not Orthodox, nor " ſound in Religion as they ſhould be, witneſs the " two Biſhops complained of the laſt Meeting of this " Parliament; ſhould we be in their Power, I fear " our Religion would be overthrown. Some of theſe " are *Maſters of Ceremonies*, and labour to introduce " new Ceremonies into the Church. — Let us go " to the Ground of our Religion, and lay down a " Rule

" Rule on which all others may reſt, and then en- " quire after Offenders."

King Charles I. 1628.

Mr. *Secretary Cook* ſaid, " That the Fathers of the " Church were aſleep; but a little to awaken their " Zeal, it is fit (ſays he) that they take Notice of " that Hierarchy that is already eſtabliſhed, in " Competition with their Lordſhips, for they [the " Papiſts] have a Biſhop conſecrated by the " Pope; this Biſhop has his ſubaltern Officers of " all Kinds, as Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, " Rural Deans, Apparitors, *&c.* neither are theſe " Nominal or Titular Officers only, but they all " execute their Juriſdictions, and make their or- " dinary Viſitations throughout the Kingdom, " keep Courts, and determine Eccleſiaſtical Cau- " ſes; and which is an Argument of more Conſe- " quence, they keep ordinary Intelligence by their " Agents in *Rome*, and hold Correſpondence with " the Nuncioes and Cardinals both at *Bruſſels* and " *France*. Neither are the Seculars alone grown " to this Height, but the Regulars are more " active and dangerous. — Even at this Time " they intend to hold a concurrent Aſſembly with " this Parliament —" After ſome other Speeches of this kind the Houſe of Commons enter'd into the following Vow.

Of Mr. Sec. Cook.

Proteſtation of the Commons againſt Armini- aniſm.

" WE *the Commons in Parliament aſſembled do* " *claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth, the* " *Senſe of the Articles of Religion which were eſta-* " *bliſhed by Parliament in the thirteenth Year of our* " *late Queen* Elizabeth, *which by the publick Act* " *of the Church of* England, *and by the general and* " *current Expoſition of the Writers of our Church* " *have been delivered unto us. And we reject the* " *Senſe of the* Jeſuits *and* Arminians, *and all others* " *that differ from us.*"

King Charles I. 1628.

Biſhop *Laud*, in his Anſwer to this Proteſtation, has ſeveral Remarks. "*Is there by this Act* (ſays his Lordſhip) *any Interpretation of the Articles or not? If none, to what End is the Act? If a Senſe or Interpretation be declared, what Authority have Laymen to make it? for Interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have Power to make it.*" To which it might be anſwer'd, that the *Commons* made no new Interpretation of the Articles, but avowed for Truth the current Senſe of Expoſitors before that Time, in Oppoſition to the modern Interpretation of Jeſuits and Arminians. *But what Authority have* LAYMEN *to make it? Anſwer*, The ſame that they had in the 13th of *Elizabeth*, to eſtabliſh them, as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; unleſs we will ſay, with Mr. *Collyer*, that neither the Senſe of the Articles, nor the Articles themſelves, were eſtabliſhed in that Parliament, or in any other. If ſo, they are no Part of the legal Conſtitution, and Men may ſubſcribe the Words without putting any Senſe upon them at all; an admirable Way to prevent Diverſity of Opinions in Matters of Faith! But his Lordſhip adds, "*That it is againſt the King's Declaration, which ſays, we muſt take the* GENERAL MEANING *of them, and not draw them aſide any way, but take them in the literal and grammatical Senſe.*" Has the King then a Power, without Convocation or Parliament, to interpret and determine the Senſe of the Articles for the whole Body of the Clergy? By the *general Meaning* of the Articles, the Declaration ſeems to underſtand no one determined Senſe at all. Strange! that ſo learned and wiſe a Body of Clergy and Laity, in Convocation and Parliament, ſhould eſtabliſh a Number of Articles with this Title, *For the avoiding of Diverſity of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion*, without any one determined Senſe! The Biſhop goes on, and *excepts againſt the current Senſe of Expoſitors*, "*becauſe they may, and perhaps*

Remarks upon Biſhop Laud's Anſwer.

Ec. Hiſt. p. 747.

Prynne *Cant. Doom.* p. 164.

" *perhaps do, go againſt the literal Senſe.*" Will his Lordſhip then abide by the literal and grammatical Senſe? No, but " *if an Article bear more Senſes than* " *one, a Man may chooſe what Senſe his Judgment di-* " *rects him to, provided it be* A SENSE, *according to the* " *Analogy of Faith, till the Church determine a* [particu- " lar] SENSE; *but 'tis the Wiſdom of the Church to re-* " *quire Conſent to Articles in general as much as may be,* " *and not require Aſſent to Particulars.*" His Lordſhip had better have ſpoken out, and ſaid, that it would be the Wiſdom of the Church to require no Subſcriptions at all. What Shifts are Men put to, to comply with the Laws, when their Sentiments happen to differ from the literal and grammatical Senſe of the Articles of the Church? Mr. *Collyer* ſays, they have *no eſtabliſhed Senſe*; King *Charles* in his Declaration, that they are to be underſtood in a *general Senſe*, but not to be drawn aſide to a particular *determined Senſe*. Biſhop *Laud* thinks, that if the Words will bear more Senſes than one, a Man may chooſe what Senſe his Judgment directs him to, provided it be A SENSE, according to the Analogy of Faith, and all this to avoid Diverſity of Opinions: But I am afraid this Reaſoning is too wonderful for the Reader!

King Charles I. 1628.

While the Parliament were expreſſing their Zeal againſt *Arminianiſm* and *Popery*, a new Controverſy aroſe, which provoked his Majeſty to diſſolve them, and to reſolve to govern without Parliaments for the future; for though the King had ſo lately ſigned the *Petition of Right* in full Parliament, he went on with levying Money by his Royal Prerogative. A Bill was depending in the Houſe to grant his Majeſty the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage; but before it was paſs'd, the *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officers ſeized the Goods of three eminent Merchants, Mr. *Rolle*, Mr. *Chambers*, and Mr. *Vaſſal*, for Non-payment. Mr. *Chambers* was fined two thouſand Pounds, beſides the Loſs of his

Arbitrary Proceedings of the Court with the Parliament.

King Charles I. 1628.

his Goods, and ſuffered ſix Years Impriſonment: Mr. *Rolls*'s Warehouſes were lock'd up, and himſelf taken out of the Houſe of Commons and impriſoned. This occaſioned ſome warm Speeches againſt the *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officers and Farmers of the Revenues; but the King took all upon himſelf, and ſent the Houſe Word, that what the *Officers* had done, was by his ſpecial Direction and Command, and that it was not ſo much their Act as his own. This was a new Way of covering the unwarrantable Proceedings of corrupt Miniſters, and was ſaid to be the Advice of the Biſhops *Laud* and *Neile*; a Contrivance that laid the Foundation of his Majeſty's Ruin. It had been a Maxim in Law, that *the King can do no wrong*, and that all Male-Adminiſtrations were chargeable upon his Miniſters; but now, in order to ſkreen his Servants, his Majeſty will take all upon himſelf: So that if the Parliament will defend their Rights and Properties, they muſt charge the King, who, in his own Opinion, *was above Law, and accountable for his Actions to none but God.* It was moved in the Houſe, that notwithſtanding the King's Anſwer, the Officers of the Cuſtoms ſhould be proceeded againſt, by ſeparating their Intereſts from the King's: But when the Speaker, Sir *John Finch*, was deſired to put the Queſtion, he refuſed, ſaying, the King had commanded the contrary. Upon which, the Houſe immediately adjourned to *January* 25. and then were adjourned by the King's Order, to *March* 2. when they met, and requiring the Speaker to put the former Queſtion, he refuſed again, and ſaid he had the King's Order to adjourn them to *March* 16. but they detained him in the Chair, not without ſome Tumult and Confuſion, till they made the following Proteſtation.

They keep the Speaker in the Chair till they make a Proteſtation.

1. "Whoſoever ſhall, by Favour or Countenance, "ſeem to extend or introduce Popery or Armi-"nianiſm;

" nianiſm, ſhall be reputed a capital Enemy of the " Kingdom. *King* Charles I. 1628.

2. " Whoſoever ſhall adviſe the levying the " Subſidies of *Tonnage and Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, ſhall be reputed a capital " Enemy.

3. " If any Merchant ſhall voluntarily pay thoſe " Duties, he ſhall be reputed a Betrayer of the Li- " berties of *England*, and an Enemy of the ſame.

Several Members taken into Cuſtody.

But the next Day Warrants were directed to *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *John Selden*, Eſqrs. and four more of the principal Members of the Houſe, to appear before the Council on the Morrow: Four of them appeared accordingly, *(viz.)* Mr. *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine*; but refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament for what was ſaid in the Houſe, they were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower. The Studies of the reſt were ordered to be ſealed up, and a Proclamation was iſſued out for apprehending them; though the Parliament not being diſſolved, they were actually Members of the Houſe. On the 10th of *March*, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and, without ſending for the Commons, or paſſing one ſingle Act, diſſolved the Parliament, with a very angry Speech againſt the leading Members of the lower Houſe, whom he called *Vipers*, that caſt a Miſt of Undutifulneſs over moſt of their Eyes: " And as thoſe " Vipers (ſays his Majeſty) muſt look for their " Reward of Puniſhment; ſo you, *my Lords*, muſt " juſtly expect from me that Favour that a good " King oweth to his loving and faithful Nobility."

King's Speech at the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Remarks.

The Undutifulneſs of the Commons was only their keeping the Speaker in the Chair, after he had notified that the King had adjourned them, which his Majeſty had no Power to do; for no King before King *James* I. pretended *to adjourn* Parliaments, and it was then complained of, as a Breach of Privilege.

King Charles I. 1628.

It is one Thing to prorogue or diſſolve a Parliament, and another to adjourn it; the Conſequences of this laſt might be very fatal; for if the King may adjourn the Houſe in the midſt of their Debates, or forbid the Speaker to put the Queſtion when required, 'tis eaſy to foreſee the whole Buſineſs of Parliament muſt be under his Direction. The Members abovementioned were ſentenced to be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure; and were accordingly kept under cloſe Confinement many Years, where Sir *John Elliot* died a Martyr for the Liberties of his Country. Mr. *Hollis* was alſo fined a thouſand Marks, Sir *John Elliot* two thouſand Pounds, *Valentine* five hundred Pounds, and *Long* two thouſand Marks.

Rapin, p. 218.

Libels againſt the Miniſters

Great were the Murmurings of the People upon this Occaſion; Libels were diſperſed againſt the Prime Miniſter LAUD; one of which ſays, *Laud, look to thy ſelf, be aſſured thy Life is ſought. As thou art the Fountain of Wickedneſs, repent of thy monſtrous Sins before thou be taken out of this World; and aſſure thy ſelf, neither God nor the World can endure ſuch a vile Counſellor or Whiſperer to live.* But to juſtify theſe Proceedings to the World, his Majeſty publiſhed *a Declaration of the Cauſes of diſſolving the laſt Parliament.*

Ruſhw. Vol I. p. 662.

King's Declaration of his Reaſons for diſſolving the laſt Parliament.

The *Declaration* vindicates the King's taking the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, from the Examples of ſome of his Predeceſſors, and as agreeable to his kingly Honour. It juſtifies the ſilencing the Predeſtinarian Controverſy, and lays the Blame of not executing the Laws againſt Papiſts upon ſubordinate Officers and Miniſters in the Country: "We "profeſs (ſays his Majeſty) that as it is our Duty, "ſo it ſhall be our Care to command and direct well; "but it is the Part of others to perform the miniſte-"rial Office; and when we have done our Office, "we ſhall account our ſelf, and all charitable Men "will account us innocent, both to God and Men; "and thoſe that are negligent, we will eſteem cul-"pable, both to God and us." The Declaration con-

concludes with a Profeſſion that "the King will "maintain the true Religion of the Church of "*England*, without conniving at Popery or Schiſm: "That he will maintain the Rights and Liberties of "his Subjects, provided they do not miſuſe their "Liberty, by turning it to Licentiouſneſs, wanton- "ly and frowardly reſiſting our lawful and *neceſſary* "*Authority*; for we do expect our Subjects ſhould "yield as much Submiſſion to our Royal Preroga- "tive, and as ready Obedience to our Authority "and Commandments, as has been performed to the "greateſt of our Predeceſſors. We will not have "our *Miniſters* terrified by harſh Proceedings againſt "them; for as we expect our Miniſters ſhould obey "us, they ſhall aſſure themſelves we will protect "them." *King* Charles I. 1628.

This Declaration not quieting the People, was followed by a Proclamation, which put an End to all Proſpects of recovering the Conſtitution for the future. The Proclamation declares his Majeſty's Royal Pleaſure, "That Spreaders of falſe Reports "ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed; that ſuch as chearfully "go on with their Trades, ſhall have all good En- "couragement: That he will not over-charge his "Subjects with any new Burdens, but will ſatisfy "himſelf with the Duties received by his Royal "Father, which he neither can, nor will diſpenſe "with. And whereas, for ſeveral ill Ends, the "calling of another Parliament is divulged, his "Majeſty declares, that the late Abuſe having for "the preſent driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of "that Courſe, he ſhall account it Preſumption for "any to preſcribe any Time to his Majeſty for Par- "liaments, the calling, continuing, and diſſolving "of which, is always in the King's own Power."— Here was an End of the old *Engliſh* Government by King, Lords and Commons for twelve Years. *England* was now an abſolute Monarchy; the King's Proclamations and Orders of Council were the Laws

A Proclamation againſt preſcribing a Time for calling Parliaments for the future. Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 3.

King Charles I. 1628.

of the Land; the Miniſters of State ſported themſelves in the moſt wanton Acts of arbitrary Power; and the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country lay proſtrate, being ſwallowed up by an Inundation of Popery and Oppreſſion.

Death and Character of Dr. Preſton.

Clark's *Life of Dr.* Preſton.

This Year died the Reverend Dr. *John Preſton*, deſcended of the Family of the *Preſtons* in *Lancaſhire*. He was born at *Heyford* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the Pariſh of *Bugbrook*, 1587. and was admitted of *King*'s College, *Cambridge*, 1604. from whence he was afterwards removed to *Queen*'s College, and admitted Fellow in the Year 1609. He was an ambitious and aſpiring Youth, till having received ſome religious Impreſſions from Mr. *Cotton*, in a Sermon preached by him at St. *Mary*'s Church, he became remarkably ſerious, and bent all his Studies to the Service of Chriſt in the Miniſtry. When the King came to *Cambridge*, Mr. *Preſton* was appointed to diſpute before him: The Queſtion was, *Whether Brutes had Reaſon, or could make Syllogiſms?* Mr. *Preſton* maintained the Affirmative; and inſtanced in a Hound, who coming to a Place where three Ways meet, ſmells one Way and the other; but not finding the Scent, runs down the third with full Cry, concluding that the Hare not being gone either of the two firſt Ways, muſt neceſſarily be gone the third. The Argument had a wonderful Effect on the Audience, and would have open'd a Door for Mr. *Preſton*'s Preferment, had not his Inclinations to Puritaniſm been a Bar in the Way. He therefore reſolved upon an academical Life, and took upon him the Care of Pupils, for which he was qualified beyond moſt in the Univerſity. Many Gentlemen and others committed their Sons to his Care, who trained them up in the Sentiments of the firſt Reformers; for he affected the very Stile and Language of *Calvin*. When it came to his Turn to be Catechiſt, he went thro' a whole Body of Divinity with ſuch general Acceptance, that the outward Chapel was uſually crouded with

with Strangers before the Fellows came in, which created him Envy. Complaint was made to the Vice-Chancellor of this unuſual Way of catechiſing, and that it was not ſafe to ſuffer Dr. *Preſton* to be thus adored, unleſs they had a mind to ſet up *Puritaniſm*, which would in a ſhort Time pull down the Hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the Convocation Houſe, that no Stranger, neither Townſman nor Scholar, ſhould upon any Pretence come to thoſe Lectures which were only for the Members of the College. *King* Charles I. 1628.

There was little Preaching in the Univerſity at this Time, except at St. *Mary*'s, the Lectures at *Trinity* and St. *Andrews* being prohibited; Mr. *Preſton* therefore, at the Requeſt of the Townſmen and Scholars of other Colleges, attempted to ſet up an Evening Sermon at St. *Buttolph*'s, belonging to *Queen*'s *College*; but when Dr. *Newcomb*, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of *Ely* heard of it, he came to the Church and forbid the Sermon, and commanded that Evening Prayers only ſhould be read: There was a vaſt Croud, and earneſt Entreaty, that Mr. *Preſton* might preach, at leaſt for that Time, but the Commiſſary was inexorable, and to prevent further Importunities, went home with his Family; after he was gone Mr. *Preſton* was prevailed with to preach; and becauſe much Time had been ſpent in Debates, they adventur'd for that Time to omit the Service that the Scholars might be preſent at their College Prayers. Next Day the *Commiſſary* went to *New-Market*, and complained both to the Biſhop and King; he repreſented the Danger of the Hierarchy, and the Progreſs of Non-Conformity among the Scholars, and aſſured them, that Mr. *Preſton* was in ſuch high Eſteem, that he would carry all before him if he was not thoroughly dealt with. Being called before his Superiors, he made a plain Narrative of the Fact; and added, that he had no Deſign to affront the Biſhop or his Commiſſary. The

Biſhop

King Charles I. 1628.

Biſhop ſaid, the King was informed that he was an Enemy to *Forms of Prayer*, which Mr. *Preſton* denying, he was ordered to declare his Judgment upon that Head, in a Sermon at St. *Buttolph* Church, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Some Time after, King *James* being at *New-Market* Mr. *Preſton* was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great Applauſe, having a fluent Speech, a commanding Voice, and a ſtrong Memory to deliver what he had prepared without the Aſſiſtance of his Notes. The King ſpake familiarly to him; and though his Majeſty expreſſed a Diſlike to ſome of his Puritan Notions, he commended his oppoſing the Arminians. And the Duke of *Buckingham* not knowing what Friends he might want among the Populace, perſuaded the King to admit him one of the PRINCE's Chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two Months in the Year, which he did. Soon after this he was choſen Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and upon the Reſignation of Dr. *Chadderton*, Maſter of *Emanuel College*, in the Year 1622. when he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity. The Doctor was a fine Gentleman, a complete Courtier, and in high Eſteem with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who thought by his means to ingratiate himſelf with the *Puritans*, whoſe Power was growing very formidable in Parliament. The Duke offered him the Biſhoprick of *Glouceſter*, but the Doctor refuſed, and choſe rather the Lectureſhip of *Trinity Church*, which he kept to his Death. By his Intereſt in the Duke and the Prince he did conſiderable Service for many ſilenced Miniſters; he was in waiting when King *James* died, and came up with the young King and Duke in a cloſe Coach to *London*. But ſome Time after, the Duke having changed Meaſures, and finding that he could neither gain over the Puritans to his arbitrary Deſigns, nor ſeparate the Doctor from their Intereſts, he reſolved to ſhake hands with his Chaplain. The Doctor foreſaw the Storm,

and

and was content to retire quietly to his College, where 'tis thought he would have felt ſome further Effects of the Duke's Diſpleaſure, if God in his Providence had not cut him out Work of a different Nature, which took up all his Time and Thoughts to his Death. *King* Charles I. 1628.

Dr. *Preſton* lived a ſingle Life, being never married; nor had he ever a *Cure of Souls* in the Church. He had a ſtrong Conſtitution, but wore it out in his Study and in the Pulpit. His Diſtemper was a Conſumption in the Lungs, for which, by the Advice of Phyſicians, he changed the Air ſeveral Times; but the Failure of his Appetite, with other Symptoms of a general Decay, prevailed with him, at length, to leave off all Phyſick, and reſign himſelf to the Will of God. And being deſirous of dying in his native Country, and among his old Friends, he retired into *Northamptonſhire*, where he departed this Life in a moſt pious and devout Manner, in the Forty firſt Year of his Age, and was buried in *Fawſley* Church, old Mr. *Dod*, Miniſter of that Place, preaching his Funeral Sermon to a numerous Auditory, *July* 20th. 1628. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, "He was an excellent Preacher, a ſubtle Diſputant, and great Politician; ſo that his Foes muſt confeſs, that (if not having too little of the Dove) he had enough of the Serpent. Some will not ſtick to ſay, he had Parts ſufficient to manage the Broad Seal, which was offered him, but the Conditions did not pleaſe. He might have been the Duke's right Hand, but his Grace finding that he could not bring him nor his Party off to his ſide, he would uſe him no longer;" which ſhews him to be an honeſt Man. His practical Works and Sermons were printed by his own Order after his Death. B. XI. p. 131.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Diſſolution of the third Parliament of King CHARLES I. *to the Death of Archbiſhop* ABBOT.

King Charles I. 1629.

Arbitrary Methods of Government in the State.

THE ancient and legal Government of *England*, by King, Lords, and Commons, being now ſuſpended by the Royal Will and Pleaſure, his Majeſty reſolved to ſupply the Neceſſities of his Government by ſuch other Methods as his Council ſhould adviſe, who gave a *Looſe* to their Actions, as being no longer afraid of a Parliamentary Inquiſition, and being above the reach of ordinary Juſtice. Inſtead of the Laws of the Land, all publick Affairs were directed by Proclamations of the King and Council, which had the Force of ſo many Laws, and were bound upon the Subject under the ſevereſt Penalties. They collected the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage without Act of Parliament, and laid what other Impoſts they thought proper upon Merchandize, which they let out to farm to private Perſons; the Number of Monopolies was incredible; there was no Branch of the Subjects Property that the Government could diſpoſe of, but was bought and ſold. They raiſed above a Million a Year by the Impoſts on *Soap*, *Salt*, *Candles*, *Wine*, *Cards*, *Pins*, *Leather*, *Coals*, &c. *even to the ſole gathering of Rags*. Grants were given out for *weighing Hay and Straw within three Miles of* London; *for gageing red Herring Barrels, and Butter Caſks*; *for marking Iron and ſealing Lace*, with a great many others; which being purchaſed of the Crown muſt be paid for by the Subject. His Majeſty claimed a Right in *Caſes of Neceſſity* (of which *Neceſſity* himſelf was the ſole Judge) to raiſe Money by *Ship Writs*, or Royal Mandates directed to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, to levy on the Subject the ſeveral Sums of Money therein demanded, for the Maintenance

tenance and Support of the *Royal Navy*. The like was demanded for the Royal Army, by the Name of *Coat and Conduct Money* when they were to March; and when they were in Quarters, they were billeted upon private Houſes. Many were put to Death by martial Law who ought to have been tried by the Laws of the Land; and others by the ſame martial Law were exempted from the Puniſhment which by Law they deſerved. Large Sums of Money were raiſed by Commiſſions under the Great Seal, to compound for *Depopulations*, *for Nuſances in building between high and low Water Mark*; *for pretended Encroachments on the Foreſts*, &c. beſide the *exorbitant Fines* of the Star Chamber and High Commiſſion Court; and the extraordinary Methods of raiſing Money by *Loans*, *Benevolences*, *and Free-Gifts*. Such was the Calamity of the Times, that no Man could call any Thing his own any longer than the King pleaſed; nor might any Man ſpeak or write againſt theſe arbitrary Proceedings, without the utmoſt Hazard of his Liberty and Eſtate.

King Charles I. 1629.

The Church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal Methods; Dr. LAUD Biſhop of *London* being prime Miniſter, purſued his imaginary Scheme of *uniting the two Churches of* England *and* Rome, without the leaſt Regard to the Rights of Conſcience, or the Laws of the Land, and very ſeldom to the Canons of the Church, but bore down all that oppoſed him with unrelenting Severity and Rigor. To make way for the Union, the *Churches* were not only to be repaired, but beautified with Pictures, Paintings, Images, Altar Pieces, *&c.* the *Forms of publick Worſhip* were to be ſet off with a Number of pompous Rites and Ceremonies, in Imitation of the Church of *Rome*; and the *Puritans*, who were the profeſſed Enemies of every Thing that looked like Popery, were to be ſuppreſſed or driven out of the Land. To accompliſh the latter his Lordſhip preſented the King with certain Conſiderations for ſettling

Biſhop Laud's *Scheme for governing the Church.*

King Charles I. 1629.

ſettling the Church, which were ſoon after publiſhed with ſome little Variation, under the Title of *Inſtructions to the two Archbiſhops, concerning certain Orders to be obſerved, and put in Execution by the ſeveral Biſhops.*

Here his Majeſty commands them to ſee, that his Declaration for ſilencing the Predeſtinarian Controverſy be ſtrictly obſerved; and that ſpecial Care be taken of the Lectures, or Afternoon Sermons in their ſeveral Dioceſes, concerning which he is pleaſed to give the following Inſtructions.

King's Inſtructions about Lecturers.

1. "That in all Pariſhes the Afternoon Sermons "be turned into catechizing by Queſtion and An- "ſwer, where there is not ſome great Cauſe to "break this ancient and profitable Order.

2. "That every Lecturer read Divine Service be- "fore Lecture in his Surplice and Hood.

3. "That where there are Lectures in Market "Towns they be read by grave and orthodox Di- "vines; and that they preach in Gowns, and not "in Cloaks, as too many do uſe.

4. "That no Lecturer be admitted, that is not "ready and willing to take upon him a Living with "Cure of Souls.

5. "That the Biſhops take Order, that the Ser- "mons of the Lecturers be obſerved.

6. "That none under Noblemen, and Men qua- "lified by Law, keep a private Chaplain.

7. "That Care be taken, that the Prayers and "Catechiſings be frequented, as well as Sermons."

Of all which his Majeſty requires an Account once a Year.

By virtue of theſe Inſtructions the Biſhop of *London* ſummoned before him all Miniſters and Lecturers in and about the City, and in a ſolemn Speech inſiſted on their Obedience. He alſo ſent Letters to his Archdeacons, requiring them to ſend him Liſts of the ſeveral Lecturers within their Archdeaconry, as

as well in Places exempt as not exempt, with the Places where they preached, and their Quality or Degree; as alſo, the Names of ſuch Gentlemen, as being not qualified, kept Chaplains in their Houſes. His Lordſhip required them further, to leave a Copy of the King's Inſtructions concerning Lecturers with the Parſon of every Pariſh, and to ſee that they were duly obſerved. *King Charles I. 1629.*

Theſe LECTURERS were chiefly *Puritans*, who not being ſatisfied with a full Conformity, ſo as to take upon them a *Cure of Souls*, only preached in the Afternoons, being choſen and maintained by the People. They were ſtrict Calviniſts, warm and affectionate Preachers, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a religious Obſervation of the Lord's Day, by a bold Oppoſition to Popery and the new Ceremonies, and by an uncommon Severity of Life. Their manner of Preaching gave the Biſhop a diſtaſte to Sermons, who was already of Opinion that they did more harm than good, in ſo much, that on a Faſt Day for the Plague then in *London*, Prayers were ordered to be read in all Churches, but not a Sermon to be preached, leſt the People ſhould wander from their own Pariſhes. The *Lecturers* had very popular Talents, and drew great Numbers of People after them. Biſhop *Laud* would often ſay, "They were the moſt dangerous "Enemies of the State, becauſe by their Prayers "and Sermons they awakened the People's Diſaf-"fection, and therefore muſt be ſuppreſſed. *Character of the Lecturers.*

Good old Archbiſhop *Abbot* was of another Spirit, but the Reins were taken out of his Hands. He had a good Opinion of the *Lecturers*, as Men that had the Proteſtant Religion at Heart, and would fortify their Hearers againſt the Return of Popery. When Mr. *Palmer*, Lecturer of St. *Alphage* in *Canterbury*, was commanded to deſiſt from Preaching by the Archdeacon, becauſe he drew great Numbers of factious People after him, and did not wear the Surplice, the Archbiſhop authorized him to continue: *Proceedings againſt them.* Prynne's *Introd.* p. 94. 361, 373.

The

King Charles I. 1629.

The like he did by Mr. *Udnay* of *Aſhford*, for which he was complain'd of, as not enforcing the King's Inſtructions, whereby the Commiſſioners (as they ſay) were made a Scorn to the Factious, and the Archdeacon's Juriſdiction inhibited. But in the Dioceſe of *London* Biſhop *Laud* proceeded with great Severity. Many Lectures were ſuppreſſed, and ſuch as preached againſt *Arminianiſm* or the new Ceremonies were ſuſpended and ſilenced; among theſe were the Reverend Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, Mr. *Daniel Rogers* of *Wethersfield*, Mr. *Hooker* of *Chelmsford*, Mr. *White* of *Knightſbridge*, Mr. *Archer*, Mr. *William Martin*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Jones*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Saunders*, Mr. *James Gardiner*, Mr. *Foxley*, and many others.

Mr. Bernard's *Sufferings.* Rushw. p. 32, 34. Prynne, p. 365, 367.

The Reverend Mr. *Bernard*, Lecturer of St. *Sepulchres*, *London*, having uſed this Expreſſion in his Prayer before Sermon, *Lord open the Eyes of the Queen's Majeſty, that ſhe may ſee Jeſus Chriſt, whom ſhe has pierced with her Infidelity, Superſtition and Idolatry*, was convened before the High Commiſſion, *January* 28th. and upon his humble Submiſſion was diſmiſſed; but ſome Time after, in his Sermon at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*, having ſpoke ſome offenſive Words againſt *Arminianiſm* and the new Ceremonies, Biſhop *Laud* ſent for a Copy of his Sermon, and having cited him before the High Commiſſion, required him to make an open Recantation of what he had ſaid, which his Conſcience not ſuffering him to do, he was ſuſpended from his Miniſtry, excommunicated, fined one Thouſand Pounds, condemned in Coſts of Suit, and committed to *New Priſon*, where he lay ſundry Months, being cruelly uſed, and almoſt ſtarved for want of Neceſſaries, of which he complained to the Biſhop in ſundry Letters, but could get no Relief unleſs he would recant. Mr. *Bernard* offered to confeſs his Sorrow and Penitence for any Overſights, or unbecoming Expreſſions in his Ser-

Sermons, but that would not be accepted; ſo that in concluſion he was utterly ruined. *King* Charles I. 1629.

Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, Miniſter of *Ware*, having ſaid in a Sermon, *That the Preaching of the Goſpel would be ſuppreſſed, and that there was much Atheiſm, Popery, Arminianiſm and Hereſy, crept into the Church*, was queſtion'd for it in the High Commiſſion, and not diſmiſſed till he had made an open Recantation, which we ſhall meet with hereafter. *Mr.* Chauncey's.

Mr. *Peter Smart*, one of the Prebendaries of *Durham*, and Miniſter in that City, was impriſoned by the High Commiſſion of *York* this Summer, for a Sermon preached from thoſe Words, *I hate all thoſe that love ſuperſtitious Vanities, but thy Law do I love:* In which he took Occaſion to ſpeak againſt Images and Pictures, and the late pompous Innovations. He was confined four Months before the Commiſſioners exhibited any Articles againſt him, and five more before any Proctor was allowed him. From *York* he was carried up to *Lambeth*, and from thence back again to *York*, where he was deprived of his Prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, fined five Hundred Pounds, and committed cloſe Priſoner, where he continued eleven Years, till he was ſet at liberty by the Long Parliament in 1640. He was a Perſon of a grave and reverend Aſpect, but died ſoon after his Releaſe: The Severity of a long Impriſonment having contributed to the ſhortning his Days. *Mr.* Peter Smart's.

The King's Inſtructions, and the ſevere Principles of the prime Miniſter in Church Affairs, brought a great deal of Buſineſs into the *Spiritual Courts*; one or other of the Puritan Miniſters was every Week ſuſpended or deprived, and their Families ſent a begging; nor was there any Proſpect of Relief, the Clouds gathering every Day thicker over their Heads, and threatning a violent Storm. This put them upon projecting a farther Settlement in *New England*, where they might be delivered from the *Riſe of the* Maſſachuſet-Bay *Colony in* New England. Mather's *Hiſtory of* New England.

King Charles I. 1629.

Hands of their Oppreſſors, and enjoy the free Liberty of their Conſciences; which gave Birth to the ſecond grand Colony, commonly known by the Name of the MASSACHUSETS BAY. Several Perſons of Quality and Subſtance about the City of *London* engaged in the Deſign, and obtained a Charter, dated *March* 4. 1628-9. wherein the Gentlemen and Merchants therein named, and all that ſhould hereafter join with them, were made a Body Corporate and Politick, by the Name of the Governor and Company of the MASSACHUSETS BAY in NEW ENGLAND. They were empowered to elect their own Governor, Deputy-Governor and Magiſtrates, and to make ſuch Laws as they ſhould think fit for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*. Free Liberty of Conſcience was likewiſe granted to all that ſhould ſettle in thoſe Parts, to worſhip God in their own way. The new Planters being all Puritans made their Application to the Reverend Mr. *Higginſon*, a ſilenced Miniſter in *Leiceſterſhire*, and to Mr. *Skelton*, another ſilenced Miniſter of *Lincolnſhire*, to be their Chaplains, deſiring them to engage as many of their Friends as were willing to imbark with them. The little Fleet that went upon this Expedition conſiſted of ſix Sail of Tranſports, from four to twenty Guns, with about three Hundred and fifty Paſſengers, Men, Women, and Children. They carried with them one Hundred and fifteen Head of neat Cattle, as Horſes, Mares, Cows, *&c.* forty one Goats, ſix Pieces of Cannon for a Fort, with Muſkets, Pikes, Drums, Colours, and a large Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion. The Fleet ſailed *May* 11. 1629. and arrived the 24th of *June* following at a Place called by the Natives *Neumkeak*, but by the new Planters *Salem*, which in the *Hebrew* Language ſignifies *Peace*.

RELIGION being the chief Motive of their coming into theſe Parts, that was ſettled in the firſt Place, *Auguſt* the 6th being appointed for the Solemnity of form-

forming themſelves into a Religious Society, the Day was ſpent in Faſting and Prayer; and thirty Perſons who deſired to be of the Communion, ſeverally, before the whole Congregation, declared their Conſent to a Confeſſion of Faith which Mr. *Higginſon* had drawn up, and ſigned the following Covenant with their Hands. *King* Charles I. 1629.

" We covenant with our Lord, and one with ano- " ther. We bind our ſelves in the Preſence of God, " to walk together in all his Ways, according as he " is pleaſed to reveal himſelf to us in his bleſſed " Word of Truth, and do profeſs to walk as fol- " lows, through the Power and Grace of our Lord " Jeſus Chriſt. *Their Ch. Covenant. Hiſt.* New England, p. 126.

" We avouch the Lord to be our God, and our " ſelves to be his People, in the Truth and Simpli- " city of our Spirits.

" We give our ſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, " and to the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, " ruling, and ſanctifying us, in Matters of Wor- " ſhip and Converſation, reſolving to reject all Ca- " nons and Conſtitutions of Men in Worſhip.

" We promiſe to walk with our Brethren with all " Watchfulneſs and Tenderneſs, avoiding Jealouſies, " Suſpicions, Backbitings, Cenſurings, Provokings, " ſecret Riſings of Spirit againſt them; but in all " Offences to follow the Rule of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, and to bear and forbear, give and for- " give, as he has taught us.

" In publick or private we will willingly do no- " thing to the Offence of the Church, but will be " willing to take Advice for our ſelves and ours, as " Occaſion ſhall be preſented.

" We will not in the Congregation be forward, " either to ſhew our own Gifts and Parts in ſpeaking, " or ſcrupling, or in diſcovering the Weakneſſes or " Failings of our Brethren, but attend an ordinary " Call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord

King Charles I. 1629.

" may be diſhonoured, and his Goſpel, and the " Profeſſion of it, ſlighted by our Diſtempers, and " Weakneſſes in publick:

" We bind our ſelves to ſtudy the Advancement " of the Goſpel in all Truth and Peace, both in re- " gard of thoſe that are within or without, no way " ſlighting our ſiſter Churches, but uſing their " Counſel as need ſhall be; not laying a ſtumbling " Block before any, no not the *Indians*, whoſe Good " we deſire to promote, and ſo to converſe, as we " may avoid the very Appearance of Evil.

" We do hereby promiſe to carry our ſelves in all " lawful Obedience to thoſe that are over us in " Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well- " pleaſing it will be to the Lord, that they ſhould " have Encouragement in their Places by our not " grieving their Spirits by our Irregularities.

" We reſolve to approve our ſelves to the Lord " in our particular Callings, ſhunning Idleneſs, as " the Bane of any State; nor will we deal hardly " or oppreſſingly with any, wherein we are the " Lord's Stewards.

" Promiſing alſo, to the beſt of our Ability, to " teach our Children and Servants the Knowledge of " God, and of his Will, that they may ſerve him " alſo. And all this not by any Strength of our " own, but by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Blood " we deſire may ſprinkle this our Covenant made in " his Name."

The Hardſhips they underwent Mather's *Hiſt.* N. E. B III. p. 74, 76.

After this they choſe Mr. *Skelton* their Paſtor, Mr. *Higginſon* their Teacher, and Mr. *Houghton* their Ruling Elder, who were ſeparated to their ſeveral Offices by the Impoſition of the Hands of ſome of the Brethren appointed by the Church to that Work. The firſt Winter proved a fatal one to the infant Colony, for it carried off above one Hundred of their Company, and among the reſt Mr. *Houghton* their Elder, and Mr. *Higginſon* their Teacher, who not being

being capable of undergoing the Fatigues of a new Settlement, fell into a Hectick, and died in the forty third Year of his Age. Mr. *Higginſon* had been educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, where he preceeded *M. A.* he was afterwards Parſon of one of the five Churches in *Leiceſter*, where he continued for ſome Years, till he was depriv'd for Non-Conformity; but ſuch were his Talents for the Pulpit, that after his Suſpenſion the Town obtained Liberty from Biſhop *Williams* to have him for their Lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary Contribution, till *Laud* being at the Head of Church Affairs, he was articled againſt in the High Commiſſion, and expected every Hour a Sentence of perpetual Impriſonment: This induced him to accept of an Invitation to remove to *New England*, which coſt him his Life. Mr. *Skelton* the other Miniſter was alſo a *Lincolnſhire* Divine, who being ſilenced for Non-Conformity, accepted of a like Invitation, and died of the Hardſhips of the Country, *Aug.* 2. 1634. From this ſmall beginning is the *Maſſachuſet Province* grown to the Figure it now makes in the *American* World.

King Charles I. 1629.

Next Summer, the *Governor* went over with a freſh Recruit of two Hundred Miniſters, Gentlemen, and others, who were forced out of their native Country by the Heat of the *Laudæan* Perſecution. Upon their Embarkation they left behind them a Paper, which was ſoon after publiſh'd, entitled, *The humble Requeſt of his Majeſty's loyal Subjects, the Governor and Company lately gone for* New England, *to the reſt of their Brethren in, and of the Church of* England, *for the obtaining of their Prayers, and removal of Suſpicions and Miſconſtructions of their Intentions.* Wherein they entreat the Reverend Fathers and Brethren of the Church of *England*, to recommend them to the Mercies of God in their conſtant Prayers, as a new Church now ſpringing out of their Bowels; "For "you are not ignorant (ſay they) that the Spirit

Their farewel Requeſt to the Church of England.

King Charles I. 1629.

" of God ſtirred up the Apoſtle *Paul* to make a " continual mention of the Church of *Philippi*, " which was a Colony from *Rome*. Let the ſame " Spirit, we beſeech you, put you in mind that are " the Lord's Remembrancers, to pray for us with- " out ceaſing; and what Goodneſs you ſhall extend " to us in this, or any other Chriſtian Kindneſs, we, " your Brethren in Chriſt, ſhall labour to repay in " what Duty we are, or ſhall be able to perform, " promiſing, ſo far as God ſhall enable us, to give " him no Reſt on your behalf, wiſhing our Heads " and Hearts may be Fountains of Tears for your " everlaſting Welfare, when we ſhall be in our poor " Cottages in the Wilderneſs, overſhadowed with " the Spirit of Supplication, through the manifold " Neceſſities and Tribulations which may not alto- " gether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably " befall us."

Numbers of Planters that went over the firſt 12 *Years.*

Mather's *Hiſt.* N. E. B I. p. 17, 23.

When it appeared that the Planters could ſubſiſt in their new Settlement, great Numbers of their Friends with their Families flocked after them every Summer. In the following twelve Years of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Government there went over about 4000 Planters, who laid the Foundation of ſeveral little Towns and Villages up and down the Country, and carried over with them in Materials, Money, and Cattle, *&c.* not leſs than to the Value of one Hundred and ninety two Thouſand Pounds, beſides the Merchandize that was ſent over with them to traffick with the *Indians*. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four Settlements of *New England*, viz. *Plimouth*, the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, *Connecticut*, and *New Haven*, all which were accompliſhed before the beginning of the Civil Wars, drained *England* of four or five Hundred Thouſand Pounds in Money, a very great Sum in thoſe Days; and if the Perſecution of the *Puritans* had continued twelve Years longer, 'tis thought that a fourth Part of the Riches of the Kingdom would have been carried out of it.

The

The chief Leaders of the People into these Parts were the *Puritan Ministers*, who being silenced, and hunted from one Diocese to another, at last chose this Wilderness for their Retreat, which the wise Providence of God has since over-ruled for the great Benefit of the Trade of this Kingdom. I have before me a List of Seventy seven Divines, who became Pastors of sundry little Churches and Congregations in that Country before the Year 1640. all of whom were in Orders in the Church of *England*. The Reader will meet with an Account of some of them in the Course of this History; and I must say, though they were not all of the first Rank and Quality for deep and profound Learning, yet they had a better Share of it than most of their neighbouring Clergy at that Time; and which is of greater Consequence, they were Men of strict Sobriety and Virtue; plain, serious, and affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England*, and took a great deal of Pains to promote Christian Knowledge, and a Reformation of Manners in their several Parishes. *King* Charles I. 1630.

To return to *England*; though Dr. *Davenant*, the learned Bishop of *Salisbury*, had declared for the Doctrine of *Universal Redemption* at the Synod of *Dort*, he was this Year brought into Trouble for touching upon the Point of *Predestination*, in his *Lent* Sermon before the King on *Romans* vi. 23. *The Gift of God is eternal Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* This was construed as a Contempt of the *King's Injunctions*, for which his Lordship was two Days after summoned before the Privy Council, where he presented himself upon his Knees, and so had continued, for any Favour he received from any of his own Function then present; but the temporal Lords bid him rise and stand to his Defence. The Accusation was managed by Dr. *Harsenet*, Archbishop of *York*; *Laud*, walking by all the while in silence, spoke not a Word. *Harsenet* put him in mind of his Obligations to King *James*; 1636. *Bp.* Davenant *censured for preaching upon Predestination* Fuller, B. XI. p. 138.

King Charles I. 1630.

of the Piety of his preſent *Majeſty's Inſtructions*; and then aggravated his Contempt of them with great Vehemence and Acrimony. Biſhop *Davenant* replied with Mildneſs, that he was ſorry that an eſtabliſhed Doctrine of the Church ſhould be ſo diſtaſted; that he had preached nothing but what was expreſly contained in the ſeventeenth Article, and was ready to juſtify the Truth of it. It was replied, that the Doctrine was not gainſaid, but the King had commanded theſe Queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore his Majeſty took it more offenſively that any ſhould do it in his own hearing. The Biſhop replied, that he never underſtood that his Majeſty had forbid the handling any Doctrine compriſed in the Articles of the Church, but only the raiſing new Queſtions, or putting a new Senſe upon them, which he never ſhould do: That in the King's Declaration all the Thirty nine Articles are confirmed, among which the ſeventeenth of *Predeſtination* is one. All Miniſters are obliged to ſubſcribe to the Truth of this Article, and to continue in the true Profeſſion of that as well as the reſt; the Biſhop deſired it might be ſhown wherein he had tranſgreſſed his Majeſty's Commands, when he had kept himſelf within the Bounds of the Article, and had moved no new nor curious Queſtions; to which it was replied, that it was the King's Pleaſure, that for the Peace of the Church theſe high Queſtions might be forborn. The Biſhop then ſaid, he was ſorry he underſtood not his Majeſty's Intention, and that for Time to come he would conform to his Majeſty's Commands. Upon this he was diſmiſſed without further Trouble, and was after ſome Time admitted to kiſs the King's Hand, who did not fail to remind him that the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* was too big for the People's Underſtanding, and therefore he was reſolved not to give leave for diſcuſſing that Controverſy in the Pulpit. Upon this the Biſhop retired, but was never afterwards in favour at Court.

Prynne, p. 173, 176.

Soon

Soon after Mr. *Madye*, Lecturer of *Chriſt* Church, *London*, was cited before the High Commiſſion, and [*March* 10, 1630.] was, by Act of Court, prohibited to preach any more within the Dioceſe of *London*, becauſe he had diſobey'd the King's Declaration, by preaching on *Predeſtination*. Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, Mr. *White*, the famous Dr. *Prideaux*, Mr. *Hobbes* of *Trinity College*, and Mr. *Cook* of *Brazen Noſe*, with others, ſuffered on the ſame Account. *King* Charles I. 1630. *Mr.* Madye *and others.*

But Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, a *Scots* Divine, and Father of the famous Prelate of that Name, ſo highly commended by Biſhop *Burnet*, in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times, met with ſeverer Uſage in the Star-Chamber, for venturing to write againſt the Hierarchy of the Church. This Divine had publiſhed, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, an *Appeal to the Parliament*; or, *Zion's Plea againſt Prelacy*, in which he had ſpoken not only with Freedom, but with very great Rudeneſs and Indecency againſt BISHOPS; calling them *Men of Blood*, and ſaying, that we do not read of a greater Perſecution and higher Indignities done towards God's People in any Nation than in this, ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*. He calls the Prelacy of the Church Antichriſtian. He ſpeaks vehemently againſt the Canons, and againſt the Ceremonies; and adds, that the Church has her Laws from the Scripture, and that no King may make Laws for the Houſe of God. He calls the Queen a Daughter of *Heth*, and concludes with ſaying what Pity it is that ſo ingenuous and tractable a King ſhould be ſo monſtrouſly abuſed by the Biſhops, to the undoing of himſelf and his Subjects. Now though the Warmth of theſe Expreſſions is not to be juſtified, yet let the Reader conſider whether they bear any Proportion to the Sentence of the Court. The Cauſe was tried *June* 4, 1630. The Defendant, in his Anſwer, owned the writing of the Book, but with no ill Intention; his Deſign being only to lay theſe Things before the next *Dr.* Leighton *writes againſt the Biſhops.* Ruſhw. p. 55.

Par-

King Charles I. 1630.

His Sentence.

Parliament for their Conſideration. Nevertheleſs, the Court decreed unanimouſly, that for this Offence *the Doctor ſhould be committed to the Priſon of the Fleet for Life, and pay a Fine of ten thouſand Pounds; that the* HIGH COMMISSION *ſhould degrade him from his Miniſtry; and that then he ſhould be brought to the Pillory at* Weſtminſter, *while the Court was ſitting, and be whipt; after whipping, be ſet upon the Pillory a convenient Time, and have one of his Ears cut off, one Side of his Noſe ſlit, and be branded in the Face with a double S. S. for a Sower of Sedition: That then he ſhould be carried back to Priſon, and after a few Days be pillory'd a ſecond time in Cheapſide, and be there likewiſe whipt, and have the other Side of his Noſe ſlit, and his other Ear cut off, and then be ſhut up in cloſe Priſon for the Remainder of his Life.* Biſhop *Laud* pulled off his Cap while this mercileſs Sentence was pronouncing, and gave God Thanks for it.

His Sufferings and Character.

Between paſſing the Sentence and Execution, the Doctor made his Eſcape out of Priſon, but was retaken in *Bedfordſhire*, and brought back to the *Fleet*. On *Friday November 6.* part of the Sentence was executed upon him (ſays Biſhop LAUD in his Diary) after this manner. "He was ſeverely whipt before "he was put in the Pillory. 2. Being ſet in the "Pillory, he had one of his Ears cut off. 3. One "Side of his Noſe ſlit. 4. Branded on the Cheek "with a red-hot Iron with the Letters S. S. On "that Day Seven-night, his Sores upon his Back, "Ear, Noſe and Face, being not yet cured, he "was whipt again at the Pillory in *Cheapſide*, and "had the Remainder of his Sentence executed upon "him, by cutting off the other Ear, ſlitting the "other Side of his Noſe, and branding the other "Cheek." He was then carried back to Priſon, where he continued in cloſe Confinement for ten Years, till he was releaſed by the Long Parliament. The Doctor was between forty and fifty Years of Age, of a low Stature, a fair Complexion, and well known

Peirce, p. 179, 181.

known for his Learning and other Abilities: But his long and cloſe Confinement had ſo impaired his Health, that when he was releaſed he could hardly walk, ſee, or hear. The Sufferings of this learned Man moved the People's Compaſſion; and, I believe, the Records of the Inquiſition can hardly furniſh an Example of equal Severity. *King* Charles I. 1630.

To make the Diſtance between the Church and the Puritans yet wider, and the Terms of Conformity more difficult, Biſhop *Laud* introduced ſundry pompous Innovations in Imitation of Popery, that had no Foundation in the Laws of the Realm, or the Canons of the Church. Theſe were inforced both upon Clergy and Laity, with all the Terrors of the *High Commiſſion*, to the Ruin of many Families, and the raiſing very great Diſturbances in all Parts of the Kingdom. *Innovations introduced.*

The Church of St. *Catherine Creed Church* being lately repaired, was ſuſpended from all divine Service till it was conſecrated again; the Formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an Idea of the Superſtition of this Prelate. On *Sunday January* 16, 1630. Biſhop LAUD came thither about Nine in the Morning, attended with ſeveral of the High Commiſſion, and ſome Civilians: At his Approach to the Weſt Door of the Church, which was ſhut and guarded by Halberdeers, ſome that were appointed for that Purpoſe, cried with a loud Voice, *Open, open, ye everlaſting Doors, that the King of Glory may come in*; and preſently the Doors being opened, the Biſhop, with ſome Doctors and principal Men, enter'd. As ſoon as they were come within the Place, his Lordſhip fell down upon his Knees, and, with Eyes lifted up, and his Arms ſpread abroad, ſaid; *This Place is holy*; *the Ground is holy: In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it holy.* Then walking up the Middle Iſle towards the *Chancel*, he took up ſome of the Duſt, and threw it into the Air ſeveral times. When he approached near the Rail *Biſhop* Laud's *Conſecration of* Creed Church. Ruſhw. p. 77.

King Charles I. 1630.

Rail of the Communion Table, he bowed towards it five or six times, and returning, went round the Church with his Attendants in Proceſſion, ſaying firſt the hundredth, and then the nineteenth Pſalm, as preſcribed in the *Roman Pontificale*. He then read ſeveral Collects, in one of which he *prays God to accept of that beautiful Building*; and concludes thus: *We conſecrate this Church, and ſeparate it unto thee as holy Ground, not to be prophaned any more to common Uſe.* In another he prays, *that all that ſhould hereafter be buried within the Circuit of this holy and ſacred Place, may reſt in their Sepulchres in Peace, till Chriſt's coming to Judgment, and may then riſe to eternal Life and Happineſs.* After this, the Biſhop ſetting under a Cloth of State in the Iſle of the Chancel, near the Communion Table, took a written Book in his Hand, and pronounced Curſes upon thoſe that ſhould hereafter profane that holy Place by Muſters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the End of every Curſe, he bowed to the Eaſt, and ſaid, *Let all the People ſay, Amen.* When the Curſes were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like Number of Bleſſings upon all that had any Hand in framing and building of that ſacred and beautiful Church, and on thoſe that had given, or ſhould hereafter give, any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments, or other Utenſils; and at the End of every Bleſſing he bowed to the Eaſt, and ſaid, *Let all the People ſay, Amen.* After this followed the Sermon, and then the Sacrament, which the Biſhop conſecrated and adminiſtred after this Manner:

Prynne's *Compleat Hiſtory*, p. 114.

His Conſecration of the Sacrament.

As he approached the Altar, he made five or ſix low Bows, and coming up to the Side of it, where the Bread and Wine were covered, he bowed ſeven times; then, after reading many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifting up the Corner of the Napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the Napkin, he retreated haſtily a Step or two,

two, and made three low Obeyſances. His Lordſhip then advanced, and having uncovered the Bread, bowed three times as before; then he laid his Hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it, which having let go, he ſtep'd back, and bowed three times towards it; then he came near again, and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, look'd into it, and ſeeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retired back, and bowed as before: Then the Elements were conſecrated, and the Biſhop having firſt received, gave it to ſome principal Men in their Surplices, Hoods and Tippets; after which, many Prayers being ſaid, the Solemnity of the Conſecration ended. *King* Charles I. 1630.

Next Day he conſecrated St. *Giles*'s Church in the ſame Manner, which had been repaired, and Part of it new built in his Predeceſſor Biſhop *Mountain*'s Time. Divine Service had been performed, and the Sacraments adminiſter'd in it for three or four Years ſince that Time without Exception; but as ſoon as *Laud* was advanced to the Biſhoprick of *London*, he interdicted the Church, and ſhut up the Doors, till it ſhould be reconſecrated, which is more than even the Canon Law requires. Sundry other Chapels and Churches, which had been built long ſince, were, by the Biſhop's Direction, ſhut up till they were conſecrated in this Manner; as *Immanuel* Chapel in *Cambridge*, built 1584. *Sidney* College Chapel, built 1596. and ſeveral others. *of St. Giles's Church, and others.* Prynne, Cant. *Doom.* p. 117.

This Method of conſecrating Churches was new to the People of *England*, and was, in the Opinion of the firſt Reformers, ſuperſtitious and abſurd; for tho' 'tis reaſonable that there ſhould be publick Buildings reſerved and ſet apart for publick Worſhip, and that at the firſt opening them, Prayers ſhould be offered up for a divine Bleſſing on the Ordinances of Chriſt, that may at any Time be adminiſter'd in them; yet have we not the leaſt Ground to believe that Biſhops, or any other Dignitaries of the Church, can, by their *Remarks.*

Decla-

King Charles I. 1630.

Declarations, or Forms of Prayer, hallow the Building, or make the Ground holy, or introduce a divine Preſence or *Glory* into the Place, as was in the Temple of old: Where is their Commiſſion? Or what Example have they of this kind in the New Teſtament? The Synagogues of the *Jews* were not conſecrated in this Manner; nor was the Temple of *Solomon* conſecrated by a Prieſt, but by a King. Our Saviour tells his Diſciples, that WHERESOEVER two or three of them ſhould be gathered together in his Name, he would be in the midſt of them; and the Woman of *Samaria*, that the Hour was coming, when neither at that Mountain, nor at *Jeruſalem*, they ſhould worſhip the Father. Beſides, the Revolutions which Time and other Accidents make in Towns and Cities, render it impoſſible to prevent the Alienation or Profanation of the holy Ground; for to look no farther than the City of *London*, would it not be very hard if all the Curſes that Biſhop *Laud* pronounced in *Creed Church*, ſhould reſt upon them who live in Houſes that are built by Act of Parliament in Places where there were conſecrated Churches, or Church-yards, before the Fire of *London?* Archbiſhop *Parker* therefore, in his *Antiquitates Eccleſiæ Britan.* p. 85, 86. condemns this Practice as ſuperſtitious; nor was there any Form for it in the publick Offices of the Church. But this being objected to Archbiſhop *Laud* at his Trial, as an Evidence of his Inclinations to Popery; we ſhall there ſee his *Grace*'s Defence, with the learned Reply of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Antiquity of conſecrating Churches.

Proclamation for repairing Churches. Ruſhw. p. 28.

A Proclamation had been publiſhed laſt Year, "commanding the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to take "ſpecial Care that the Pariſh Churches in their "ſeveral Dioceſes, *being Places conſecrated to the Worſhip of God*, be kept in decent Repair, and to "make uſe of the Power of the Eccleſiaſtical Court "to oblige the Pariſhioners to this Part of their

" Duty." The Judges were alſo required not to interrupt this good Work, by too eaſily granting *Prohibitions* from the Spiritual Courts. It ſeems, ſundry Churches ſince the Reformation were fallen to decay; and ſome that had been defaced by the pulling down of Images, and other ſuperſtitious Relicks, had not been decently repaired, the Expence having been too great for the poorer Country Pariſhes; it was therefore thought neceſſary to oblige them to their Duty; but, under Colour of this Proclamation, LAUD introduced almoſt all the ſuperſtitious Decorations of Popery, and puniſhed thoſe Miniſters in the High Commiſſion Court that ventured to write or preach againſt them. *King* Charles I. 1631.

His Lordſhip began with his own Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, for repairing and beautifying of which a Subſcription and Contribution was appointed over the whole Kingdom. Several Houſes and Shops adjoining to the Cathedral were, by an Injunction of Council, ordered to be pulled down, and the Owners to accept of a reaſonable Satisfaction: But if they would not comply, the Sheriff of *London* was required to ſee them demoliſhed. The Church of St. *Gregory*'s was pulled down, and the Inhabitants aſſigned to *Chriſt*'s *Church*, where they were to aſſemble for the future. The Biſhop's Heart was in this Work, and to ſupport the Expence, gave way to many Oppreſſions and unjuſtifiable Methods of raiſing Money, by Compoſitions with Recuſants, Commutations of Penance, exorbitant Fines in the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion, inſomuch that it became a Proverb, that *St.* Paul's *was repaired with the Sins of the People*. Before the Year 1640. above one hundred and thirteen thouſand Pounds was laid out upon it, with which the Body of the Church was finiſhed, and the Steeple ſcaffolded. There was alſo a ſtately Portico built at the Weſt End, ſupported with Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order, and embelliſhed with the Statues of King *James* and King *Charles*; but the rebuilding 1631. *Cathedral of St.* Paul's *repaired.* Collyer, *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 751.

King Charles I. 1631.

building the Spire, and the inſide Decorations, miſcarried, by the breaking out of the Civil War.

Decorations and Paintings of Cathedrals and other Churches.

What theſe Decorations and Ornaments of *Paintings*, *Carvings*, *Altars*, *Crucifixes*, *Candleſticks*, *Images*, *Veſtments*, &c. would have been, can only be gueſſed by the Faſhion of the Times, and by the Scheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken Relicks of Superſtition and Idolatry which the Reformation had left, or to ſet up others in Imitation of them; for though the Reformation of Queen *Elizabeth* had deſtroy'd a great many Monuments of this kind; yet ſome were left entire, and others but very little defaced. In the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, over the Door of the Choir, were left thirteen Images, or Statues of Stone; twelve of them repreſenting the twelve Apoſtles, and the thirteenth in the Middle of them our Saviour Chriſt. Over theſe were twelve other Images of Popiſh Saints. In the ſeveral Windows of the Cathedral were painted the Picture of St. *Auſtin* the Monk, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ſeven large Pictures of the Virgin *Mary*, with Angels lifting her up to Heaven, with this Inſcription, *Gaude Maria ſponſa Dei.* Under the Virgin *Mary*'s Feet were the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and in the Bottom of the Window this Inſcription, *In laudem & honorem beatiſſimæ Virginis.* Beſides theſe, were many Pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and of our Saviour lying in a Manger, beſides a large Image of *Thomas Becket*, and others; all which were taken away by the Long Parliament.

Parl. Chron. p. 101.

Cathedral of Canterbury.

Of Durham.

In the Cathedral of *Durham*, there was an Altar of Marble Stone ſet upon Columns, with many Cherubims, Pictures and Images about it, which coſt above two thouſand Pounds. There were three Statues of Stone in the Church; one ſtanding in the midſt, repreſenting Chriſt with a golden Beard, a blue Cap, and Sun Rays upon his Head, as the Record of Parliament ſays; (though Dr. *Coſins*, in his Vin-

Vindication, ſays, it was miſtaken for the Top of Biſhop *Hatfield*'s Tomb.) There was alſo an Image of *God the Father*, and many other carved Images, Pictures, *&c.* which the preſent Dignitaries of the Cathedral had in great Admiration; and, to keep up the Pomp, they bought Copes of Maſs Prieſts, with Crucifixes and Images of the Trinity embroidered upon them. They had conſecrated Knives to cut the ſacramental Bread, and great Numbers of lighted Candles upon the Altars on *Sundays* and Saints Days. On *Candlemas-Day* there were no leſs than two hundred, whereof ſixty upon and about the Altar; all which were reckoned among the *Beauties of the Sanctuary*. "But theſe Fopperies (ſays Biſhop "*Kennet*) did not perhaps gain over one Papiſt, but "loſt both the King and Biſhops the Hearts and "Affections of the Proteſtant Part of the Nation, "and were (as his Lordſhip obſerves) contrary to "Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, 1559. which ap-"point, that all *Candleſticks*, *Trentals*, *Rolls of Wax*, "*Pictures*, *Paintings*, &c. be remov'd out of Churches."

King Charles I. 1631.

However, Biſhop *Laud* was peculiarly fond of them, and, as ſoon as he was tranſlated to *Lambeth*, repaired the Paintings in the Windows of that Chapel; in one Pane of which, had been the Picture of *Chriſt crucified, with a Scull and dead Mens Bones under it; a Baſket full of Tools and Nails, with the High Prieſt and his Officers on Horſeback, and the two Thieves on Foot.* In the next were *the two Thieves on Croſſes*;——Abraham *offering up his Son* Iſaac, *and the brazen Serpent on a Pole.*——In other Panes *were* the Pictures *of Chriſt riſing out of the Grave, and aſcending up into Heaven, with his Diſciples kneeling about him.*——*The Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles, in the Shape of cloven Tongues.*——*God's giving the Law upon Mount* Sinai;——*his coming down from Heaven at the Prayer of* Eliſha;——*Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles ſitting in Judgment on the World.*——In other Parts of the Church was

Of Lambeth *Chapel.* Cant. *Doom.* p. 59, 60, 61.

King Charles I 1631.

painted the *Virgin* Mary, *with the Babe Chriſt ſucking at her Breaſt*;—*The wiſe Men from the Eaſt coming to adore him*;—*The Hiſtory of the Annunciation, with the Picture of the Virgin* Mary, *and of the Holy Ghoſt overſhadowing her, together with the Birth of Chriſt*; all which having been defaced at the Reformation, were now reſtored, according to the *Roman* Miſſale, and beautified at the Archbiſhop's Coſt. The like Reparations of Paintings, Pictures, and Crucifixes, were made in the King's Chapel at *Whitehall*, *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, and *both the Univerſities*, as was objected to the Archbiſhop at his Trial, where the Reader will meet with his *Grace*'s Defence of the Lawfulneſs and Antiquity of Church Paintings. The Puritans apprehended theſe Paintings and Decorations of Churches tended to Image Worſhip, and were directly contrary to the Homily, *Of the Peril of Idolatry*; their Miniſters therefore preached and writ againſt them, and in ſome Places removed them; for which they were ſeverely handled in the High Commiſſion.

Puritan Preachers expell'd the Univerſity, for preacking againſt Arminianiſm.

Biſhop LAUD had been choſen Chancellor of *Oxford* laſt Year, [*April* the 12th,] where the Puritans ſoon gave him ſome Diſturbance. Mr. *Hill* of *Hart Hall*, Mr. *Ford* of *Magdalen Hall*, Mr. *Giles Thorne* of *Baliol College*, and Mr. *Giles Hodges* of *Exeter College*, were charged with preaching againſt Arminianiſm and the new Ceremonies in their Sermons at St. *Mary*'s. *Hill* made a publick Recantation, and was quickly releaſed; but the very Texts of the others (ſays Mr. *Fuller*) gave Offence: One preached on *Numbers* xiv. 4. *Let us make us a Captain, and let us return into* Egypt: And another on 1 *Kings* xiii. 2. *And he cried againſt the Altar in the Word of the Lord, and ſaid, O Altar, Altar*, &c. Theſe Divines being convened before the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Smith*, as Offenders againſt the *King's Inſtructions*, appealed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Proctors, who received their Appeal. Upon this, the Chancellor complained to the King, and procured the Cauſe to be

Book XI. p. 141.

Ruſhw. Part II. p. 110.

be heard before his Majeſty at *Woodſtock*, *Aug.* 23. when the following Sentence was paſſed upon them: "That Mr. *Ford*, *Thorn*, and *Hodges*, be expelled the "Univerſity; that both the Proctors be deprived of "their Places for accepting the Appeal; and that Dr. "*Prideaux*, Rector of *Exeter College*, and Dr. *Wilkinſon*, "Principal of *Magdalen Hall*, receive a ſharp Admo- "nition for their Miſbehaviour in this Buſineſs." Mr. *Thorn* and *Hodges*, after a Year's Deprivation, deſiring to be reſtored, preached a Recantation Sermon, and read a written Submiſſion in the Convocation Houſe on their bended Knees, before the Doctors and Regents; but Mr. *Ford* making no Addreſs to be reſtored, returned to his Friends in *Devonſhire*; and being like to be choſe Lecturer or Vicar of *Plymouth*, the Inhabitants were required not to chooſe him, upon Pain of his Majeſty's high Diſpleaſure; and in caſe he was choſen, the Biſhop of *Exeter* was commanded not to admit him.

King Charles I. 1631.

Prynne; Cant. *Doom.* p. 175.

Mr. *Crowder*, Vicar of *Vell* near *Nonſuch*, was about this Time, committed cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate* for ſixteen Weeks, and then deprived by the *High Commiſſion*, without any Articles exhibited againſt him, or Proof of any Crime. It was pretended that Matters againſt him were ſo foul, that they were not fit to be read in Court; but then they ought to have been notified to him, that he might have had an Opportunity to diſprove or confeſs them, which could not be obtained. Mr. *Crowder* was a pious Man, and preached twice a Day, which was an unpardonable Crime ſo near the Court.

Hardſhips of Mr. Crowder.

Sundry eminent Divines removed to *New England* this Year; and among others the famous Mr. *Elliot*, the Apoſtle of the *Indians*, who not being allowed to teach School in his native Country, retired to *America*, and ſpent a long and uſeful Life in converting the Natives, whoſe Language he learn'd, and with indefatigable Pains tranſlated the Bible into it.

Mr. Elliot *removes to* New England.

King Charles I. 1631.

Two very conſiderable Puritan Divines were alſo removed into the other World by Death, (*viz.*) Mr. *Arthur Hilderſham*, born at *Stetchworth*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *October* the 6th, 1563. and educated in *Chriſt*'s *College*, *Cambridge*, of an ancient and honourable Family; his Mother *Anne Poole* being Neice to the Cardinal of that Name. His Father educated him in the Popiſh Religion; and becauſe he would not go to *Rome* at fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, he diſinherited him: But the Earl of *Huntingdon*, his near Kinſman, provided for him, and ſent him to *Cambridge*, where he proceeded *M. A.* and enter'd into holy Orders. In the Year 1587. he was placed, by his honourable Kinſman above-mentioned, at *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and inducted into the Living ſome Time after. But here he was ſilenced ſeveral times for Non-conformity, as in the Year 1590. in the Year 1605. and again in the Year 1611. under which laſt Suſpenſion he continued many Years. In the Year 1613. he was enjoined by the High Commiſſion not to preach, or exerciſe any Part of the miniſterial Function, till he ſhould be reſtored. In the Year 1615. he was committed to the Fleet by the High Commiſſion, for refuſing the Oath *ex Officio*, where he continued three Months, and was then releaſed upon Bond. In *November* 1616. the High Commiſſion proceeded againſt him, and pronounced him refractory and diſobedient to the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church; and becauſe he refuſed to conform, they pronounced him a Schiſmatick, fined him two thouſand Pounds, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to Priſon, that he might be degraded of his Miniſtry: But Mr. *Hilderſham* wiſely abſconded, and kept out of the way. In the Year 1625. he was reſtored to his Living; but when *Laud* had the Aſcendant, he was ſilenced again for not reading divine Service in the Surplice and Hood, and was not reſtored till a few Months

Death of Mr. Arthur Hilderſham.

Clark's *Life of* Hilderſham.

Months before his Death. Though he was a Non-Conformiſt to his Death, as appears by his laſt Will and Teſtament; yet was he a Perſon of great Temper and Moderation: He loved and reſpected all good Men, and oppoſed the Separation of the *Browniſts*, and the Semi-ſeparation of Mr. *Jacob*. His Lectures on the li^ſt Pſalm, and his other printed Works, as well as the Encomiums of Dr. *Willet* and Dr. *Preſton*, ſhew him to have been a moſt excellent Divine: What Pity was it, that his Uſefulneſs in the Church ſhould be ſo long interrupted! He died *March* 4, 1631. in the ſixty ninth Year of his Age, having been Miniſter of *Aſhby de la Zouch* (as the Times would ſuffer him) above forty three Years. *King* Charles I. 1631.

Mr. *Robert Bolton*, born at *Blackbourn* in *Lancaſhire*, 1572. educated firſt in *Lincoln College*, and afterwards in *Brazen Noſe College*, *Oxford*, of which he was Fellow. Here he became famous for his Lectures in moral and natural Philoſophy, being an excellent *Grecian*, and well verſed in School Divinity, though at preſent a profane wicked Man. While he was at College, he contracted an Acquaintance with one *Anderton*, a Popiſh Prieſt, who taking Advantage of his mean Circumſtances, would have perſuaded him to reconcile himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, and go over to one of the *Engliſh* Seminaries in *Flanders*. Mr. *Bolton* accepted the Motion, and appointed a Place of Meeting to conclude the Affair: But *Anderton* diſappointing him, he returned to the College, and fell under ſtrong Troubles for his former miſpent Life; ſo that he could neither eat nor ſleep, nor enjoy any Peace of Mind for ſeveral Months; but at length, by Prayer and Humiliation, he received Comfort. Upon this, he reſolved to enter into the Miniſtry, in the thirty fifth Year of his Age. About two Years after, he was preſented to the Living of *Broughton* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he continued till his Death. He was a moſt awakening and authoritative Preacher, having the moſt ſtrong maſculine *And of Mr.* Robert Bolton.

King Charles I. 1631.

and oratorical Stile of any of the Age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's Day, beſides catechizing. Upon every Holy Day, and every *Friday* before the Sacrament, he expounded a Chapter: His conſtant Courſe was to pray ſix times a Day, twice in private, twice with his Family, and twice with his Wife, beſides many Days of private Humiliation that he kept for the Proteſtant Churches in *Germany*. He was of a comely grave Preſence, that commanded Reſpect in all Companies; zealous in the Cauſe of Religion, and yet ſo prudent as to eſcape being called in Queſtion all the while he lived in *Northamptonſhire*. At length he was ſeized with a *Tertian* Ague, which, after fifteen Weeks, put a Period to his valuable and uſeful Life, *December* 17, 1631. in the ſixtieth Year of his Age. He made a moſt devout and Chriſtian End, praying heartily for all his Friends that came to ſee him; bidding them make ſure of Heaven, and bear in Mind what he had formerly told them in his Miniſtry, proteſting that what he had preached to them for twenty Years, was the Truth of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the Tribunal of Chriſt. He then retired within himſelf, and ſaid, *Hold out Faith and Patience, your Work will ſpeedily be at an End.* The *Oxford* Hiſtorian calls him a moſt religious and learned Puritan, a painful and conſtant Preacher, a Perſon of great Zeal towards God, charitable and bountiful; but above all, an excellent Caſuiſt for afflicted Conſciences: His eloquent and uſeful Works will recommend his Memory to lateſt Poſterity.

Profeet cenſured in the Star-Chamber, and their Impropriations confiſcated.

About the Year 1627. there was a Scheme formed by ſeveral Gentlemen and Miniſters, to promote preaching in the Country, by ſetting up Lectures in the ſeveral Market Towns of *England*; and to ſupport the Expence a Sum of Money was raiſed by voluntary Contribution, for the purchaſing ſuch Impropriations as were in the Hands of the Laity, the Profits of which were to be parcel'd out into Salaries of

of forty or fifty Pounds *per Annum*, for the Subſiſtence of their Lecturers; the Money was lodged in the Hands of the following Miniſters and Gentlemen, in Truſt for the aboveſaid Purpoſes, under the Name and Character of FEOFFEES, *viz.* Dr. *William Gouge*, Dr. *Sibbs*, Dr. *Offspring*, and Mr. *Davenport*, of the Clergy; *Ralph Eyre* and *Simon Brown*, Eſqs; of *Lincoln's Inn*, *C. Sherman* of *Gray's Inn*, and *John White*, of the *Middle Temple*, Lawyers; Mr. *John Gearing*, Mr. *Richard Davis*, Mr. *G. Harwood*, and Mr. *Francis Bridges*, Citizens of *London*. There were at this Time three Thouſand eight Hundred and forty five Pariſh Churches appropriated to Cathedrals, or to Colleges, or impropriated as *Lay Fees* to private Perſons, having formerly belonged to Abbies. The Gentlemen above-mentioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought in thirteen Impropriations, which coſt between five and ſix Thouſand Pounds. Moſt People thought this a very commendable Deſign, and wiſhed the *Feoffees* good Succeſs; but Biſhop *Laud* looked upon them with an evil Eye, and repreſented them to the King as in a Conſpiracy againſt the Church, becauſe they did not reſtore the Impropriations they purchaſed to the ſeveral Livings, but kept them in their own Hands for the Encouragement of factious and ſeditious Lecturers, who were to depend upon their Patrons, as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their Duty. He added further, That the *Feoffees* preferr'd chiefly Non-Conformiſt Miniſters, and placed them in the moſt popular Market Towns, where they did a great deal of Miſchief to the Hierarchy of the Church. For theſe Reaſons an Information was brought againſt them in the *Exchequer* by Mr. Attorney General *Noy*, as an unlawful Society, formed into a Body corporate without a Grant from the King for the purchaſing *Rectories*, *Tithes*, *Prebendaries*, &c. which were regiſter'd in a Book, and the Profits not employed as by Law they ought,

King Charles I. 1632.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 136. Appeal, p. 13. Prynne, p. 379, 385. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 150.

King Charles I. 1632.

The Defendants appeared, and in their Anſwer declared, That they apprehended *Impropriations* in the Hands of Laymen, and not employed for the Maintenance of Preachers, were a Damage to the Church; that the purchaſing of them for the Purpoſes of Religion, was a pious Work, and not contrary to Law, it being notorious, that *Impropriations* are frequently bought and ſold by private Perſons; that the Donors of this Money, gave it for this and ſuch other good Uſes as the Defendants ſhould think meet and not for the Endowment of perpetual Vicars; that they had not converted any of the Money to their own Uſe, nor erected themſelves into a Body corporate; and that to their Knowledge they had never preſented any to a Church, or Place in their Diſpoſal, who was not conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and approved of by the Ordinary of the Place. But notwithſtanding all they could ſay, the Court was of Opinion, that their Proceedings were contrary to Law, and decreed, That their Feoffment ſhould be cancell'd; that the Impropriations they had purchaſed ſhould be confiſcated to the King, and the *Feoffees* themſelves fined in the *Star Chamber*; but the Proſecution was dropt as too invidious, it appearing in Court by the Receipts and Diſburſements, that the *Feoffees* were out of Pocket already above one Thouſand Pounds. The Odium of this Proſecution fell upon *Laud*, whoſe Chancellor told him upon this Occaſion, that he was miſerably cenſured by the Separatiſts; upon which he made this Reflection in his Diary, *Pray God give me Patience and forgive them.*

Sufferings of divers Miniſters for preaching againſt Ch. Ornaments, &c.

Mr. Hayden's *Sufferings.*

But his Lordſhip had very little Patience with thoſe that oppoſed his Proceedings. We have ſeen his Zeal for *Pictures and Paintings in Churches*, which ſome of the Puritans venturing to cenſure in their Sermons and Writings, were expoſed to the ſevereſt Puniſhments: Among theſe were the Reverend Mr. *John Hayden* of *Devonſhire*, who being forced

forced to abſcond, was apprehended in the Dioceſe of *Norwich* by Biſhop *Harſenet*, who after he had taken from him his Horſe and Money, and all his Papers, cauſed him to be ſhut up in cloſe Priſon for thirteen Weeks; after which, when the Juſtices would have bailed him at the Quarter Seſſions, his Lordſhip ſent him up to the High Commiſſion, who deprived him of his Miniſtry and Orders, and ſet a Fine upon him for preaching againſt *Decorations* and *Images in Churches*. In the Year 1634. Mr. *Hayden* venturing to preach occaſionally, without being reſtored, was apprehended again and ſent to the *Gate-Houſe* by Archbiſhop *Laud*, and from thence to *Bridewell*, where he was whipt and kept to hard Labour; here he was confined in a cold dark Dungeon for a whole Winter, being chained to a Poſt in the middle of a Room, with Irons on his Hands and Feet, having no other Food but Bread and Water, and a Pad of Straw to lie upon. Before his Releaſe he was obliged to take an Oath, and give Bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the Kingdom in a Month and not return. But Biſhop *Harſenet* did not live to ſee the Execution of this part of the Sentence, tho' for his Zeal againſt the Puritans he was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and made a Privy Counſellor. Some Time before his Death this Prelate not only perſecuted the *Non-Conformiſts*, but complained of the CONFORMABLE PURITANS, as he called them, becauſe they complied out of Policy, but not in Judgment. How hard is the Caſe, when Men ſhall be puniſhed for *not conforming*, and be complain'd of *if they conform!* Queen *Elizabeth* uſed to ſay, She would never trouble her ſelf about the *Conſciences* of her Subjects, if they did but outwardly comply with the Laws; but this Prelate would ranſack the very Heart.

King Charles I. 1632.

Uſurp. Prel. p. 161.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 144.

Henry Sherfield, Eſq; a Bencher of *Lincoln's Inn*, and Recorder of the City of *Sarum*, was tried in the *Star Chamber*, *May* 20th. 1632. for taking down ſome painted Glaſs out of one of the Windows of St.

Henry Sherfield's Eſq; Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 155.

King Charles I. 1632.

St. *Edmund*'s Church in *Saliſbury*, in which were ſeven Pictures of *God the Father* in form of a little old Man in a blue and red Coat, with a Pouch by his ſide: One repreſents him creating the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compaſſes, others as working on the Buſineſs of the ſix Days Creation, and at laſt he ſits in an elbow Chair at reſt. Many ſimple People, at their going in and out of Church, did reverence to this Window (as they ſaid) becauſe the Lord their God was there. This gave ſuch Offence to the Recorder, who was alſo a Juſtice of Peace, that he moved the Pariſh at a Veſtry for leave to take it down, and ſet up a new Window of white Glaſs in the place, which was accordingly granted, ſix Juſtices of the Peace being preſent. Some Time after Mr. *Sherfield* broke with his Staff the Pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the Window; an Account of which being ſent to *London*, an Information was exhibited againſt him in the *Star Chamber*, *Feb.* 8. 1632-3. The Information ſets forth, "That being evil affected to the Diſcipline of "the Church, he, with certain Confederates, without conſent of the Biſhops, had defaced and pulled "down a fair and coſtly Window in the Church, "containing the Hiſtory of the Creation, which "had ſtood there ſome hundred Years, and was a "great Ornament to it; which profane Act might "give Encouragement to other ſchiſmatical Perſons "to commit the like Outrages."

Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 102.

His Defence.

Mr. *Sherfield* in his Defence ſays, That the Church of St. *Edmund*'s was a *Lay Fee*, and exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe; that the Defendant, with the reſt of the Pariſhioners, had lawful Power to take down the Glaſs; and that it was agreed by a Veſtry that the Glaſs ſhould be changed, and the Window made new; and that accordingly he took down a Quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable Manner; but he avers, that the true Hiſtory of the Creation was not contained in that Window, but

a

a falſe and impious one: *God the Father* was painted like an old Man with a blue Coat, and a pair of Compaſſes, to ſignify his compaſſing the Heavens and the Earth. In the fourth Day's Work there were Fowls of the Air flying up from God their Maker, which ſhould have been the fifth Day. In the fifth Day's Work a naked Man is lying upon the Earth aſleep, with ſo much of a naked Woman as from the Knees upward growing out of his Side, which ſhould have been the ſixth Day; ſo that the Hiſtory is falſe. *King* Charles I. 1632.

Further, this Defendant holds it to be impious, to make an Image or Picture of *God the Father*, which he undertakes to prove from Scripture, from Canons and Councils, from the Mandates and Decrees of ſundry Emperors, from the Opinions of ancient Doctors of the Church, and of our moſt judicious Divines ſince the Reformation. He adds, That *his Belief* is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and to the Homilies, which ſay, That Pictures of God are Monuments of Superſtition, and ought to be deſtroyed; and to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, which command, That *all Pictures and Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be removed out of Churches, that no Memory of them might remain in Walls, Glaſs Windows, or elſewhere:* Which Injunction is confirmed by the Canons of the 13th of *Elizabeth*. Mr. *Sherfield* concludes his Defence with denying, that he was diſaffected to the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, or had encouraged any to oppoſe the Government of it under the Reverend Biſhops.

Though it is hard to make a tolerable Reply to this Defence, yet Biſhop *Laud* ſtood up and ſpake in excuſe of the Painter, ſaying, God the Father was called in Scripture the *Ancient of Days*; but added, that for his own part, he did not ſo well approve of Pictures of Things inviſible; but be the Paintings better or worſe, he inſiſted ſtrongly, That Mr. *Sherfield* had taken them down in Contempt of the Epiſcopal *Sentence of the Court.*

King Charles I. 1632.

copal Authority, for which he moved, that he might be fined a Thouſand Pounds, and removed from his Recorderſhip of the City of *Sarum*; that he be committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Fleet* till he pay his Fine, and then be bound to his good Behaviour. To all which the Court agreed, except to the Fine, which the Court reduced to five Hundred Pounds.

Mr. Workman's Sufferings. Prynne, p. 107, 109.

The Reverend Mr. *John Workman*, Lecturer of St. *Stephen*'s Church, *Glouceſter*, in one of his Sermons ſaid, That Pictures or Images were no Ornaments to Churches; *that it was unlawful to ſet up Images of Chriſt or Saints, in our Houſes, becauſe it tended to Idolatry, according to the Homily.* For which he was ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion, excommunicated, and obliged to an open Recantation in the Court at *Lambeth*, in the Cathedral of *Glouceſter*, and in the Church of St. *Michael*'s; he was alſo condemned in Coſts of Suit and impriſoned. Mr. *Workman* was a Divine of great Piety, Wiſdom and Moderation, and had ſerved the Church of St. *Stephen*'s fifteen Years; in Conſideration whereof, and of his numerous Family, the City of *Glouceſter* had given him an Annuity of 20*l*. *per Annum*, under their Common Seal, a little before his Troubles; but for this Act of Charity the Mayor, Town Clerk, and ſeveral of the Aldermen, were cited before the High Commiſſion, and put to one Hundred Pounds Charges, and the Annuity was cancell'd. After this Mr. *Workman* ſet up a little School, of which Archbiſhop *Laud* being informed, inhibited him, as he would anſwer the contrary at his Peril. He then fell upon the Practice of Phyſick, which the Archbiſhop likewiſe abſolutely forbid; ſo that being deprived of all Methods of Subſiſtence he fell into a melancholy Diſorder and died.

Bp. Laud's Care of the Preſs.

Our Biſhop was no leſs watchful over the Preſs than the Pulpit, commanding his Chaplains to expunge out of all Books that came to be licenſed, ſuch Paſſages as diſ-

diſallowed of *Paintings*, *Carvings*, *Drawings*, *Gildings*; *erecting*, *bowing*, *or praying before Images and Pictures*; as appeared by the Evidence of Dr. *Featly*, and others, at his Trial.

Regulations of the Engliſh *Factories in* Holland. Collyer's *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 752. Prynne's Cant. *Doom*, p. 389.

The Length of this great *Prelate*'s Arm would have reached not only the Puritans in *England*, but the Factories beyond Sea, if it had been in his Power. The *Engliſh* Church at *Hamburgh* managed their Affairs according to the *Geneva Diſcipline*, by Elders and Deacons. In *Holland* they conformed to the Diſcipline of the States, and met them in their Synods and Aſſemblies, with the Conſent of King *James*, and of his preſent Majeſty, till Secretary *Windebank*, at the Inſtance of this Prelate, offered ſome Propoſals to the Privy Council for their better Regulation: The Propoſals conſiſted of ten Articles, "1. That all Chaplains of *Engliſh* Regiments "in the *Low Countries* ſhall be exactly conformable "to the Church of *England*. 2. That the Mer- "chants reſiding there ſhall admit of no Miniſter to "preach among them, but one qualified as before. "3. That if any one after his Settlement among "them proves a *Non-Conformiſt*, he ſhall be diſ- "charged in three Months. 4. That the *Scots* Fa- "ctories ſhall be obliged to the ſame Conformity. "5. That no Miniſter abroad ſhall ſpeak, preach, "or print any Thing to the Diſadvantage of the "*Engliſh* Diſcipline and Ceremonies. 6. That no "Conformiſt Miniſter ſhall ſubſtitute a Non-Con- "formiſt to preach for him in the Factories. "7. That the King's Agents ſhall ſee the Service of "the Church of *England* exactly performed in the "Factories. The laſt Articles forbid the *Engliſh* "Miniſters in *Holland* to hold any claſſical Aſſem- "blies, and eſpecially, not to ordain Miniſters, be- "cauſe by ſo doing they would maintain a ſtanding "Nurſery for Non-Conformity and Schiſm." Theſe Propoſals were ſent over to the Factories, and the Biſhop writ in particular to *Delf*, That it was his Ma-

King Charles I. 1633.

Majeſty's expreſs Command that their Miniſters ſhould conform themſelves in all Things to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and to all the Orders preſcribed in the Canons, Rubrick and Liturgy; and that the Names of ſuch as were refractory ſhould be ſent over to him. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed in the Attempt, becauſe moſt of the *Engliſh* Congregations being ſupported by the *States*, muſt have run the Hazard of loſing their Maintenance, and of being diſſolved, as was repreſented to the King by a Petition in the Name of all the *Engliſh* Miniſters in the *Low Countries*. However, though the Biſhop could not accompliſh his Deſigns abroad, we ſhall find him hereafter retaliating his Diſappointment upon the *French* and *Dutch* Churches at home.

1633. *King's Progreſs into* Scotland.

His Lordſhip met with better Succeſs in *Scotland* for the preſent, as being a Part of his Majeſty's own Dominions. He had poſſeſſed the King with vaſt Notions of Glory in bringing the Kirk of *Scotland* to an exact Conformity with *England*; a Work which his Father had attempted but left imperfect. The King readily fell in with the Biſhop's Motion, and determined to run all Hazards for the accompliſhing it, as having no leſs a Veneration for the Ceremonies of the Church of *England* than the Biſhop himſelf. There had been Biſhops in *Scotland* for ſome Years, but they had little more than the Name, being upon the Matter ſubject to an Aſſembly that was purely Preſbyterian. To advance their Juriſdiction the King had already renewed the High Commiſſion, and aboliſhed all General Aſſemblies of the Kirk, not one having been held in his Reign; but ſtill (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) there was no Form of Religion, no Liturgy, nor the leaſt Appearance of any *Beauty of Holineſs*. To redreſs theſe Grievances, as well as to ſhew the *Scots Nation* the Pomp and Grandeur of the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, his Majeſty reſolves upon a Progreſs into his native Country to be crowned, and accordingly

Claren. Vol. I. p. 81.

cordingly ſet out from *London May* 13th. attended by ſeveral Noblemen and Perſons of Quality; and among others by Biſhop *Laud*. *June* 18th. his Majeſty was crowned at *Edinburgh*, the Ceremony being managed by the Direction of the Biſhop of *London*, who thruſt away the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* from his Place, becauſe he appeared without the Coat of his Order, which being an *embroidered one*, he ſcrupled to wear, being a moderate Churchman. *King* Charles I. 1633. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 182.

On the 20th of *June* the Parliament met, and gave the King a large Sum of Money. After which his Majeſty propoſed to them two Acts relating to Religion; one was *concerning his Royal Prerogative, and the Apparel of Kirkmen*. The other, a Bill for *the Ratification of former Acts touching Religion*. It being the Cuſtom in *Scotland* for King, Lords and Commons, to ſit in one Houſe, when the Queſtion was put for the firſt Bill his Majeſty took a Paper out of his Pocket, and ſaid, *Gentlemen, I have all your Names here, and I'll know who will do me Service, and who will not, this Day*. Nevertheleſs, it was carried in the Negative; thirteen Lords, and the Majority of the Commons voting againſt it. The Lords ſaid, they agreed to the Act ſo far as related to his Majeſty's *Prerogative*, but diſſented from that part of it which referred to the *Apparel of Kirkmen*, fearing, that under that Cover the *Surplice* might be introduced. But his Majeſty ſaid, he would have no Diſtinction, but commanded them to ſay, Yes, or No, to the whole Bill. The King marked every Man's Vote, and upon caſting them up the Clerk declared it was carried in the Affirmative: Which ſome of the Members denying, his Majeſty ſaid, the Clerk's Declaration muſt ſtand, unleſs any one would go to the Bar and accuſe him of falſifying the Record of Parliament, at the Peril of his Life. *His Uſage of the* Scots *Parliament.* Ib. p. 183.

This Manner of treating the whole Repreſentative Body of the Nation diſguſted all Ranks and Orders of People. A Writing was immediately diſperſed abroad,

King Charles I. 1633.

ſetting forth, How grievous it was for a King to overawe and threaten his Parliament in that manner; and, that the ſame was a Breach of Privilege; that Parliaments were but a meer Pageantry; if the Clerk might declare the Votes as he pleaſed, and no Scrutiny be allowed. Lord *Balmerino*, in whoſe Cuſtody this Libel was found, was condemned to loſe his Head for it, but was afterwards pardoned.

Acts paſſed

After eight Days the Parliament was diſſolved, but the King would not look upon the diſſenting Lords, nor admit them to kiſs his Hand. The Act concerning the *Apparel of Miniſters* ſays, that "Whereas it "was agreed in the Parliament of 1606. that what "Order ſoever his Majeſty's Father, of bleſſed Me-"mory, ſhould preſcribe for the Apparel of Kirk-"men, and ſend in Writ to his *Clerk of Regiſter*, "ſhould be a ſufficient Warrant for inſerting the "ſame in the Books of Parliament, to have the "Strength of any Act thereof; the preſent Parlia-"ment agrees, that the ſame Power ſhall remain "with our Sovereign Lord that now is, and his "Succeſſors." The Bill touching Religion ratifies and approves all Acts and Statutes made before, about the Liberty and Freedom of the true Kirk of God, and the Religion at preſent profeſſed within this Kingdom, and ordains the ſame to ſtand in full force as if they were particularly mentioned and ſet down.

Bp. Laud's Behaviour in Scotland.

The King left his native Country *July* 16th. but loſt a great deal of Ground in the Affections of his People, by the Contempt he poured upon the *Scots* Clergy, and his high Behaviour, in favour of the *Engliſh* Ceremonies. His Majeſty was attended throughout his whole Progreſs by *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*, which Service his Lordſhip was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excuſed from, if the Deſign of introducing the *Engliſh* Liturgy into *Scotland* had not been in View. He preached before the King in the Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*, which ſcarce any

Claren. Vol. I. p. 81, 82.

King Charles I. 1633.

Engliſh Man had ever done before, and principally upon the Benefit of the *Ceremonies of the Church*, which he himſelf obſerved to the height. It went againſt him to own the *Scots Preſbyters* for Miniſters of Chriſt; and he took all Occaſions to affront their Character, which created a high Diſguſt in that Nation, and laid the Foundation of thoſe Reſentments that they expreſſed againſt the Biſhop under his Sufferings.

His Regulation of the King's Chapel in Edinburgh. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 205, 206.

When the King left *Scotland*, he erected a new Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*; and, about two Months after, *Laud* being then newly advanced to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, framed Articles for the Reformation of his Majeſty's Royal Chapel in that City, which were ſent into *Scotland* under his Majeſty's own Hand, with a Declaration, that they were intended as a Pattern for all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Pariſh Churches in that Kingdom. The Articles appoint, "That Prayers be read twice a Day in the Choir, "according to the *Engliſh* Liturgy, till ſome Courſe "be taken to make one that may fit the Cuſtom and "Conſtitution of that Church. That all that re"ceive the Sacrament in the Chapel do it *kneeling*. "That the Dean of the Chapel always come to "Church in his *Whites*, and preach in them. That "the *Copes* which are conſecrated to *our Uſe* be care"fully kept, and uſed at the Celebration of the Sa"crament; and that all his Majeſty's Officers and "Miniſters of State be obliged, at leaſt once a "Year, to receive the Sacrament at the Royal Cha"pel kneeling, for an Example to the reſt of the "People." Thus the Liberties of the Kirk of *Scotland* began to be invaded by an *Engliſh* Biſhop, under the Wing of the Supremacy, without conſent of Parliament or general Aſſembly. The *Scots* Miniſters in their Pulpits preached againſt the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, and warned the People againſt ſurrendering up the Liberties of their Kirk into the Hands

King Charles I. 1633.

of a neighbouring Nation that was undermining their Diſcipline; ſo that when the new Liturgy came to be introduced about four Years after, all the People as one Man roſe up againſt it.

Death and Character of Archbiſhop Abbot.

The King was no ſooner returned from *Scotland* but Dr. ABBOT, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died. He was born at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, 1562. and educated in *Baliol College*, *Oxford*, where he was a celebrated Preacher. In the Year 1597. he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, and was elected Maſter of *Univerſity College*: Two Years after he was made Dean of *Wincheſter*, and was one of thoſe Divines appointed by King *James* to tranſlate the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*. In the Year 1609. he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, from thence he was tranſlated to *London*, and upon the Death of Archbiſhop *Bancroft* to *Canterbury*, *April* 9th. 1611. having never been Rector, Vicar, or Incumbent, in any Pariſh Church in *England*. Lord *Clarendon* has leſſened the Character of this excellent Prelate, contrary to almoſt all other Hiſtorians, by ſaying, that "He "was a Man of very moroſe Manners, and of a "very ſowr Aſpect, which in that Time was called "Gravity; that he neither underſtood nor regarded "the Conſtitution of the Church; that he knew "very little of ancient Divinity, but adhered ſtiffly "to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and did not think ſo ill "of his Diſcipline as he ought to have done; but if "Men prudently forbore a publick Reviling and "Railing at the Hierarchy, let their private Pra"ctice be as it would, he would give them no Di"ſturbance; that his Houſe was a Sanctuary to diſ"affected Perſons, and that he licenſed their Wri"tings, by which means his Succeſſor [*Laud*] had a "very difficult Taſk to reduce Things to order."

Claren. Vol. I. p. 88.

Ath. Ox. p. 584.

The *Oxford* Hiſtorian, who was no Friend to our Archbiſhop's Principles, confeſſes that he was a pious, grave Perſon, exemplary in his Life and Converſation,

tion, a plauſible Preacher, and that the many Things that he has written ſhew him to be a Man of Parts, Learning, and Vigilance; an able Statesman, and of unwearied Study, though overwhelmed with Buſineſs. *Fuller* ſays he was an excellent Preacher, and that his Severity towards the Clergy was only to prevent their being puniſhed by Lay-Judges, to their greater Shame. Mr. *Coke* and Dr. *Welwood* add, That he was a Prelate of Primitive Sanctity, who followed the true Intereſts of his Country, and of the Reformed Churches at home and abroad; that he was a Divine of good Learning, great Hoſpitality, and wonderful Moderation, ſhewing upon all Occaſions an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the King's Prerogative, or the Act of Uniformity, beyond what was conſiſtent with Law, or neceſſary for the Peace of the Church; This brought him into all his Troubles, and has provoked the Writers for the Prerogative to leave a Blot upon his Memory; but for this all true Lovers of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, will reverence it; and if the Court had followed his wiſe and prudent Counſels, the Miſchiefs that befel the Crown and Church ſome Years after his Death, would have been prevented. We have mentioned his *caſual Homicide* in the Year 1621. for which he kept an annual Faſt as long as he lived, and maintained the Widow; notwithſtanding which, if he would have betrayed the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of his Country, he might have continued in high Favour to his Death; but for his ſteady Oppoſition to the arbitrary Meaſures of *Buckingham* and *Laud*, and for not licenſing *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, he was ſuſpended from his Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction [1628.] after which he retired to *Croydon*, having no more Intereſt at Court, nor Influence in the Government of the Church; here he died, in his Archiepiſcopal Palace, *Auguſt* 4th. 1633. aged

King Charles I. 1633.

Ruſhw. P. 450.

King Charles I. 1633.

Seventy one, and was buried in *Trinity Church* in *Guilford*, the Place of his Nativity, where he had erected and endowed an Hoſpital for Men and Women. There is a fine Monument over his Grave, with his Effigies in full Proportion, ſupported by ſix Pillars of the Dorick Order of black Marble, ſtanding on ſix Pedeſtals of piled Books, with a large Inſcription thereon to his Memory.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Archbiſhop ABBOT *to the beginning of the Commotions in* Scotland, *in the Year* 1637.

King Charles I. 1633.

Laud *Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

DR. LAUD was now at the Height of his Preferment, being advanced to the See of *Canterbury* two Days after Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Death. His *Grace* was alſo Chancellor of the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, Privy Counſellor for *England* and *Scotland*, firſt Commiſſioner of the *Exchequer*, and one of the Committee for Trade, and for the King's Revenues: He was alſo offered a Cardinal's Cap, [*Aug.* 17.] but declined it, (as he ſays) becauſe *There was ſomething dwelt within him which would not ſuffer it, till* Rome *was otherwiſe than it was.* We are now to ſee how he moved in this high Sphere. Lord *Clarendon* admits, "That the Archbiſhop had all his Life "eminently oppoſed *Calvin*'s Doctrine, for which "Reaſon he was called a Papiſt; and it may be "(ſays his Lordſhip) the *Puritans* found the more "ſevere and rigorous Uſage for propagating the "Calumny. He alſo intended, that the Diſcipline "of the Church ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of." The Truth of which Obſervation has appeared in part already, and will receive ſtronger Evidence from the following ſeven Years of his Government.

The Archbiſhop's Antipathy to *Calviniſm*, and Zeal for the external Beauty of the Church, carried him to ſome very imprudent and unjuſtifiable Extremes; for if the Puritans were too ſtrict in *keeping Holy the Sabbath*, his *Grace* was too large in his Indulgence, by encouraging Revels, May-Games and Sports, on that ſacred Day.

Complaint having been made to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, and Baron *Denham*, in their

King Charles I. 1633.

Weſtern Circuit, of great Inconveniencies ariſing from *Revels*, *Church Ales*, and *Clerk Ales* on the Lord's Days, the two Judges made an Order at the Aſſizes for ſuppreſſing them, and appointed the Clerk to leave Copies of the Order with every Pariſh Miniſter, who was to give a Note under his Hand, to publiſh it in his Church yearly, the firſt Sunday in *February*, and the two Sundays before *Eaſter*. Upon the Return of the Circuit the Judges required an Account of the Execution of their Order, and puniſhed ſome Perſons for the Breach of it; upon which the Archbiſhop complain'd to the King of *their* invading the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and prevailed with his Majeſty to ſummons them before the Council. When they appeared, *Richardſon* pleaded that the *Order* was made at the Requeſt of the Juſtices of the Peace, and with the unanimous Conſent of the whole Bench, and juſtified it from the following Precedents: *Sept.* 10. *Eliz.* 38th. the Juſtices aſſembled at *Bridgewater* ordered, That no *Church Ale*, *Clerk Ale*, or *Bid Ale*, be ſuffered; ſigned by *Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Ten others. The ſame Order was repeated 1599. and 41ſt of *Eliz.* and again at *Exeter*, 1615. and 13th of *Jac.* and even in the preſent King's Reign, 1627. with an Order for the Miniſter of every Pariſh Church to publiſh it yearly. But notwithſtanding all the *Chief Juſtice* could ſay, he received a ſharp Reprimand, and a peremptory Injunction to revoke his Order at the next Aſſizes; which he did in ſuch a manner as loſt him his Credit at Court for the future; for he then declared to the Juſtices, "That he thought he had "done God, the King, and his Country good Service, "by that *good Order* that he and his Brother *Denham* "had made, for ſuppreſſing unruly *Wakes* and *Re-* "*vels*, but that it had been miſreported to his Maje- "ſty, who had expreſly charged him to reverſe it; "accordingly (ſays he) I do, as much as in me lies, "reverſe it, declaring the ſame to be null and void, "and

Wakes and Revels on the Lord's Day countenanced. Prynne's Cant. *Doom*, p. 153.

" and that all Perſons may uſe their Recreations at " ſuch Meetings as before." This Reprimand and Injunction almoſt broke the Judge's Heart, for when he came out of the Council Chamber he told the Earl of *Dorſet* with Tears in his Eyes, that he had been miſerably ſhaken by the Archbiſhop, and was like to be choaked with his Lawn Sleeves. *King* Charles I. 1633.

Laud having thus humbled the Judge, and recovered the Epiſcopal Authority from neglect, took the Affair into his own hand, and writ to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Oct.* 4th. for a fuller Information. In his Letter he takes notice, That there had been of late ſome Noiſe in *Somerſetſhire* about the *Wakes*; that the Judges had prohibited them under Pretence of ſome Diſorders, by which Argument (ſays he) any Thing that is abuſed may be quite taken away; but that his Majeſty was diſpleaſed with *Richardſon*'s Behaviour at the two laſt Aſſizes, and eſpecially the laſt; being of Opinion, that the *Feaſts* ought to be kept for the Recreation of the People, of which he would not have them debarr'd under any frivolous Pretences, to the gratifying of the Humouriſts, which were very numerous in thoſe Parts, and united in crying down the *Feaſts*; his *Grace* therefore requires the Biſhop to give him a ſpeedy Account how theſe *Feaſts* had been ordered. *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Letter about them.*

Pierce, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in anſwer to this Letter acquaints the Archbiſhop, " That the late " Suppreſſion of the *Revels* was very unacceptable, " and that the Reſtitution of them would be very " grateful to the Gentry, Clergy and Common " People; for proof of which he had procured the " Hands of Seventy two of his Clergy, in whoſe " Pariſhes theſe *Feaſts* are kept; and he believes, " that if he had ſent for one Hundred more, he ſhould " have had the ſame Anſwer from them all; but " theſe Seventy two (ſays his Lordſhip) are like the " Seventy two Interpreters, that agreed ſo ſoon in " the Tranſlation of the *Old Teſtament* into *Greek*." *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Well's *Anſwer.* Cant. *Doom*, p. 142.

King Charles I. 1633.

He then proceeds to explain the Nature of theſe Feaſts. " There are (ſays he) in *Somerſetſhire*, not " only Feaſts of Dedication [or Revel Days] but " alſo Church Ales, Clerk Ales, and Bid Ales.

Their Original and Uſe.

" *The Feaſts of Dedication* are in Memory of the " Dedication of their ſeveral Churches; thoſe

Feaſts of Dedication

" Churches which are dedicated to the Holy Tri- " nity have their Feaſts on Trinity Sunday; and ſo " all the Feaſts are kept upon the Sunday before " or after the Saint's Day to whom the Churches " are dedicated, becauſe the People have not lei- " ſure to obſerve them on the Week Days; this, " ſays his Lordſhip, is acceptable to the People, " who otherwiſe go into Tipling Houſes, or elſe to " Conventicles.

Church Ales.

" *Church Ales* are when the People go from Af- " ternoon Prayers on Sundays to their lawful Sports " and Paſtimes in the Church Yard, or in the " Neighbourhood, in ſome publick Houſe, where " they drink and make merry. By the Benevolence " of the People at theſe Paſtimes many poor Pa- " riſhes have caſt their Bells, and beautified their " Churches, and raiſed Stocks for the Poor; and " there has not been obſerved ſo much Diſorder " at them as is commonly at Fairs or Mar- " kets.

Clerk Ales.

" *Clerk Ales* [or leſſer Church Ales] are ſo called, " becauſe they were for the better Maintenance of " the Pariſh Clerk; and there is great Reaſon for " them (ſays his Lordſhip) for in poor Country Pa- " riſhes, where the Wages of the Clerk are but " ſmall, the People thinking it unfit that the Clerk " ſhould duly attend at Church and not gain by his " Office, ſend him in Proviſion, and then come on " *Sundays* and feaſt with him, by which means he " ſells more Ale, and taſts more of the Liberality of " the People, than their quarterly Payments would " amount to in many Years; and ſince theſe have " been put down many Miniſters have complained

" to

" to me (ſays his Lordſhip) that they are afraid " they ſhall have no Pariſh Clerks. *King* Charles I. 1633.

" *A Bid Ale* is, when a poor Man decayed in his " Subſtance, is ſet up again by the liberal Benevo- " lence and Contribution of his Friends at a *Sunday's* " *Feaſt.*" *Bid Ales.*

The People were fond of theſe Recreations, and the Biſhop recommends them, as bringing the People more willingly to Church; as tending to civilize them, and to compoſe Differences among them; and as ſerving to encreaſe Love and Unity, foraſmuch as they were in the Nature of Feaſts of Charity, the richer Sort keeping in a manner open Houſe; for which, and ſome other Reaſons, his Lordſhip thinks them fit to be retained.

But the Juſtices of Peace were of another Mind, and ſigned an humble Petition to the King, in which they declare, that theſe *Revels* had not only introduced a great Profanation of the *Lord's Day*, but riotous Tipling, Contempt of Authority, Quarrels, Murders, *&c.* and were very prejudicial to the Peace, Plenty, and good Government of the Country, and therefore they pray, that they may be ſuppreſſed. Here is the *Laity* petitioning for the Religious Obſervation of the Lord's Day, and the *Biſhop* with his Clergy pleading for the Profanation of it.

To ſupport theſe diſorderly Aſſemblies more effectually, Archbiſhop *Laud* put the King upon Republiſhing his Father's Declaration of the Year 1618. *concerning lawful Sports to be uſed on Sundays after Divine Service*; which was done accordingly, *Oct.* 18th. with this remarkable Addition. After a recital of the Words of King *James*'s Declaration his Majeſty adds, *Declaration for Sports on the Lord's Day.*

" Out of a like pious Care for the Service of God, " and for ſuppreſſing of thoſe Humours that oppoſe " Truth, and for the Eaſe, Comfort, and Recrea- " tion of his Majeſty's well deſerving People, he " doth

King Charles I. 1633.

" doth ratify his *bleſſed Father*'s Declaration, the rather, becauſe of late in ſome Counties of this " Kingdom his Majeſty finds, that under Pretence " of taking away an *Abuſe*, there hath been a general " forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but " of the *Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches*, commonly called *Wakes*; it is therefore his Majeſty's expreſs Will and Pleaſure, that theſe Feaſts with " others ſhall be obſerved, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with Man-like and lawful Exerciſes be uſed; and the Juſtices of Peace are " commanded not to moleſt any in their Recreations, having firſt done their Duty to God, and " continuing in Obedience to his Majeſty's Laws. " And he does further will, that Publication of this " his Command be made by Order from the Biſhops, " through all the Pariſh Churches of their ſeveral " Dioceſes reſpectively."

Of the Morality of the Sabbath.

This Declaration revived the Controverſy of the Morality of the Sabbath, which had ſlept for many Years; Mr. *Theophilus Bradbourne*, a *Suffolk* Miniſter, had publiſhed in the 1628. *A Defence of the moſt ancient and ſacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day*, and dedicated it to the King. But *Fuller* obſerves, " That " the poor Man fell into the Ambuſh of the High " Commiſſion, whoſe well tempered Severity ſo prevailed with him, that he became a Convert, and " conformed quietly to the Church of *England*." *Francis White*, Biſhop of *Ely*, was commanded by the King to confute *Bradbourne*; after him appeared Dr. *Pocklington*, with his *Sunday no Sabbath*; and after him *Heylin* the Archbiſhop's Chaplain, and others. Theſe Divines, inſtead of ſoftning ſome Exceſſes in *Bradbourne*'s Sabbatarian Strictneſs, ran into the contrary Extreme, denying all manner of *Divine Right* or *moral Obligation* to the Obſervance of the whole, or any part of the *Lord's Day*, making it depend entirely upon *Eccleſiaſtical Authority*, and to oblige no further than to the few Hours of publick

B. XI. p. 144.

Ser-

Service; and that in the Intervals, not only walking (which the Sabbatarians admitted) but *mixed Dancing*, *Maſques*, *Interludes*, *Revels*, &c. were lawful and expedient. *King* Charles I. 1633.

But inſtead of convincing the ſober Part of the Nation, it ſtruck them with a kind of Horror, to ſee themſelves invited by the Authority of the King and Church, to that which looked ſo like a Contradiction to the *Command of God*. It was certainly out of Character, for Biſhops and Clergymen, who ſhould be the Supports of Religion, to draw Men off from the Practice of it in their Families and Cloſets, by enticing them to publick Recreations. People are forward enough of themſelves to go into theſe Liberties, and need a Check rather than a Spur; but the Wiſdom of theſe Times was different. The Court had their *Balls*, *Maſquerades*, and *Plays* on the Sunday Evenings, while the Youth of the Country were at their *Revels*, *Morrice Dances*, *May-Games*, *Church and Clerk Ales*, and all kinds of Recreations. *Remarks.*

The Revival of this Declaration was charged upon Archbiſhop *Laud* at his Trial, but his *Grace* would not take it upon himſelf, though he confeſſed his Judgment was for it. It was to be publiſhed in all Pariſh Churches, but whether by the Miniſter, or any other Perſon, was left to the Direction of the Biſhop, and therefore the putting this Hardſhip on the Clergy was *their* Act and Deed; but *Laud* knew it would diſtreſs the *Puritans*, and purge the Church of a Set of Men, for whom he had a perfect Averſion. The Reaſon given for putting it upon them was, becauſe the two Judges had enjoined the Miniſters to read their Order againſt Revels in the Churches; and therefore it was proper to have it reverſed by the ſame Perſons and in the ſame Place. Fuller, p. 148.

Hardſhips of the Puritans *with relation to the Declaration.*

The ſevere preſſing this Declaration made ſad Havock among the Puritans for ſeven Years. Many poor Clergymen ſtrained their Conſciences to read

King Charles I. 1633.

read it. Some when they had read it immediately read the fourth Commandment to the People, *Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy*; adding, *This is the Law of God*; the other, *the Injunction of Man.* Some put it upon their Curates, but great Numbers refuſed to comply upon any Terms. *Fuller* ſays, B. XI. p. 148. "That the Archbiſhop's Moderation in his own "Dioceſe was remarkable, ſilencing but three, in "whom alſo was a Concurrence of other Non-Con- "formities; but that his Adverſaries imputed it not "to his Charity but Policy, *Fox like*, preying far- "theſt from his own Den, and inſtigating other Bi- "ſhops to do more than he would appear in himſelf." Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 149. Sir *Nath. Brent*, his Grace's Vicar-General, atteſted upon Oath at the Archbiſhop's Trial, that he gave him a ſpecial Charge to convene all Miniſters before him who would not read the *Book of Sports* on the Lord's Day, and to ſuſpend them for it; and that he gave particular Order to ſuſpend the three following *Kentiſh* Miniſters by Name, (*viz.*) Mr. *Player*, Mr. *Hieron*, and Mr. *Culmur*. Whereupon he did, againſt his Judgment, ſuſpend them all *ab Officio & Beneficio*, though the King's Declaration (as has been obſerved) does not oblige the *Miniſter* to read it, nor authorize the Biſhops to inflict any Puniſhment on the Refuſers. When the ſuſpended Miniſters repaired to *Lambeth*, and petitioned to be reſtored, the Archbiſhop told them, *If they did not know how to obey, he did not know how to grant their Petition.* So their Suſpenſion continued till the beginning of the Commotions in *Scotland*, to the Ruin of their poor Families; Mr. *Culmer* having a Wife and ſeven Children to provide for.

Sufferings of Mr. Wilſon and others for not reading it.

Several Clergymen of other Dioceſes were alſo ſilenced, and deprived on the ſame Account; as, Mr. *Thomas Wilſon* of *Otham*, who being ſent for to *Lambeth*, and aſked, whether he had read the Book of Sports in his Church, anſwered, No; whereupon the Archbiſhop replied immediately, *I ſuſpend you*

for

for ever from your Office and Benefice till you read it; and ſo he continued four Years, being cited into the High Commiſſion, and articled againſt for the ſame Crime. Mr. *Wrath* and Mr. *Erbery* were brought up from *Wales*, Mr. *William Jones* from *Glouceſterſhire*, with divers others, and cenſured by the High Commiſſion (of which the Archbiſhop was chief) for not reading the Declaration. To theſe may be added Mr. *Whitfield* of *Ockly*, Mr. *Garth* of *Woverſh*, Mr. *Ward* of *Pepper Harrow*, Mr. *Farrol* of *Purbright*, and Mr. *Pegges* of *Wexford*, to whom the Archbiſhop ſaid, that he ſuſpended him *ex nunc prout ex tunc*, in caſe he did not read the King's Declaration for Sports, on the Sunday ſeven-night following.

King Charles I. 1633.

Ib. p. 151.

The Reverend and Learned Mr. *Lawrence Snelling*, Rector of *Paul's Cray*, was not only ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion at *Lambeth* for four Years, but deprived and excommunicated for not reading the Declaration. He pleaded in his own Defence, the Laws of God and of the Realm, and the Authority of Councils and Fathers; he added, That the King's Declaration did not enjoin *Miniſters* to read it, nor authorize the Biſhops or High Commiſſioners to ſuſpend or puniſh Miniſters for not reading it; that it being a meer *Civil*, not an *Eccleſiaſtical Declaration* enjoined by any *Canons* or Authority of the Church, no Eccleſiaſtical Court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. *Snelling* offered to the Commiſſioners in writing, but the Archbiſhop would not admit it, but ſaid in open Court, that *whoſoever ſhould make ſuch a Defence, it ſhould be burnt before his Face, and he laid by the Heels.* Upon this he was perſonally and judicially admoniſhed to read the Declaration within three Weeks, which he refuſing, was ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio.* About four Months after he was judicially admoniſhed again, and refuſing to comply, was excommunicated, and told, That unleſs he conformed before the ſecond Day of next Term, he ſhould be deprived; which was accordingly

Sufferings of Mr. Snelling, and his Reaſons for not reading the Book of Sports.

King Charles I. 1633.

cordingly done, and he continued under the Sentence many Years, to his unſpeakable Damage.

Ib. p. 153.

" It were endleſs to go into more Particulars; " how many Hundred godly Miniſters, in this and " other Dioceſes (ſays Mr. *Prynne*) have been " ſuſpended from their Miniſtry, ſequeſter'd, driven " from their Livings, excommunicated, proſecuted " in the High Commiſſion, and forced to leave the " Kingdom for not publiſhing this *Declaration*, is " experimentally known to all Men." Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſays, that great Numbers in his Dioceſe had declined it, and were ſuſpended; that ſome had ſince complied, but that ſtill there were *Thirty* that peremptorily refuſed and were excommunicated. This the Biſhop thinks a ſmall Number, but if there were as many in other Dioceſes the whole would amount to near eight Hundred.

Alterations in the Service Book. Cant. *Doom*, p. 111, 112.

To render the *Common Prayer Book* more unexceptionable to the Papiſts, and more diſtant from Puritaniſm, the Archbiſhop made *ſundry Alterations* in the later Editions, without the Sanction of Convocation or Parliament. In the Collect for the Royal Family, the *Princeſs* Elizabeth *and her Children were left out*, and theſe Words were expunged, *O God, who art the Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed*; as tending towards particular Election or Predeſtination. In the Prayer for the fifth of *November* were theſe Words, *Root out that Antichriſtian and Babyloniſh Sect, which ſay of* Jeruſalem, *Down with it even to the Ground. Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, whoſe Religion is Rebellion, whoſe Faith is Faction, whoſe Practice is murdering both Soul and Body*; which in the laſt Edition are thus changed, *Root out the Antichriſtian and Babyloniſh Sect* OF THEM, *which ſay of* Jeruſalem, *Down with it.* — *Cut off thoſe Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion*, &c. The Deſign of which Alteration was to relieve the Papiſts, and to turn the Prayer againſt the *Puritans*, upon whom the Popiſh Plot was to have been father'd. In the Epiſtle for

Palm

Palm Sunday, inſtead of IN *the Name of Jeſus*, as it was heretofore, 'tis now, according to the laſt Tranſlation, AT *the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhall bow.* But it was certainly very high Preſumption, for a ſingle Clergyman, or any Number of them, to alter a Service Book eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, and impoſe thoſe Alterations upon the whole Body of the Clergy. *King* Charles I. 1633.

The Puritans always excepted againſt *bowing at the Name of* JESUS; it appeared to them very ſuperſtitious, as if Worſhip was to be paid to a Name, or to the Name of JESUS, more than to that of CHRIST or IMMANUEL. Nevertheleſs it was enjoin'd by the eighteenth Canon, and in compliance with that Injunction, our laſt Tranſlators inſerted it into their Text, by rendring ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, *In the Name of Jeſus*, as it was before, both in the Bible and Common Prayer Book, *At the Name of Jeſus*, as it now ſtands; but no Penalty was annexed to the Neglect of this Ceremony, nor did any ſuffer for it, till Biſhop LAUD was at the Head of the Church, who preſſed it equally with the reſt, and cauſed above twenty Miniſters to be fined, cenſured, and put by their Livings, *for not bowing at the Name of* JESUS, *or for preaching againſt it.* *Bowing at the Name of Jeſus.* *Uſurp. of Prelates.*

On the third of *November* was debated before his Majeſty in Council, the Queſtion about removing the Communion Table in St. *Gregory*'s Church near St. *Paul*'s, from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end of it, and placing it there in form of an Altar. This being enjoined upon the Church-Wardens by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s, without Conſent of the Pariſhioners, they oppoſed it, and appealed to the Court of Arches, alledging, that the Book of Common Prayer, and Eighty ſecond Canon, gave liberty to place the Communion Table where it might ſtand with moſt Convenience. His Majeſty being informed of the Appeal, and acquainted by the Archbiſhop, that it would be a leading Caſe all over *England*, *Communion Tables turned into Altars.*

King Charles I. 1633.

land, was pleaſed to order it to be debated before himſelf in Council, and after hearing the Arguments on both ſides declared, That the Liberty given by the Eighty ſecond *Canon* was not to be underſtood ſo, as if it were to be left to the Diſcretion of the Pariſh, much leſs to the Fancies of a few humorous Perſons, but to the Judgment of the Ordinary [or Biſhop] to whoſe Place it properly belong'd to determine theſe Points; he therefore confirm'd the Act of the *Ordinary*, and gave Commandment, that if the Pariſhioners went on with their *Appeal*, the Dean of the *Arches*, who was then attending at the Hearing of the Cauſe, ſhould confirm the Order of the Dean and Chapter. This was a ſovereign Manner of putting an End to a Controverſy, but very agreeable to the Archbiſhop.

Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 207.

Miſchiefs that attended it.

When the Sacrament was adminiſter'd in Pariſh Churches, the Communion Table was uſually placed in the middle of the Chancel, and the People received round it, or in their ſeveral Places there about; but now all Communion Tables were ordered to be fixed under the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel with the ends North and South in form of an Altar; they were to be raiſed two or three Steps above the Floor, and encompaſſed with Rails. Archbiſhop *Laud* ordered his *Vicar General* to ſee this Alteration made in all the Churches and Chapels of his Province; to accompliſh which, it was neceſſary to take down the Galleries in ſome Churches, and to remove ancient Monuments. This was reſented by ſome conſiderable Families, and complained of as an Injury to the Dead, and ſuch an Expence to the Living, as ſome Country Pariſhes could not bear; but yet thoſe who refuſed to pay the Rates directed by the Archbiſhop for this Purpoſe, were fined in the Spiritual Courts, contrary to Law. It is incredible to imagine, what a Ferment the making this Alteration *at once* raiſed among the common People all over *England*. Many Miniſters and Church Wardens were excommunicated,

Prynne's Cant. *Doom.* p. 100, 101.

fined, and obliged to do Penance, for neglecting the Biſhops Injunctions. Great Numbers refuſed to come up to the Rails and receive the Sacrament, for which ſome were fined, and others excommunicated, to the Number of ſome Hundreds, ſays the Committee of the Houſe of Commons at the Archbiſhop's Trial. *King* Charles I. 1633.

Books were writ for and againſt this new Practice, with the ſame Earneſtneſs and Contention for Victory as if the Life of Religion was at Stake. Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, publiſhed two Treatiſes againſt it, one intituled, *A Letter to the Vicar of* Grantham; the other, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*; filled with ſo much Learning, and that Learning ſo cloſely and ſolidly applied, (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) as ſhewed he had ſpent his Time in his Retirement with his Books very profitably. Dr. *Heylin*, who anſwered the Biſhop, argued from the Words of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, 1559; from the Orders and Advertiſements of 1562, and 1565. from the Practice of the King's Chapels and Cathedrals; and finally, from the preſent King's Declaration, recommending a Conformity of the Pariſh Churches to their Cathedrals. The Biſhop, and with him all the Puritans, inſiſted upon the Practice of Primitive Antiquity, and upon the Eighty ſecond Canon of 1603. which ſays, "We appoint, that the Table for the Celebration "of the Holy Communion ſhall be covered with a "fair linen Cloth at the Time of Adminiſtration, "and ſhall then be placed in ſo good Sort within the "Church or Chancel, as thereby the Miniſter may "more conveniently be heard of the Communicants "in his Prayer, and the Communicants may more "conveniently, and in more Numbers communi-"cate." They urged the Rubrick in the Common Prayer Book; that Altars in Churches were a Popiſh Invention, of no greater Antiquity in the Chriſtian Church than the Sacrifice of the Maſs; and inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on the Diſcontinuance of them ſince the *Arguments for and againſt it.*

King Charles I. 1633.

Reformation. But the Archbiſhop being determined to carry his Point, proſecuted the Affair with unjuſtifiable Rigor all over the Kingdom, puniſhing thoſe that oppoſed him with great Severity, and without regard to the Laws of the Land. This occaſioned a Sort of Schiſm among the Biſhops, and a great deal of Uncharitableneſs among the inferior Clergy; for thoſe Biſhops who had not been beholden to *Laud* for their Preferments, nor had any farther Expectations, were very cool in this Affair, while the Archbiſhop's Creatures, in many Places, took upon them to make theſe Alterations by their own Authority, without the Injunctions or Directions of their Dioceſans, which occaſioned many Lawſuits. Thoſe that oppoſed the Alterations were called *Doctrinal Puritans*, and the Promoters of them *Doctrinal Papiſts*.

Of Bowing towards the Altar.

The Court Clergy were of the latter Sort, and were vehemently ſuſpected of an Inclination to Popery, becauſe of their ſuperſtitious bowing to the Altar, not only in Time of Divine Service, but at their going in and out of Church. This was a Practice unknown to the Laity of the Church of *England* before this Time, but Archbiſhop *Laud* introduced it into the Royal Chapel at *Whitehall*, and recommended it to all the Clergy by his Example, for when he went in and out of Chapel a Lane was always made for him to ſee the Altar, and do Reverence towards it. All his Majeſty's Chaplains, and even the common People, were enjoined the ſame Practice. In the new Body of Statutes for the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, drawn up by his *Grace*, and confirmed under the Great Seal, the Dean and Prebendaries are obliged by Oath, to bow to the Altar at coming in and going out of Church; which could ariſe from nothing but a Belief of the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, or Altar; or from a ſuperſtitious Imitation of the Pagans worſhipping towards the Eaſt.

Collyer's Ecc. Hiſt. p. 762.

To

To make the Adoration more ſignificant, the *Altars* in Cathedrals were adorned with the moſt pompous Furniture, and all the Veſſels had a ſolemn Conſecration. The Cathedral of *Canterbury* was furniſhed, according to Biſhop *Andrews*'s Model, who took it from the *Roman* Miſſal, with two *Candleſticks* and *Tapers*, a *Baſin* for Oblations, a *Cuſhion* for the Service Book, a *Silver gilt Caniſter* for the Wafers, like a Wicker Baſket, lin'd with Cambrick Lace, the *Tonne* on a Cradle; a *Chalice* with the Image of Chriſt and the Loſt Sheep, and of the Wiſe Men and Star, engraven on the Sides and on the Cover. The Chalice was cover'd with a linen Napkin, called the *Aire*, embroidered with coloured Silk; two *Patins*, the *Tricanale* being a round Ball with a ſcrew Cover, out of which iſſued three Pipes, for the Water of Mixture; a *Credentia*, or ſide Table, with a Baſin and Ewer on Napkins, and a Towel, to waſh before the Conſecration; three *kneeling Stools* covered and ſtuff'd, the *Foot Pace* with three Aſcents, covered with a *Turkey* Carpet; three *Chairs* uſed at Ordinations, and the *Septum* or *Rail* with two Aſcents. Upon ſome Altars there was a Pot, called the *Incenſe* Pot, and a *Knife*, to cut the Sacramental Bread.

King Charles I. 1633.

Furniture of the Altar of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

The Conſecration of this Furniture was after this Manner; the Archbiſhop in his Cope, with two Chaplains in their Surplices, having bowed ſeveral Times towards the Altar, read a Portion of Scripture; then the Veſſels to be conſecrated were delivered into the Hands of the Archbiſhop, who after he had placed them upon the Altar, read a Form of Prayer, deſiring God to bleſs and accept of theſe Veſſels, which he ſeverally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common Uſe. We have ſeen already the Manner of his Grace's conſecrating the Sacramental Elements at *Creed Church*; there was a little more Ceremony in Cathedrals, where the Wafers and Wine

Conſecration of the Furniture.

King Charles I. 1633.

being firſt placed with great Solemnity on the *Credentia*, or ſide Table, were to be removed from thence by one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, who, as ſoon as he turns his Face about to the Altar with the Elements in his Hands, bows three Times, and again when he comes to the Foot of it, where he preſents them upon his Knees, and lays them upon the Altar for Conſecration. How far the bringing theſe Inventions of Men into the Worſhip of God, is chargeable with Superſtition, and with a departing from the Simplicity of the Chriſtian Inſtitution, I leave with the Reader; but ſurely, the impoſing them upon others under ſevere Penalties, without the Sanction of Convocation, Parliament, or Royal Injunction, was not to be juſtified.

Injunctions againſt Lecturers. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 214.

The *Lecturers*, or Afternoon Preachers, giving his *Grace* ſome Diſturbance, notwithſtanding the Attempts already made to ſuppreſs them, the King ſent the following Injunctions to the Biſhops of his Province; "1. That they ordain no Clergyman "without a Preſentation to ſome Living. Or, "2. Without a Certificate that he is provided of "ſome void Church. Or, 3. Without ſome Place "in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church. Or, 4. Un-"leſs he be a Fellow of ſome College. Or, 5. A Ma-"ſter of Arts of five Years ſtanding, living at his "own Charge. Or, 6. Without the Intention of "the Biſhop to provide for him." By virtue of theſe Injunctions no Chaplainſhip to a Nobleman's Family, nor any Invitation to a Lecture, could qualify a Perſon for Ordination, without a Living.

Laud's *Account of the State of his Province.*

In the annual Account the Archbiſhop gave the King of the State of his Province this Year, we may obſerve, how much the Suppreſſing of theſe popular Preachers lay upon his Mind. "The Biſhop of "*Bath* and *Wells* (ſays his Grace) has taken a great "deal of Pains in his late Viſitation, to have all the "King's Inſtructions obſerved, and particularly he "has

" has put down ſeveral Lecturers in Market Towns " who were beneficed in other Dioceſes, becauſe he " found, when they had preached factious Sermons, " they retired without the Reach of his Juriſ- " diction. *King* Charles I. 1633.

" And whereas his Majeſty's Inſtructions require, " That *Lecturers* ſhould turn their Afternoon Ser- " mons into Catechiſings, ſome *Parſons* or *Vicars* ob- " ject againſt their being included, becauſe *Lecturers* " are only mentioned; but the Biſhops will take " care to clear their Doubts, and ſettle their Pra- " ctice.

" The Biſhop of *Peterborough* had ſuppreſſed a ſe- " ditious Lecture at *Repon*, and put down ſeveral " *Monthly Lectures*, kept with a Faſt, and managed " by a Moderator. He had alſo ſuppreſſed a " Meeting called the *Running Lecture*, becauſe the " Lecture went from Village to Village.

" The Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* ſays, That his Dioceſe " is without Exception, abating the Increaſe of *Ro-* " *miſh* Recuſants in ſome Places, by their ſuperſti- " tious Concourſe to St. *Winifred*'s Well.

" The Biſhop of *Landaff* certifies, That he has " not one ſtubborn Non-Conformiſt, or Schiſmatical " Miniſter within his Dioceſe, and but two Le- " cturers.

" All the *Biſhops* declare, that they take ſpecial " Care of that Branch of his Majeſty's Inſtructions " relating to *Calviniſm*, or preaching upon the Pre- " deſtinarian Points; and the Archbiſhop prays his " Majeſty, that no Layman whatſoever, and leaſt " of all the *Companies* of the City of *London*, or *Cor-* " *porations*, ſhould under any Pretence have Power " to put in, or turn out any Lecturer, or other Mi- " niſter."

In this Account the Reader will obſerve but little Complaint of the Growth of Popery, which we ſhall ſee preſently was at a prodigious Height; but all the Archbiſhop's Artillery is pointed againſt the Puritan

King Charles I. 1632.

Clergy, who were the moſt determined and reſolved Proteſtants in the Nation.

Towards the Cloſe of this Year came on the famous Trial of *William Prynne*, Eſq; Barriſter of *Lincoln's Inn*, for his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, a Book written againſt Plays, Maſques, Dancing, *&c.* The Information ſays, That though the Author knew, that the Queen and Lords of the Council were frequently preſent at thoſe Diverſions, yet he had railed againſt theſe and ſeveral others, as *May-Poles*, *Chriſtmas-Keeping*, *Dreſſing Houſes with Ivy*, *Feſtivals*, &c. that he had aſperſed the Queen, and commended factious Perſons; which Things are of dangerous Conſequence to the Realm and State. The Cauſe was heard in the *Star Chamber*, *Feb.* 7th. The Council for Mr. *Prynne* were Mr. *Atkyns*, afterwards Judge of the *Common Pleas*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Holbourne*, *Herne*, and *Lightfoot*. For the King was Mr. Attorney General *Noy*. The Council for the Defendant pleaded, that he had handled the Argument of *Stage-Plays* in a learned manner, without deſigning to reflect on his Superiors; that the Book had been licenſed according to Law; and, that if any Paſſages may be conſtrued to reflect on his Majeſty, or any Branch of his Government, he humbly begs Pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the Charge in very ſevere Language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous Libel. After a full Hearing he was ſentenced *to have his Book burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, to be put from the Bar, and to be for ever incapable of his Profeſſion, to be turned out of the Society of* Lincoln's Inn, *to be degraded at* Oxford, *to ſtand in the Pillory at* Weſtminſter *and* Cheapſide, *to loſe both his Ears, one in each Place, to pay a Fine of five Thouſand Pounds, and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment.* Remarkable was the Speech of the Earl of *Dorſet* on this Occaſion; "Mr. *Prynne* (ſays he) I declare you to be "a Schiſm-Maker in the Church, a Sedition-Sower "in the Commonwealth, a Wolf in Sheeps Clothing;

Mr. Prynne's *Sentence in the* Star Chamber. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 221.

Ruſhw. p. 233, 240.

" in a Word, *Omnium malorum nequiſſimus.* I ſhall " fine him ten Thouſand Pounds, which is more " than he is worth, yet leſs than he deſerves. I " will not ſet him at liberty no more than a plagued " Man or a mad Dog, who, though he can't bite " will foam: He is ſo far from being a ſocial Soul, " that he is not a rational Soul. He is fit to live " in Dens with ſuch Beaſts of Prey, as Wolves and " Tygers, like himſelf; therefore I condemn him " to perpetual Impriſonment; and for corporal Pu- " niſhment I would have him branded in the Fore- " head, ſlit in the Noſe, and have his Ears chopt off." A Speech more fit for an *American* Savage than an *Engliſh* Nobleman! *King Charles I. 1633.*

A few Months after Dr. *Baſtwick*, a Phyſician at *Colcheſter*, having writ a Book, intitled, *Elenchus Religionis Papiſticæ*, with an Appendix, called *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, which gave Offence to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, becauſe it denied the Divine Right of the Order of Biſhops above Preſbyters, was cited before the High Commiſſion, who diſcarded him from his Profeſſion [1634.] excommunicated him, fined him one Thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment till he recanted. *Dr. Baſtwick's.*

Mr. *Burton*, B. D. Miniſter of *Friday Street*, having publiſhed two exceptionable Sermons, from *Prov.* xxiv. 21, 22. intitled, *For God and the King*, againſt the late Innovations, had his Houſe and Study broke open by a Serjeant at Arms, and himſelf committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, where he was confined ſeveral Years. *Mr. Burton's.*

Theſe terrible Proceedings of the Commiſſioners made many conſcientious Non-Conformiſts retire with their Families to *Holland* and *New England*, for fear of falling into the Hands of Men, *whoſe tender Mercies were cruelty.* *Rev. Mr. Cotton removes to New England.*

Among others that went over this Year was the Reverend and Learned Mr. *John Cotton*, B. D. Fellow of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, and Miniſter of *Boſton* in *Lin-* Mather's *Hiſt.* N. E. B. III. p. 18, &c.

King Charles I. 1633.

Lincolnſhire, where he was in ſuch Repute, that Dr. *Preſton* and others from *Cambridge* frequently viſited him; he was an admired Preacher, and of a moſt meek and gentle Diſpoſition: He became a Non-Conformiſt upon this Principle, *That no Church had Power to impoſe indifferent Ceremonies, not commanded by Chriſt, on the Conſciences of Men.* He therefore omitted ſome of the Ceremonies, and adminiſter'd the Sacrament to ſuch as deſired it without kneeling; for which he was informed againſt in the High Commiſſion; and *Laud* being now at the Head of Affairs, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his Dioceſan, could not protect him. Mr. *Cotton* applied to the Earl of *Dorſet* for his Intereſt with the Archbiſhop, but the Earl ſent him Word, that *If he had been guilty of Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, or any ſuch leſſer Fault, he could have got his Pardon, but the Sin of Puritaniſm and Non-Conformity* (ſays his Lordſhip) *is unpardonable, and therefore you muſt fly for your Safety.* Upon this he travell'd to *London* in Diſguiſe, and took Paſſage for *New England*, where he arrived *Sept.* 3. 1633. and ſpent the Remainder of his Days, to the Year 1652.

And Mr. Davenport. Ib. B. III. P. 52.

Mr. *John Davenport*, B. D. and Vicar of *Coleman Street*, *London*, reſigned his Living, and retired to *Holland* this Summer. He fell under the Reſentments of his Dioceſan, Biſhop *Laud*, for being concerned in the *Feoffments*, which, together with ſome Notices he received of being proſecuted for Non-Conformity, induced him to embark for *Amſterdam*, where he continued about three Years, and then returning to *England*, he ſhipped himſelf with ſome other Families for *New England*, where he began the Settlement of *New Haven* in the Year 1637. He was a good Scholar, and an admired Preacher, but underwent great Hardſhips in the infant Colony, with whom he continued till about the Year 1670. when he died.

The

The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Fellow of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, and Lecturer of *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*, after four Years Exerciſe of his Miniſtry was obliged to lay it down for Non-Conformity, though Forty ſeven conformable Miniſters in the Neighbourhood ſubſcribed a Petition to the Biſhop [*Laud*] in which they declare, that Mr. *Hooker was for Doctrine Orthodox, for Life and Converſation honeſt, for Diſpoſition peaceable, and in no wiſe turbulent or factious.* Notwithſtanding which he was ſilenced by the Spiritual Court, 1630. and bound in a Recognizance of fifty Pounds to appear before the High Commiſſion; but by the Advice of his Friends he forfeited his Recognizance and fled to *Holland*; here he continued about two Years Fellow-Labourer with old Mr. *Forbes*, a *Scots* Man at *Delf*, from whence he was called to aſſiſt Dr. *Ames* at *Rotterdam*, but upon his Death he returned to *England*, and being purſued by the Biſhop's Officers from Place to Place, he embarked this Summer for *New England*, and ſettled with his Friends upon the Banks of *Connecticut River*, where he died in the Year 1647. He was an awakening Preacher, and a conſiderable practical Writer, as appears by his Books of *Preparation for Chriſt*, *Contrition*, *Humiliation*, &c.

King Charles I. 1633. *And Mr.* Hooker. Mather's *Hiſt.* N. E. B. III. p. 60.

The Reverend and Learned Dr. *William Ames*, educated at *Cambridge*, under the famous Mr. *Perkins*, fled from the Perſecution of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, and became Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at the *Hague*, from whence he was invited by the States of *Frieſland* to the Divinity Chair in the Univerſity of *Franeker*, which he filled with univerſal Reputation for twelve Years. He was in the Synod of *Dort*, and informed King *James*'s Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, from Time to Time, of the Debates of that venerable Aſſembly. He writ ſeveral Treatiſes in *Latin*, againſt the *Arminians*, which for their Conciſeneſs and Perſpicuity, were not equalled by any of his Time. His other Works are, *Manuductio Logica*, *Medulla Theologiæ*, *Caſes*

Dr. Ames's *Death and Character.*

King Charles I. 1634.

Caſes of Conſcience, *Analyſis on the Book of Pſalms*, *Notes on the firſt and ſecond Epiſtles of* Peter, *and upon the Catechiſtical Heads*. After twelve Years Dr. *Ames* reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an Invitation to the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Rotterdam*, the Air of *Franeker* being too ſharp for him, who was troubled with ſuch a Difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every Winter would be his laſt; beſides, he had a Deſire to be employed in the delightful Work of Preaching to his own Countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many Years. Upon his Removal to *Rotterdam* he writ his *freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*; but his Conſtitution was ſo ſhatter'd, that the Air of *Holland* did him no Service; upon which he determin'd to remove to *New England*, but his *Aſthma* returning at the beginning of the Winter put an End to his Life at *Rotterdam*, where he was buried, *Nov.* 14. N. S. 1633. Next Spring his Wife and Children embarked for *New England*, and carried with them his valuable Library of Books, which was a rich Treaſure to the Country at that Time. The Doctor was a very learned Divine, a ſtrict Calviniſt in Doctrine, and of the Perſuaſion of the *Independants*, with regard to the Subordination and Power of Claſſes and Synods.

1634. *Thirty nine Articles received in* Ireland.

Archbiſhop *Laud* being now Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, and having a new Deputy [*Wentworth*] diſpoſed to ſerve the Purpoſes of the Prerogative, turned his Thoughts againſt the Calviniſts of that Kingdom, reſolving to bring the Church of *Ireland* to adopt the Articles of the Church of *England*. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and ſome of his Brethren, being informed of the Deſign, moved in Convocation, that their own Articles ratified by King *James* in the Year 1615. might be confirmed, but the Motion was ſet aſide, becauſe it was ſaid, they were already fortified with all the Authority the Church could give them; and that a further Confirmation would imply a Defect. It was then moved on the other ſide, that for ſilencing

ſilencing the Popiſh Objections of a Diſagreement among Proteſtants, a Canon ſhould be paſſed for approving the Articles of the Church of *England*, which was done with but one diſſenting Voice; one Calviniſt (ſays Mr. *Collyer*) having look'd deeper into the Matter than the reſt. *King* Charles I. 1634.

The *Canon* was in theſe Words; "For the Manifeſtation of our Agreement with the Church of "*England*, in the Confeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian "Faith and Doctrine of the Sacrament, we do re- "ceive and approve the Book of Articles of Reli- "gion, agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, "*&c.* in the Year 1562. for the avoiding Diverſity "of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching "true Religion; and therefore if any hereafter ſhall "affirm, that any of theſe Articles are in any part "ſuperſtitious or erroneous, or ſuch as he may not "with a good Conſcience ſubſcribe unto, let him be "excommunicated." Bib. Reg. Sect. 13. N° XIII.

The *Iriſh* Biſhops thought they had loſt nothing by this Canon, becauſe *they had ſaved their own Articles*, but *Laud* took Advantage of it during the Time of his Chancellorſhip; for hereby the Church of *Ireland* denounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all that affirmed any of the Thirty nine Articles to be ſuperſtitious or erroneous, that is, againſt the whole Body of the Puritans; and *Fuller* adds, That their own Articles, which condemned Arminianiſm, and maintained the Morality of the Sabbath, were utterly excluded. *Remarks.* B. XI. p. 149.

This Summer the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Sheppard*, M. A. fled to *New England*. He had been Lecturer at *Earl's Coln*, in *Eſſex*, ſeveral Years, but when *Laud* became Biſhop of *London* his Lecture was put down, and himſelf ſilenced; he then retired into the Family of a private Gentleman, but the Biſhop's Officers following him thither, he travelled into *Yorkſhire*, where *Neile* Biſhop of the Dioceſe commanded him to ſubſcribe or depart the Country; upon *Mr.* Sheppard *removes to* New England.

King Charles I. 1634. on this he went to *Heddon* in *Northumberland*, where his Labours were proſpered to the Converſion of ſome Souls; but the Biſhop of *Durham*, by the Direction of Archbiſhop *Laud*, forbid his preaching in any part of his Dioceſe, which obliged him to take ſhipping at *Yarmouth* for *New England*; here he continued Paſtor of the Church at *Cambridge* till his Death, which happen'd *Aug.* 25. 1649. in the Forty fourth Year of his Age. He was a hard Student, an exemplary Chriſtian, and an eminent Practical Writer, as appears by his *Sincere Convert*, and other Practical Works that go under his Name.

And Mr. Norton. The Reverend Mr. *John Norton* went over in the ſame Ship with Mr. *Sheppard*, being driven out of *Hertfordſhire* by the Severity of the Times. He ſettled at *Ipſwich* in *New England*, and was afterwards removed to *Boſton*, where he died in the Year 1665. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he was a Divine of no leſs Learning than Modeſty, as appears ſufficiently by his numerous Writings.

French and Dutch Churches obliged to Conformity His *Grace* of *Canterbury* having made ſome powerful Efforts to bring the Churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to an Uniformity with *England*, reſolved in his Metropolitical Viſitation this Summer to reduce the *Dutch* and *French Churches* (which were Ten in Number, having between five and ſix Thouſand Communicants) to the ſame Conformity; for this Purpoſe he tender'd them theſe three Articles of Enquiry.

1. "Whether, do you uſe the *Dutch* or *French* "Liturgy?

2. "Of how many Deſcents are you ſince you "came into *England?*

3. "Do ſuch as are born here in *England* conform "to the *Engliſh* Ceremonies?"

The Miniſters and Elders demurred upon the Queſtions, and inſiſted upon their Charter of Privileges granted by King *Edward* VI. and confirmed no leſs than five Times in the Reign of King *James*, and twice by King *Charles* himſelf, by virtue of which they

they had been exempt from all Archiepiſcopal and Epiſcopal Juriſdiction till this Time; but *Laud*, without any regard to their Charter, ſent them the two following Injunctions by his Vicar-General. *King* Charles I. 1634.

1. "That all that were born in *England* of the "*Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations, ſhould repair "to their Pariſh Churches. Laud's *Injunctions to them.*

2. "That thoſe who were not Natives, but came "from abroad, while they remained Strangers, "might uſe their own Diſcipline, as formerly."

In this Emergency the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches petition'd for a Toleration, and ſhewed the Inconveniencies that would ariſe from the Archbiſhop's Injunctions; as, that if all their Children born in *England* were taken from their Communion their Churches muſt break up and return home, for as they came into *England* for the Liberty of their Conſciences, they would not continue after it was taken from them. They deſired therefore it might be conſidered, what Damages would ariſe to the Kingdom by driving away the Foreigners with their Manufactures, and diſcouraging others from ſettling in their room. The Mayor and Corporation of *Canterbury* aſſured his *Grace*, that above twelve Hundred of their Poor were maintained by the Foreigners, and others interceded with the King in their Favour; but his Majeſty anſwered, *We muſt believe our Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, who uſed their Deputies very roughly, calling them a Neſt of Schiſmaticks, and telling them, it were better to have no foreign Churches than to indulge their Non-Conformity. In concluſion he aſſured them by a Letter dated *Aug.* 19. 1635. that his Majeſty was reſolved his Injunctions ſhould be obſerved, *viz. That all their Children of the ſecond Deſcent born in* England *ſhould reſort to their Pariſh Churches*, and (ſays his *Grace*) I do expect all Obedience and Conformity from you, and if you refuſe, I ſhall proceed againſt the Natives according to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical. Accordingly ſome of *They are broken up.* Ruſhw. p. 249.

King Charles I. 1634.

of their Churches were interdicted, others ſhut up, and the Aſſemblies diſſolved; their Miniſters were ſuſpended, many of their People left the Kingdom, eſpecially in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, where Biſhop *Wren* drove away three Thouſand Manufacturers in Wool, Cloth, *&c.* ſome of whom employed a Hundred poor People at work; to the unſpeakable Damage of the Kingdom.

Foreign Proteſtant Churches diſowned.

As a farther Mark of Diſregard to the foreign Proteſtants, the King's Ambaſſador in *France* was forbid to frequent their Religious Aſſemblies. "It "had been cuſtomary (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) for the "Ambaſſadors employed in any Parts where the "Reformed Religion was exerciſed, to frequent "their Churches, and to hold Correſpondence with "the moſt powerful Perſons of that Religion, parti- "cularly the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Paris* conſtant- "ly frequented the Church at *Charenton*; but the "contrary to this was now practiſed, and ſome Ad- "vertiſements, if not Inſtructions, given to the Am- "baſſador, to forbear any Commerce with the Men "of that Religion. Lord *Scudamore*, who was the "laſt Ambaſſador before the beginning of the "Long Parliament, inſtead of going to *Charenton*, "furniſhed his Chapel after the new Faſhion, with "Candles upon the Altar, *&c.* and took Care to "publiſh upon all Occaſions, that the *Church of* "England *look'd not on the Hugonots as a Part of their* "*Communion*; which was likewiſe induſtriouſly diſ- "courſed at home. This made a great many fo- "reign Proteſtants leave the Kingdom, and tran- "ſport themſelves into foreign Parts." The Church of *England* by this means loſt the Eſteem of the Reformed Churches abroad, who could hardly pity her, when a few Years after ſhe ſunk down into the deepeſt Diſtreſs.

Brief for the Palatine *Miniſters.*

To give another Inſtance of the Archbiſhop's Diſaffection to the foreign Proteſtants, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the King's Siſter, ſolicited the King in the moſt

moſt preſſing Manner, to admit of a publick Collection over *England* for the poor perſecuted Miniſters of the *Palatinate*, who were baniſhed their Country for their Religion. Accordingly the King granted them a *Brief* to go through the Kingdom; but when it was brought to the Archbiſhop he excepted againſt the following Clauſe; — *Whoſe Caſes are the more to be deplored, becauſe this Extremity is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Conſtancy* IN THE TRUE RELIGION, WHICH WE TOGETHER WITH THEM PROFESSED, *and which we are all bound in Conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt of our Powers. Whereas theſe religious and godly Perſons being involved among others their Countrymen, might have enjoyed their Eſtates and Fortunes, if with other Backſliders in the Times of Trial, they would have ſubmitted themſelves to the* ANTICHRISTIAN YOKE, *and have renounced or diſſembled the Profeſſion of their Religion.* His *Grace* had two Exceptions to this Paſſage. 1. The Religion of the *Palatine* Churches is affirmed to be the ſame with ours, which he denied, becauſe they were Calviniſts, and becauſe their Miniſters had not Epiſcopal Ordination. 2. He objected to the Church of *Rome*'s being called an *Antichriſtian Yoke*, becauſe it would then follow, that ſhe was in no Capacity to convey ſacerdotal Power in Ordinations, and conſequently the Benefit of the Prieſthood, and the Force of Holy Miniſtrations would be loſt in the *Engliſh* Church, for as much as ſhe has no Orders but what ſhe derives from the Church of *Rome*. *Laud* having acquainted the King with his Exceptions, they were expunged in another Draught. But the Collection not ſucceeding in this Way, Dr. *Sibbes*, *Gouge*, and other Divines of the Puritan Party, ſigned a private recommendatory Letter, deſiring their Friends to enlarge their Charity, *as to Men of the ſame Faith and Profeſſion with themſelves*, and promiſing to ſee to the right Diſtribution of the Money; but as ſoon as *Laud* heard of it he cited the Divines before the

King Charles I. 1634.

Cyp. Angl. Collyer, p. 765.

Laud's Exceptions to it.

King Charles I. 1634.

the High Commiſſion, and put a Stop to the Collection.

This Year put an End to the Life of the Reverend Mr. *Hugh Clarke*, born at *Burton* upon *Trent*, 1563. and educated partly at *Cambridge*, and partly at *Oxford*. He was firſt Miniſter of *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, and then of *Woolſton* in *Warwickſhire*, from whence he was ſuſpended, and afterwards excommunicated, for expounding upon the Catechiſm. At length he was indicted for High Treaſon, becauſe he had prayed, *That God would forgive the Queen* [Elizabeth] *her Sins*, but was acquitted. He was an awakening Preacher, of a warm Spirit, and a robuſt Body, which he wore out with Preaching twice every Lord's Day, and frequently on the Week Days. His Miniſtry met with great Succeſs, even to his Death, which happen'd *Nov.* 6th. 1634. in the Seventy ſecond Year of his Age.

Mr. Hugh Clarke's *Death and Character.*

About the ſame Time died the Reverend and pious Mr. *John Carter*, a Man that feared God from his Youth, and was always employed in Acts of Devotion and Charity. He was born in *Kent*, 1554. and educated in *Clare Hall*, *Cambridge*. He was firſt Miniſter of *Bramford* in *Suffolk* for Thirty four Years, and then Rector of *Belſtead* in the ſame County. He was often in Trouble for his Non-Conformity, but made a ſhift, by the Aſſiſtance of Friends, to maintain his Liberty without any ſinful Compliance. He was mighty in Prayer, frequent and fervent in Preaching, and a reſolute Champion againſt Popery, Arminianiſm, and the new Ceremonies. He lived to a good old Age, and died ſuddenly, as he was laying down to ſleep, in the Eightieth Year of his Age, greatly lamented by all that had a Taſte of practical Religion and undiſſembled Piety. His Funeral Sermon was preached before a vaſt Concourſe of People, from thoſe Words, *My Father, my Father, the Chariots of* Iſrael, *and the Horſemen thereof!*

And Mr. John Carter's.

Con-

Conformity to the new Ceremonies and the King's Injunctions, was now preſſed with the utmoſt Rigor. The Reverend Mr. *Crooke*, of *Brazen Noſe College*, and Mr. *Hobbes* of *Trinity College*, *Oxford*, were enjoined a publick Recantation, for reflecting upon the *Arminians*. *King* Charles I. 1635. *Sufferers for Non-Conformity.*

Mr. *Samuel Ward*, of *Ipſwich*, having preached againſt the Book of Sports, and bowing at the Name of Jeſus, added, That *the Church of* England *was ready to ring Changes in Religion*; *and, that the Goſpel ſtood a Tip-toe, ready to be gone to* America. For which he was ſuſpended, and enjoined a publick Recantation. Another underwent the ſame Cenſure, for ſaying, *It was ſuſpicious that the Night was approaching, becauſe the Shadows were ſo much longer than the Body, and Ceremonies more in Force than the Power of Godlineſs.* Ruſhw. p. 283. Prynne, p. 261.

The Reverend Mr. *Chauncey*, late Miniſter of *Ware*, but now of *Marſton Lawrence*, in the Dioceſe of *Peterborough*, was impriſoned, condemned in Coſts of Suit, and obliged to read the following Recantation, for oppoſing the Railing in the Communion Table.

" WHereas I *Charles Chauncey*, Clerk, late Vicar of *Ware*, ſtand convicted for oppoſing " the Setting up a Rail about the Communion Table, " and for ſaying, it was an Innovation, a Snare to " Men's Conſciences, a Breach of the ſecond Com- " mandment, an Addition to God's Worſhip, and " that which drove me from the Place; I do now, " before this honourable Court, acknowledge my " great Offence, and proteſt, I am ready to declare " upon Oath, that I am now perſuaded in my Con- " ſcience, that kneeling at the Communion is a law- " ful and commendable Geſture; that the Rail is a " decent and convenient Ornament, and that I was " much to blame for oppoſing it; and do promiſe " from henceforth, never by Word or Deed, to op- *Mr.* Chauncey's *Recantation.* Prynne, p. 95, 97, 100. Ruſhw. p. 301, 316.

King Charles I. 1635.

"poſe that, or any other laudable Rites and Ceremonies uſed in the Church of *England*."

After this he was judicially admoniſhed, and diſcharged; but the Recantation went ſo much againſt his Conſcience, that he could enjoy no Peace till he had quitted the Church of *England*, and retired to *New England*, where he made an open Acknowledgment of his Sin.

Sufferings of the Church-Wardens of Beckington.

The Church-Wardens of *Beckington* in *Somerſetſhire* were excommunicated by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for refuſing to remove the Communion Table from the Middle of the Chancel to the Eaſt End, and not pulling down the Seats to make room for it. They produced a Certificate, that their Communion Table had ſtood Time out of Mind in the midſt of the Chancel; that the Ground on which it was placed, was raiſed a Foot, and encloſed with a decent Wainſcoat Border, and that none went within it but the Miniſter, and ſuch as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the *Arches*, and at laſt to the King; but their Appeal was rejected. After they had remained excommunicate for a Year, they were caſt into the common Jail, where they continued till the Year 1637. and were then obliged to do publick Penance in the Pariſh Church of *Beckington*, and two others, the Shame of which broke their Hearts; one of them declaring upon his Death-bed ſoon after, that the Penance and Submiſſion, ſo much againſt his Conſcience, had ſunk his Spirits, and was one principal Cauſe of his Death.

Ruſhw. p. 300.

Laud's Account of his metropolitical Viſitation. Prynne, p. 381.

In the Archbiſhop's metropolitical Viſitation this Summer, Mr. *Lee*, one of the Prebendaries of *Lichfield*, was ſuſpended, for churching refractory Women in private, for being averſe to the good Orders of the Church, and for ordering the Bell-man to give Notice in open Market of a Sermon. Mr. *Randal* of *Tuddington* near *Hampton-Court*, *Middleſex*, was ſuſpended for preaching a Sermon above an Hour long

long on *Sunday* in the Afternoon, though it was a farewel Sermon to the Exerciſe of Catechizing. His *Grace*'s Account of his Dioceſe this Year, gives a farther Relation of the Sufferings of the Puritans: He acquaints his Majeſty, that the *French* and *Dutch* Churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his Injunctions.——That in the Dioceſe of *London*, Dr. *Houghton*, Rector of *Aldermanbury*, Mr. *Simpſon*, Curate and Lecturer of St. *Margaret Fiſh-ſtreet*, Mr. *John Goodwin*, Vicar of *Coleman-ſtreet*, and Mr. *Viner* of St. *Lawrence Old-Jewry*, had been convened for Breach of Canons, and had ſubmitted; to whom his *Grace* might have added Dr. *Sibbes*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *White* of *Dorcheſter*, and about twenty more; ſome of whom fled into *Holland*, and others retired into *New England*.——The Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* certified, that he had not one ſingle Lecture in any Corporation Town, and that all Afternoon Sermons were turned into Catechizings in all Pariſhes.——In the Dioceſe of *Norwich* were many Puritans, but that Mr. *Ward* of *Yarmouth* was in the High Commiſſion.——From the Dioceſe of *Llandaff*, Mr. *Wroth* and Mr. *Earbury*, two noted Schiſmaticks, were brought before the High Commiſſion.——And that in the Dioceſe of *Glouceſter* were ſeveral popular and factious Miniſters.

King Charles I. 1635. Collyer, p. 765.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the Zeal of the Puritans was not always well regulated; nor were their Miniſters ſo much on their Guard in the Pulpit, or Converſation, as they ought; conſidering the Number of *Informers* that enter'd all their Churches, that inſinuated themſelves into all publick Converſation, and, like ſo many Locuſts, covered the Land. Theſe were ſo numerous and corrupt, that the King was obliged to bring them under certain Regulations; for no Man was ſafe in publick Company, nor even in converſing with his Friends and Neighbours. Many broke up Houſe-keeping, that they might breathe in a freer Air; which the Council being in-

Indiſcreet Zeal of the Puritans. Rapin, p. 204.

King Charles I. 1635.

formed of, a Proclamation was publiſhed, [*July* 21.] forbidding all Perſons, except Soldiers, Mariners, Merchants, and their Factors, to depart the Kingdom without his Majeſty's Licenſe.

Mr. Bulkley *removed to* New England.

But notwithſtanding this Prohibition, many got over to *New England* this Summer; and among others the Rev. Mr. *Peter Bulkley*, B. D. and Fellow of St. *John*'s College, *Cambridge*. He was Son of Dr. *Edward Bulkley* of *Bedfordſhire*, and ſucceeded him at *Woodhil* or *Odel* in that County. Here he continued above twenty Years, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* conniving at his Non-conformity: But when Dr. *Laud* was at the Helm of the Church, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in Diſgrace, *Bulkley* was ſilenced by the Vicar-General, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*; upon which he ſold a very plentiful Eſtate, and tranſported himſelf and his Effects to *New England*, where he died in the Year 1658-9. and the ſeventy ſeventh of his Age. He was a thundering Preacher, and a judicious Divine, as appears by his Treatiſe *of the Covenant*, which paſt through ſeveral Editions, and was one of the firſt Books publiſhed in that Country.

And Mr. Richard Mather.

Mr. *Richard Mather*, educated in *Brazen Noſe* College, *Oxon*, and Miniſter of *Toxteth* near *Liverpool* for about fifteen Years, a diligent and ſucceſsful Preacher, was ſuſpended for Non-conformity in the Year 1633. but by the Interceſſion of Friends, after ſix Months, he was reſtored. Next Summer the Archbiſhop of *York* ſending his Viſitors into *Lancaſhire*, this good Man was again ſuſpended by Dr. *Coſins*, upon an Information that he had not worn the Surplice for fifteen Years. After this, no Interceſſions could obtain the Liberty of his Miniſtry; upon which he took Shipping at *Briſtol*, and arrived at *Boſton* in *New England*, *Aug.* 17, 1635. He ſettled at *Dorcheſter*, and continued with his People, a plain and profitable Preacher to the Year 1669. when he died. This was the Grandfather of the famous Dr. *Cotton Mather*.

In

In *Scotland* the Fire was kindling apace, which in three Years Time ſet both Kingdoms in a Flame. The reſtoring Epiſcopacy by the violent Methods already mentioned, did not ſet eaſy upon the People; the new *Scots* Biſhops were of Biſhop *Laud*'s Principles; they ſpoke favourably of Popery in their Sermons, and caſt ſome invidious Reflections on the *Reformers*: They declared openly for the Doctrines of *Arminius*; for Sports on the Sabbath; and, for the *Liturgy of the* Engliſh *Church*; which was imagined to be little better than the Maſs. This loſt them their Eſteem with the People, who had been trained up in the Doctrines and Diſcipline of *Calvin*, and in the ſtrict Obſervation of the Lord's Day. But the King to ſupport them, cheriſhed them with Expreſſions of the greateſt Reſpect and Confidence; he made eleven of them Privy Counſellors; the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* was Lord Chancellor, and the Biſhop of *Roſs* was in Nomination to be Lord High Treaſurer; divers of them were of the *Exchequer*, and had engroſſed the beſt Preferments in the Kingdom, which made them the Envy of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation. The Biſhops were ſo ſenſible of this, that they adviſed the King not to truſt the intended Alterations in Religion to Parliaments or General Aſſemblies, but to introduce them by his Regal Authority.

King Charles I. 1635.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's *Memoirs of* D. Hamilton.

When the King was laſt in *Scotland* it was taken Notice of as a great Blemiſh in the Kirk, that it had no *Liturgy* nor *Book of Canons*; to ſupply this Defect the King gave Order to the new Biſhops, to prepare Draughts of both, and remit them to *London*, to be reviſed by the Biſhops *Laud*, *Juxon*, and *Wren*. The Book of Canons being firſt finiſhed, was preſented to the King, and by him delivered to *Laud* and *Juxon* to examine, alter and reform at Pleaſure, and to bring it as near as poſſible to a Conformity with the *Engliſh* Canons. The Biſhops having executed their Commiſſion, and prepared

Book of Canons for Scotland.

King Charles I. 1635.

it for the Preſs, the King confirmed it under the Great Seal by Letters Patents, dated at *Greenwich*, *May* 23d. 1635. The Inſtrument ſets forth, "That "his Majeſty, by his Royal and Supreme Authority "in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, ratifies and confirms the ſaid "Canons, Orders and Conſtitutions, and all and every "Thing in them contained, and ſtrictly commands "all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others exerciſing "Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to ſee them punctually "obſerved."

To give the Reader a Specimen of theſe Canons, which were ſubverſive of the whole *Scots* Conſtitution both in Kirk and State;

1. "The firſt Canon excommunicates all thoſe "who affirm, the Power and Prerogative of the "King not to be equal with the *Jewiſh* Kings, that "is, *abſolute and unlimited.*

2. "The ſecond excommunicates thoſe who ſhall "affirm, the Worſhip contained in the Book of "Common Prayer, [which was not yet publiſhed] "or the Government of the Kirk, by Archbiſhops, "Biſhops, *&c.* to be corrupt, ſuperſtitious, or un-"lawful.

3. "The third reſtrains Ordinations to the *qua-"tuor tempora*; that is, the firſt Weeks of *March*, "*June*, *September* and *December*.

5. "The fifth obliges all Preſbyters to read, or "cauſe to be read, Divine Service, according to the "Form of the Book of the *Scottiſh* Common Prayer, "and to conform to all the Offices, Parts, and Ru-"bricks of it [though not yet publiſhed.]

The Book decrees further, "That no Aſſembly "of the Clergy ſhall be called but by the King.

"That none ſhall receive the Sacrament but upon "their Knees.

"That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon dying without "Children, ſhall give part of his Eſtate to the "Church.

"That

" That the Clergy ſhall have no private Meetings " for expounding Scripture. *King* Charles I. 1635.

" That no Clergyman ſhall conceive Prayer, but " pray only by the printed Form, to be preſcribed " in the Book of Common Prayer.

" That no Man ſhall teach School without a Li- " cenſe from the Biſhop; nor no Cenſures of the " Church be pronounced but by the Approbation of " the Biſhop.

" That no Preſbyter ſhall reveal any Thing in " Confeſſion, except his own Life ſhould by the " Concealment be forfeited."

After ſundry other Canons of this Nature, as appointing *Fonts* for Baptiſm, *Church Ornaments*, *Communion Tables*, or *Altars*, &c. the Book decrees, That no Perſon ſhall be admitted to Holy Orders, or to preach or adminiſter the Sacraments, without firſt ſubſcribing the forementioned Canons.

This Book was no ſooner publiſhed, but the *Scots* Preſbyters declared peremptorily againſt it; their Objections were of two Sorts; they diſlik'd the *Matter* of the Canons, as inconſiſtent with their Kirk Government, and ſeverer in ſome Particulars than thoſe of the Church of *England*. They proteſted alſo againſt the *Manner* of impoſing them, without Conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly. It was thought intolerable Vaſſalage by a People, that had aſſerted the Independent Power of the Church to convene Aſſemblies of the Clergy; and had maintained that their Decrees were binding, without the Confirmation of the Crown, to have the King, and a few foreign Biſhops, dictate *Canons* to them, without ſo much as aſking their Advice and Conſent. Such an high Diſplay of the *Supremacy* could not but be highly reſented by a Church, that had never yielded it to the King in the Senſe it was claimed in *England*. Beſides, it was very prepoſterous to publiſh the Book

Remarks. Collyer's *Eccl. Hiſt.* P. 764.

King Charles I. 1635.

of Canons before the Book of Common Prayer, and to require Submiſſion and Subſcription to Things that had no Being; for who could foretel what might be inſerted in the Common Prayer Book? Or what kind of Service might be impoſed upon the Kirk? This looked too much like pinning the Faith of a whole Nation on the *Lawn* Sleeves.

Death and Character of Dr. Sibbes.

To return to *England*; towards the End of this Year it pleaſed God to remove out of this World the Reverend Dr. *Richard Sibbes*, one of the moſt celebrated Preachers of his Time. He was born at *Sudbury*, 1579. and educated in St. *John*'s *College*, *Cambridge*, where he went through all the Degrees. Having enter'd into the Miniſtry, he was firſt choſen Lecturer of *Trinity* Church in *Cambridge*, where his Miniſtry was very ſucceſsful, to the Converſion and Reformation of his Hearers. About the Year 1618. he was appointed Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Gray*'s *Inn*, *London*, where he became ſo famous, that beſides the Lawyers of the Houſe, many of the Nobility and Gentry frequented his Sermons. In the Year 1625. he was choſen Maſter of *Katharine Hall* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, the Government of which he made a ſhift to continue to his Death, though he was turned out of his Fellowſhip and Lecture in the Univerſity for Non-Conformity, and often cited before the High Commiſſion. He was a Divine of good Learning, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, a burning and ſhining Light, and of a moſt humble, charitable Diſpoſition; but all theſe Talents could not ſkreen him from the Fury of the Times. His Works diſcover him to have been of an heavenly, evangelical Spirit, the Comforts of which he enjoyed at his Death, which happen'd the latter end of this Summer, in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age.

The Abp. promotes the Buſineſs of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

To aggrandize the Church yet further, the Archbiſhop reſolved to bring part of the Buſineſs of *Weſtminſter Hall* into the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The *Civilians*

vilians had boldly and unwarrantably oppoſed, and proteſted againſt *Prohibitions*, and other Proceedings at Law, on the Behalf of their *Spiritual Courts*, and had procured ſome Privileges and Orders from the King on the Behalf of the Civil Law, even with an Excluſion of the other, which made the Gentlemen of that Faculty Enemies to the Biſhops Courts. But the Archbiſhop now went a Step further, and prevailed with the King to direct, that half the *Maſters in Chancery* ſhould be always Civil Lawyers; and to declare, that no others, of what Condition ſoever, ſhould ſerve him as *Maſters of Requeſt:* Theſe were more akin to the Church than the common Lawyers, their Places being in the Biſhops Diſpoſal (as *Chancellors*, *Commiſſaries*, &c.) and therefore it was ſuppoſed their Perſons would be ſo to; but this was falſe Policy (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) becauſe it diſguſted a whole learned Profeſſion, who were more capable of diſſerving the Church in their Eſtates, Inheritances and Stewardſhips, than the Church could hurt them in their Practice. Beſides, it was wrong in it ſelf, for I have never yet ſpoken with one Clergyman (ſays his Lordſhip) who hath had Experience of both Litigations, that has not ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had rather, in reſpect of his Trouble, Charge, and Satisfaction to his Underſtanding, have three Suits depending in *Weſtminſter Hall*, than one in the *Arches*, or any Eccleſiaſtical Court.

King Charles I. 1635.

Claren. Vol. II. p. 305.

As a farther Step towards the Sovereign Power of the Church, *his Grace* prevailed with the King to allow the Biſhops to hold their Eccleſiaſtical Courts in their own Names, and by their own Seals, without the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal; the Judges having given it as their Opinion, that a Patent under the Great Seal was not neceſſary for Examinations, Suſpenſions, and other Church Cenſures. This was undoubtedly contrary to Law, for by the Statute 1 *Edw.* VI. *cap.* 2. it is declared, "That all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction is immediately "from

And holds them in his own Name contrary to Law. Ruſhw. P. 450.

King Charles I. 1636.

" from the Crown; and that all Perſons exerciſing " ſuch Juriſdiction ſhall have in their Seals the *King's* " *Arms*, and ſhall uſe no other Seal of Juriſdiction " on Pain of Impriſonment." This Statute was repealed 1 *Mariæ*, *cap.* 2. but was again revived by 1 *Jacobi*, *cap.* 25. as has been obſerved. Hereupon in the Parliaments of the 3d and 7th of King *James* I. the Biſhops were proceeded againſt, and two of them in a manner attainted in a *Præmunire* by the Houſe of Commons, for making Citations, and Proceſſes in their own Names, and uſing their own Seals, contrary to this Statute, and to the Common Law, and in Derogation of the Prerogative. So that by this Grant the King diſpenſed with the Laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted Rights of his Crown; and the Biſhops were brought under a *Præmunire*, for exerciſing Spiritual Juriſdiction without any ſpecial Commiſſion, Patent, or Grant, from, by, or under, his Majeſty, whereas all Juriſdiction of this kind ought to be exerciſed in the King's Name, Right and Authority only, ſignified by Letters Patents under his Majeſty's Seal.

Uſurp. Prel. p. 92, 115.

New Statutes for Oxford.

The Archbiſhop was no leſs intent upon enlarging his own Juriſdiction, claiming a Right to viſit the two Univerſities, *Jure Metropolitico*, which being referr'd to the King and Council, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give Judgment againſt himſelf. As Chancellor of *Oxford* his *Grace* cauſed a new Body of Statutes to be drawn up for that Univerſity, with a Preface, in which are ſome ſevere Reflections on good King *Edward* and his Government; it ſays, That *the Diſcipline of the Univerſity was diſcompoſed, and troubled by that King's Injunctions, and the flattering Novelty of the Age.* It then commends the Reign of his Siſter the bloody Queen *Mary*, and ſays, *That the Diſcipline of the Church revived and flouriſhed again in her Days, under Cardinal* Pool, *when by the much deſired Felicity of thoſe Times an inbred Candor ſupplied the Defect of Statutes.* Was this ſpoken like a Proteſtant Prelate,

whoſe Predeceſſors in the Sees of *London* and *Canterbury* were burnt at *Oxford* by Queen *Mary*, in a moſt barbarous Manner! Or rather like one, who was aiming at the Return of thoſe *happy Times!* *King* Charles I. 1636.

The laſt, and moſt extravagant Stretch of Epiſcopal Power that I ſhall mention, was, *the Biſhops framing new Articles of Viſitation in their own Names, without the King's Seal and Authority; and adminiſtring an Oath of Inquiry to the Church-Wardens concerning them.* This was an Outrage upon the Laws, contrary to the Act of Submiſſion, 25 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 25. and even to the twelfth Canon of 1603. which ſays, "That whoſoever ſhall affirm it lawful, for *any ſort* "*of Miniſters*, or Lay-Perſons, to aſſemble together "and make Rules, Orders, and Conſtitutions, in "Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, *without the King's Authority*, "and ſhall ſubmit themſelves to be ruled and go-"vern'd by them, let him be excommunicated." Which includes both the *Framers of the Orders* as well as thoſe that act by them. The adminiſtring an Oath to Church-Wardens, without a Royal Commiſſion, had no Foundation in Law; for by the Common Law, no Eccleſiaſtical Judge can adminiſter an Oath (except in caſes of Matrimony and Teſtaments) without Letters Patents, or a ſpecial Commiſſion under his Majeſty's Seal. It was alſo declared contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Land by Sir *Edward Coke* and the reſt of the Judges, *tertio Jacobi*, in the Caſe of Mr. *Wharton*, who being Church-Warden of *Black Friars*, *London*, was excommunicated and impriſoned on a *Capias excommunicatum*, for refuſing to take an Oath, to preſent upon *Viſitation Articles*; but bringing his *Habeas Corpus*, he was diſcharged by the whole Court, both from his Impriſonment and Excommunication, for this Reaſon, *becauſe the Oath and Articles were againſt the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ſo might and ought to be refuſed.* Upon the whole, the making the *Mitre* thus independent upon the Crown, without a Prohi-

Biſhops Articles of Viſitation illegal. Uſurp. Prel. p. 229, 240.

bition

King Charles I. 1636.

bition from the Courts of *Weſtminſter Hall*, was ſetting up *Imperium in Imperio*, and going a great way towards re-eſtabliſhing one of the heavieſt Grievances of the Papacy; but the Biſhops preſumed upon the Felicity of the Times, and the Indulgence of the Crown, which at another Time might have involved them in a *Præmunire*.

Though the Articles of Viſitation differed in the ſeveral Dioceſes, the Church-Wardens Oath was generally the ſame, (*viz.*)

Church-Wardens Oath.

"YOU ſhall ſwear, that you, and every of "you, ſhall duly conſider, and diligently "enquire of all and every of theſe Articles given "you in Charge; and that, all Affection, Favour, "Hope of Reward and Gain, or Fear of Diſpleaſure, or Malice, ſet aſide, you ſhall preſent all "and every ſuch Perſon that now is, or of late was "within your Pariſh, or hath committed any Offence, or made any Default mentioned in any of "theſe Articles, or which are vehemently ſuſpected, "or defamed of any ſuch Offence or Default, wherein you ſhall deal uprightly and fully, neither preſenting, nor daring to preſent any contrary to "Truth, having in this Action God before your "Eyes, with an earneſt Zeal to maintain Truth, "and to ſuppreſs Vice. So help you God, and the "holy Contents of this Book."

By virtue of this Oath, ſome out of Conſcience thought themſelves obliged to preſent their Miniſters, their Neighbours, and their near Relations, not for Immorality, or neglect of the Worſhip of God, but for omitting ſome *ſuperſtitious Injunction*. Others acted from Revenge, having an Opportunity put into their Hands to ruin their conſcientious Neighbours. Many Church-Wardens refuſed to take the Oath, and were impriſon'd, and forced to do Penance. But to prevent this for the future, it

was

was declared, *That if any Man affirmed, it was not lawful to take the Oath of a Church-Warden; or that it was not lawfully adminiſter'd; or that the Oath did not bind; or that the Church-Wardens need not enquire; or after Inquiry need not anſwer; or might leave out part of their Anſwers*; ſuch Perſons ſhould be preſented and puniſhed. *King* Charles I. 1636. *Viſit. Art.* Chap. VI. Sect. IX.

Several of the Biſhops publiſhed their primary Articles of Viſitation about this Time; as the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Bath* and *Wells*; but the moſt remarkable and curious were Dr. *Wren*'s, Biſhop of *Norwich*, entitled, *Articles to be enquired of within the Dioceſe of* Norwich, *in the firſt Viſitation of* Mathew *Lord Biſhop of* Norwich. The Book contains one Hundred and thirty nine Articles, in which are eight Hundred and ninety ſeven Queſtions, ſome very inſignificant, others highly ſuperſtitious, and ſeveral impoſſible to be anſwered. To give the Reader a Specimen of them: — Have you the Book of Conſtitutions or Canons Eccleſiaſtical, and a Parchment Regiſter Book, Book of Common Prayer, and Book of Homilies? — Is your Communion Table ſo placed within the Chancel as the Canon directs? — Doth your Miniſter read the Canons once every Year? — Doth he pray for the King with his whole Title? — Doth he pray for the Archbiſhops and Biſhops? — Doth he obſerve all the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, preſcribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtring the Sacrament? — Doth he receive the Sacrament kneeling himſelf, and adminiſter to none but ſuch as kneel? — Doth he admit to the Sacrament any notorious Offenders or Schiſmaticks? — Do the Strangers of other Pariſhes come often, or frequently to your Church? — Doth your Miniſter baptize with the Sign of the Croſs? — Is your Miniſter licenſed, and by whom? — Doth he wear the Surplice while he is reading Prayers and adminiſtring the Sacraments? — Doth he catechize and inſtruct the Youth in the Ten Command-

Abſtract of Biſhop Wren's *Articles.* Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 353. Prynne, p. 374. Rapin, p. 270.

King Charles I. 1636.

ments? — Doth he ſolemnize Marriage without the Bans? — Doth he in Rogation-Days uſe the Perambulation round the Pariſh? — Doth he every ſix Months denounce in the Pariſh, [or publickly declare the Names of] all ſuch as perſevere in the Sentence of Excommunication, not ſeeking to be abſolved? — Doth he admit any excommunicate Perſons into the Church without a Certificate of Abſolution? — Is your Miniſter a Favourer of Recuſants? — Is he noted to be an incontinent Perſon; a Frequenter of Taverns, Ale-Houſes; a common Gameſter, or Player at Dice? — Hath your Miniſter read the Book of Sports in his Church or Chapel? — Doth he read the ſecond Service at the Communion Table? — Doth he uſe conceived Prayers before or after Sermon? — With regard to Church-Yards, Are they conſecrated? — Are the Graves dug Eaſt and Weſt, and the Bodies buried with their Heads to the Weſt? — Do your Pariſhioners, at going in and out of the Church, do Reverence towards the Chancel? — Do they kneel at Confeſſion, ſtand up at the Creed, and bow at the glorious Name of Jeſus? *&c.* with divers Articles of the like nature.

Cant. Doom, p. 96.

Miſchief of them.

The Weight of theſe Inquiries fell chiefly upon the Puritans, for within the Compaſs of two Years and four Months, no leſs than fifty able and pious Miniſters were ſuſpended, ſilenced, and otherwiſe cenſured, to the Ruin of their poor Families, for not obeying one or other of theſe Articles; among whom were the Reverend Mr. *John Allen*, Mr. *John Ward*, Mr. *William Powel*, Mr. *John Carter*, Mr. *Aſhe*, Mr. *William Bridges*, Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Hudſon*, *Peck*, *Raymond*, *Green*, *Mott*, *Kent*, *Alken*, *Scott*, *Beard*, *Moth*, *Manning*, *Warren*, *Kirrington*, and others, in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*. In other Dioceſes were Mr. *Jonathan Burre*, Mr. *William Leigh*, Mr. *Mathew Brownrigge*, Mr. *G. Huntley*, *Vicars*, *Proud*, *Workman*,

man, *Crowder*, *Snelling*, &c. ſome of whom ſpent their Days in ſilence; others departed their Country into the Parts beyond Sea; but none were releaſed without a Promiſe to conform to the Biſhops Injunctions *editis & edendis*, i. e. *already publiſhed, or hereafter to be publiſhed.* *King Charles I. 1636.*

Biſhop *Montague*, who ſucceeded *Wren* in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, 1638. imitated his Succeſſor in his Viſitation Articles; for it was now faſhionable for every new Biſhop to frame ſeparate Articles of Inquiry, for the Viſitation of his own Dioceſe. *Montague* pointed his Inquiries againſt the *Puritan Lecturers*, of which he obſerves three Sorts. *Bp. Montague's Articles of Inquiry concerning ſeveral Sorts of Lectures.* Prynne, p. 376.

1. Such as were *ſuperinducted in another Man's Cure*; concerning which he enjoins his Viſitors to inquire, Whether the Lecturer's Sermons in the Afternoons are popular or catechiſtical? Whether he be admitted with Conſent of the Incumbent and Biſhop? Whether he read Prayers in his Surplice and Hood? Of what Length his Sermons are, and upon what Subject? Whether he bids Prayer, according to the Fifty fifth Canon?

2. The ſecond Sort of Lectures are thoſe of *Combination*, when the neighbouring Miniſters agreed to preach by Turns at an adjoining Market-Town on Market-Days; inquire who the Combiners are, and whether they conform as above?

3. A third Sort are *Running Lectures*, when neighbouring Chriſtians agree upon ſuch a Day to meet at a certain Church in ſome County Town or Village, and after Sermon and Dinner to meet at the Houſe of one of their Diſciples, to repeat, cenſure, and explain the Sermon; then to diſcourſe of ſome Points propoſed at a foregoing Meeting by the Moderator of the Aſſembly, derogatory to the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church; and in concluſion to appoint another Place for their next Meeting. If you have any ſuch Lectures preſent them.

Dr.

King Charles I. 1636.

Dr. *Pierſe*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſuppreſſed all Lectures in Market Towns, and elſewhere, throughout his Dioceſe, alledging, *That he ſaw no ſuch need of preaching now, as was in the Apoſtles Days.* He ſuſpended Mr. *Deveniſh*, Miniſter of *Bridgewater*, for preaching a Lecture in his own Church on a Market-Day, which had continued ever ſince the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*; and afterwards, when he abſolved him, upon his Promiſe to preach it no more, he ſaid to him, *Go thy Way, ſin no more, leſt a worſe Thing befal thee.* His Lordſhip put down all Afternoon Sermons on Lord's Days; and ſuſpended Mr. *Corniſh* for preaching a Funeral Sermon on the Evening. And whereas ſome Miniſters uſed to explain the Queſtions and Anſwers in the Catechiſm, and make a ſhort Prayer before and after, the Biſhop reproved them ſharply for it, ſaying, *That was as bad as Preaching*, and charged them to aſk no Queſtions, nor receive any Anſwers but ſuch as were in the Book of Common Prayer: And for not complying with this Injunction, Mr. *Barret*, Rector of *Barwick*, and ſome others, were enjoined publick Penance. The Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and all the new Biſhops, went in the ſame Tract; and ſome of them upon this ſad Principle, *That Afternoon Sermons on Sundays, were an Impediment to the Revels in the Evening.*

Bp. Pierſe *of* Bath *and* Wells, *his Uſage of the Lecturers.* Prynne, p. 377.

The Grandeur of the Church.

The Church was now in the Height of its Splendor, and graſped not only at all Spiritual Juriſdiction, but at the higheſt Preferments of State; for this Year Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, was declared Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, which is the greateſt Office of Benefit in the Kingdom, and next in Precedence to the Archbiſhop. *Juxon*'s Name had hardly been known at Court above two Years, for till then he was no more than a private Chaplain to the King, and Head of a poor College in *Oxford*. Beſides, *no Churchman* had held this Poſt ſince the darkeſt Times of Popery, in the Reign of King *Henry*

Henry the ſeventh; but *Laud* valued himſelf upon this Nomination; *Now* [ſays he, in his Diary] *if the Church will not hold up themſelves, under God, I can do no more.* But when the Staff of Treaſurer was put into the Hands of *Juxon*, Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, "That the Nobility were enflamed, and began to "look upon the Church as a Gulph ready to ſwallow "all the great Offices of State, there being other "Church-Men in view who were ambitious enough "to expect the reſt. The inferior Clergy took "Advantage of this Situation of their Affairs, and "did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality, "or Patrons, with that Civility and good Manners "as they uſed to do, which diſpoſed others to with-"draw their Countenance and good Neighbourhood "from them, eſpecially after they were put into "the Commiſſions of Peace, in moſt Counties of "*England.*" One of the Members of the Houſe of Commons ſaid, "That the Clergy were ſo exalted, "that a Gentleman might not come near the Tail "of their Mules; and that one of them had declared "openly, that he hoped to ſee the Day, when a "Clergyman ſhould be as good a Man as any *Up-"ſtart Jack Gentleman* in the Kingdom." 'Tis certain, the favourable Aſpect of the Court had very much exalted their Behaviour, and their new Notions had made them conceive themſelves an Order of Men above the Rank of the Laity, for as much as they had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven at their Girdle, and upon their prieſtly Character depended the Efficacy of all Goſpel Inſtitutions. This made ſome of them remarkably negligent of their Cures up and down the Country; others loſt the little Learning they had got at the Univerſity, and many became very ſcandalous in their Lives; though Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that there was not one Church-Man in any degree of Favour or Acceptance [at Court] of a ſcandalous Inſufficiency in Learning, or of a more ſcandalous Condition of Life; but on the contrary,

King Charles I. 1636.

Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 77.

King Charles I. 1636.

moſt of them, of confeſſed eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemiſhed Lives.

Sufferings of Mr. Rogers *of* Dedham.

But great Numbers of the moſt uſeful and laborious Preachers in all Parts of the Country were buried in ſilence, and forced to abſcond from the Fury of the High Commiſſion; among whom were the famous Mr. *John Dod*, Mr. *Whately*, Dr. *Harris*, Mr. *Capel*, and Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, one of the moſt awakening Preachers of his Age, of whom Biſhop *Brownrigge* uſed to ſay, That he did more good with his *wild Notes*, than we [the Biſhops] with our *ſet Muſick*. But his great Uſefulneſs could not ſkreen him from thoſe Suſpenſions and Deprivations which were the Portion of the Puritans in theſe Times. His Reſolutions about ſubſcribing I will relate in his own Words: "If I come into Trouble "for Non-Conformity, I reſolve, by God's Aſſiſt-"ance, to come away with a clear Conſcience; for "though the Liberty of my Miniſtry be dear to "me, I dare not buy it at ſuch a Rate. I am trou-"bled at my former Subſcription, but I ſaw Men of "good Gifts, and of good Hearts (as I thought) "go before me; and I could not prove that there "was any Thing *contrary to the Word of God*, though "I diſliked the Ceremonies, and knew them to be "unprofitable Burdens to the Church of God; but "if I am urged again I will never yield; it was my "Weakneſs before, as I now conceive, which I be-"ſeech God to pardon — Written in the Year 1627." But after this the good Man was overtaken again, and yielded, which almoſt broke his Heart; for he adds, "— For this I ſmarted, 1631. If I had read over "this [my former Reſolution] it may be I had not "done what I did." How ſevere are ſuch Trials to a poor Man with a numerous Family of Children! And how ſore the Diſtreſſes of a wounded Conſcience!

Of Mr. Nath. Rogers.

Others continued to leave their Country, according to our bleſſed Saviour's Advice, *Matth.* x. 23. *When they perſecute you in this City, flee ye into another.*

Among

Among theſe were Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, Son of Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, educated in *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*, and ſettled at *Aſſington* in *Suffolk*, where he continued five Years; but ſeeing the Storm that had driven his Neighbours from their Anchor, and being fearful of his own Stedfaſtneſs in the Hour of Temptation, he reſigned his Living into the Hands of his Patron, and forſaking the Neighbourhood of his Father, and all Proſpects of worldly Advantage, caſt himſelf and his young Family upon the Providence of God, and embarked for *New England*, where he arrived about the middle of *November*, 1636. and ſettled with Mr. *Norton* at *Ipſwich*, with whom he continued to his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1655. *King* Charles I. 1637.

About the ſame Time went over Mr. *Lambert Whiteing*, M. A. a *Lincolnſhire* Divine, who continued at *Shirbeck* near *Boſton*, unmoleſted, till Biſhop *Williams*'s Diſgrace, after which he was ſilenced by the Spiritual Courts, and forced into *New England*, where he arrived with his Family this Summer, and continued an uſeful Preacher to a little Flock at *Lynne* till the Year 1679. when he died in the Eighty third Year of his Age. *Of Mr.* Whiteing.

The Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion exceeded all the Bounds not only of Law and Equity, but even of Humanity it ſelf. We have related the Sufferings of Mr. *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, in the Year 1633. Theſe Gentlemen being ſhut up in Priſon, were ſuppoſed to employ their Time in writing againſt the Biſhops and their Spiritual Courts: *Baſtwick* was charged with a Book publiſhed 1636. entitled, *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos*; and with a Pamphlet called *the new Litany*: The others with two anonymous Books, one entitled, *A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's Judgments againſt Sabbath Breakers*; the other, *News from* Ipſwich. Which laſt was a Satire upon the ſevere Proceedings of Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of that Dioceſe. For theſe they were cited a ſecond Time into the Star Chamber, by 1637. *Second Sufferings of Mr.* Prynne, Burton, *and* Baſtwick. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 380.

King Charles I. 1637.

virtue of an Information laid againſt them by the Attorney General, for *writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous Books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the Scandal of the Government.* The Defendants prepared their Anſwers, but could not get Council to ſign them; upon which they petition'd the Court to receive them from themſelves, which would not be admitted: However, *Prynne* and *Baſtwick* having no other Remedy, left their Anſwers at the Office, ſigned with their own Hands, but were nevertheleſs proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*. *Burton* prevailed with Mr. *Holt*, a Bencher of *Gray's Inn*, to ſign his Anſwer; but the Court ordered the two chief Juſtices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into Court, and they ſtruck out the whole Anſwer, except ſix Lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end; and becauſe Mr. *Burton* would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was alſo taken *pro confeſſo*.

In *Baſtwick's* Anſwer the Prelates are called *Invaders of the King's Prerogative, Contemners and Deſpiſers of the Holy Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry and Profaneneſs*; they are charged with *oppreſſing the King's loyal Subjects, and with great Cruelty, Tyranny and Injuſtice.* Mr. *Prynne's* Anſwer reflected upon the Hierarchy, but in more moderate and cautious Terms. All the Defendants offered to maintain their ſeveral Anſwers, at the Peril of their Lives; but the Court finding them not fil'd upon Record, would not receive them The Priſoners at the Bar cried aloud for *Juſtice*, and that their Anſwers might be read; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following Sentence paſt upon them; that Mr. *Burton be deprived of his Living, and degraded from his Miniſtry, as* Prynne and Baſtwick *had been from their Profeſſions of Law and Phyſick; that each of them be fined five Thouſand Pounds; that they ſtand in the Pillory at* Weſtminſter, *and have their Ears cut off; and becauſe Mr.* Prynne *had already loſt his Ears by Sentence*

Their Sentence.

of the Court 1633. *it was ordered, that the Remainder of his Stumps ſhould be cut off, and that he ſhould be ſtigmatized on both Cheeks with the Letters* S. L. *and then all three were to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment in the remoteſt Priſons of the Kingdom.* This Sentence was executed upon them *June* 30th. the Hangman rather ſawing the Remainder of *Prynne*'s Ears than cutting them off; after which they were ſent under a ſtrong Guard, one to the Caſtle of *Launceſton* in *Cornwal*, another to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and a third to *Carnarvan Caſtle* in *Wales*; but theſe Priſons not being thought diſtant enough, they were afterwards ſhut up in the remote Iſlands of *Scilly*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, without Pen, Ink or Paper, or the Acceſs of Friends, where they continued till they were releaſed by the Long Parliament.

King Charles I. 1637.

At paſſing this Sentence Archbiſhop *Laud* made a laboured Speech, to clear himſelf from the Charge of *Innovations*, which the Puritans loaded him with. He begins with retorting the *Crime* upon the Puritans, who were for ſetting aſide the Order of Biſhops, whereas in all Ages ſince the Apoſtles Time the Church had been governed by Biſhops, whoſe Calling and Order (in his Grace's Opinion) was by *Divine Right*, the Office of *Lay Elders* having never been heard of before *Calvin*. He then vindicates the particular Innovations complained of; as, 1. *Bowing towards the Altar, or at coming into the Church.* This, he ſays, was the Practice in *Jewiſh* Times, *Pſalm* xcv. 6. *O come, let us worſhip, and bown down: Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker*; and yet the Government is ſo moderate, that no Man is forced to it, but only religiouſly called upon. "For my own part (ſays "his Grace) I ſhall always think my ſelf bound to "worſhip with my Body as well as Soul, in what "*conſecrated Place* ſoever I come to pray. You, my "honoured Lords of the Garter, do Reverence to-"wards the *Altar*, *as the greateſt Place of God's Re-"ſidence upon Earth*; greater than the *Pulpit*, for

Archbiſhop Laud's *Speech in the* Star Chamber.

King Charles I. 1637.

"there is only the *Word of God*, but upon the Altar "is *his Body*; and a greater Reverence is due to the "*Body* than to the *Word* of the Lord; and this is no "*Innovation*, for you are bound to it by your Or- "der, which is no new Thing."

His *Grace* proceeds to conſider the *Alterations in the Collects and Prayers*, which, he ſays, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to whom the ordering of the *Faſt Book* was committed, had Power under the King to make, provided nothing was inſerted contrary to the Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; he then juſtifies the ſeveral Amendments, and concludes moſt of his Articles with ſhewing, that there is no Connexion between the Charge, and the popular Clamour raiſed againſt him, of an Intent to bring in Popery. But the ſeveral Innovations here mentioned being objected to the Archbiſhop at his Trial, we ſhall defer our Remarks to that Place.

His *Grace* concludes with a Proteſtation, That he had no Deſign to alter the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law; but that his Care to reduce the Church to order, to uphold the external Decency of it, and to ſettle it to the Rules of the firſt Reformation, had brought upon him and his Brethren all that malicious Storm that had lour'd ſo black over their Heads. He then thanks the Court for their juſt and honourable Cenſure of theſe Men, and for their Defence of the Church; but becauſe the Buſineſs had ſome Reference to himſelf, he forbears to cenſure them, leaving them to God's Mercy and the King's Juſtice.

Ruſhw. *Append.*

The cruel Sentence diſguſts the whole Nation.

But notwithſtanding this plauſible Speech, which the King ordered to be printed, the barbarous Sentence paſt upon theſe Gentlemen moved the Compaſſion of the whole Nation. The three learned Faculties, of *Law*, *Phyſick*, and *Divinity*, took it to heart, as thinking their Educations and Profeſſions might have ſecured them from ſuch infamous Puniſhments, proper enough for the pooreſt, and moſt mechanick

Claren. Vol. I. p. 94.

chanick Malefactors, who could make no other Satisfaction to the Publick for their Offences, but very improper for Perſons of Education, Degrees, or Quality. Nay, the Report of this Cenſure, and the ſmart Execution of it, flew into *Scotland*, and the Diſcourſe was there, that they muſt alſo expect a *Star Chamber* to ſtrengthen the Hands of their Biſhops, as well as an High Commiſſion: "No doubt "(ſays Archbiſhop *Laud*) but there is a Concur- "rence between them and the Puritan Party in *Eng-* "*land*, to deſtroy me in the King's Opinion." *King* Charles I. 1637. Ruſhw. p. 385.

But as cruel as this Sentence was, Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Reverend Mr. *Oſbaldeſton*, chief Maſter of *Weſtminſter School*, met with no leſs Hardſhip. The Biſhop had been *Laud*'s very good Friend, in perſuading King *James* to advance him to a Biſhoprick; but upon the Acceſſion of King *Charles* he turned upon his Benefactor, and got him removed from all his Preſermen's at Court; upon which Biſhop *Williams* retir'd to his Dioceſe, and ſpent his Time in reading, and in the well Government of his Dioceſe; here he became Popular, entertaining the Clergy at his Table, and diſcourſing freely about Affairs of Church and State. He ſpoke with ſome Smartneſs againſt the new Ceremonies; and ſaid once in Converſation, *That the Puritans were the King's beſt Subjects, and he was ſure would carry all at laſt; and that the King had told him, that he would treat the Puritans more mildly for the future.* LAUD being informed of this Expreſſion, cauſed an Information to be lodged againſt him in the Star Chamber, for *revealing the King's Secrets*; but the Charge not being well ſupported, a new Bill was exhibited againſt him, for tampering with the King's Witneſſes; and though there was very little ground for the Charge, *his Lordſhip was ſuſpended in the High Commiſſion Court from all his Offices and Benefices; he was fined ten Thouſand Pounds to the King; one Thouſand Pounds to Sir* John Mounſon, *and to be impriſon'd in the* Tower *during* *Trial and Sentence of Biſhop* Williams. Ruſhw. p. 817. Ruſhw. p. 417.

King Charles I. 1637.

ring the King's Pleaſure. The Biſhop was accordingly ſent from the Bar to the *Tower*; all his rich Goods and Chattels, to an immenſe Value, were plundered and ſold, to pay the Fine; his Library was ſeized, and all his Papers and Letters examined. Among his Papers were found two or three Letters writ to him by Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* about five Years before, in which were ſome dark and obſcure Expreſſions, which the jealous Archbiſhop interpreted againſt himſelf and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton.* Upon the Foot of theſe Letters a new Bill was exhibited againſt the Biſhop, for divulging ſcandalous Libels againſt the King's Privy Counſellors. His Lordſhip replied, that he did not remember his having received the Letters, but was ſure he had never divulged them, becauſe they were ſtill among his private Papers; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, *he was condemned in another Fine of eight Thouſand Pounds*; five Thouſand to the King, and three Thouſand to the Archbiſhop; for the Non-Payment of which he was kept cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower* till the Meeting of the Long Parliament.

Sentence of Mr. Osbaldeſton. Ruſhw. p. 803, 817.

The Reverend Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* was charged *with plotting with the Biſhop of* Lincoln *to divulge falſe News, and to breed a Difference between the Lord Treaſurer* Weſton *and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as long ago as the Year* 1633. The Information was grounded upon the two Letters already mentioned, in which he reports a Miſunderſtanding between the great *Leviathan* and the little *Urchin.* And though the Counſel for the Defendant abſolutely denied any Reference to the Archbiſhop, and named the Perſons meant in the Letter, yet *the Court fined him five Thouſand Pounds to the King, and five Thouſand Pounds to the Archbiſhop; to be deprived of all his Spiritual Dignities and Promotions, to be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure, and to ſtand in the Pillory in the* Dean's Yard *before his own School, and have his Ears nailed to it.* Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* being among the Crowd in the Court when this Sentence was pronounced, immediately went

went home to his Study at *Weſtminſter School*, and having burnt ſome Papers, he abſconded, leaving a Note upon his Deſk with theſe Words, *If the Archbiſhop inquire after me, tell him, I am gone beyond* Canterbury. The Meſſengers were ſoon at his Houſe, and finding this Note, ſent immediately to the Sea-Port Towns to apprehend him, but he lay hid in a private Houſe in *Drury Lane* till the Search was over, and then concealed himſelf till the Meeting of the Long Parliament; however, all his Goods and Chattles were ſeized and confiſcated. This Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* was *M. A.* of *Chriſt Church College*, *Oxford*, and Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*; he was an admirable Maſter, and had eighty Doctors in the two Univerſities that had been his Scholars, before the Year 1640; he was afterwards reſtored by the Long Parliament, but when he apprehended they went beyond the Bounds of Duty and Allegiance, he laid down his School and favoured the Royal Cauſe. *King* Charles I. 1637. Ath. Ox. p. 212.

Mr. *Lilburne*, afterwards a Colonel in the Army, for refuſing to take an Oath to anſwer all Interrogatories concerning *his importing and publiſhing ſeditious Libels*, was fined five Hundred Pounds, and to be whipt through the Streets from the *Fleet* to the Pillory before *Weſtminſter Hall Gate*, *April* 8th. 1638. While he was in the Pillory he utter'd many bold and paſſionate Speeches againſt the Tyranny of the Biſhops; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then ſitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly; and, that when he was carried back to Priſon, he ſhould be laid alone, with Irons on his Hands and Legs, in the Wards of the *Fleet*, where the baſeſt of the Priſoners uſed to be put, and that no Perſon ſhould be admitted to ſee him. Here he continued in a moſt forlorn and miſerable Condition till the Meeting of the Long Parliament. *And of Mr.* Lilburne.

In the midſt of all theſe Dangers the Puritan Clergy ſpoke freely againſt their Oppreſſors. Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, in a *Latin* Sermon before the Clergy of *Lon-* *Courage of the Puritans.*

King Charles I. 1637.

London, preached againſt the Severities of the Biſhops, and refuſing to give his Dioceſan a Copy of his Sermon, he was put into the High Commiſſion. Mr. *Wharton* of *Eſſex* preached with the ſame Freedom at *Chelmsford*, for which ('tis ſaid) he made his Submiſſion. Several Pamphlets were diſperſed againſt the Proceedings of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, which the Biſhop of *London* ſaid, he had reaſon to believe were writ, or countenanced by the Clergy of his own Dioceſe. Many private Gentlemen in *Suffolk* maintained Lectures at their own Expence, without conſulting the Biſhop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themſelves according to the *Canons*; but, ſays his Lordſhip [*Wren*]

Ruſhw. p. 467.

"What ſhall I do with ſuch Scholars, ſome in Orders, and others not, which Gentlemen of Figure entertain in their Houſes, under pretence of teaching their Children? And with thoſe beneficed Divines, who take ſhelter in the Houſes of the rich Laity, and do not live upon their Cures?" Here was the *Puritans* laſt Retreat; thoſe that were not willing to go abroad found Entertainment in Gentlemens Families, and from thence annoyed the Enemy with their Pamphlets. Even the Populace, that were not capable of writing Books, expreſſed their Reſentments againſt the Archbiſhop, by diſperſing Libels about the Town, in which they threatned his Deſtruction. His *Grace* has enter'd ſome of them in his Diary.

Libels diſperſed againſt the Archbiſhop.

"*Wedneſday*, *Aug.* 23. my Lord Mayor ſent me a Libel, found by the Watch at the fourth Gate of St. *Paul*'s, that the Devil had left that Houſe to me.

"*Aug.* 25. Another Libel was brought me by an Officer of the High Commiſſion, faſten'd to the North Gate of St. *Paul*'s, that the Government of the Church of *England* is a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a Stench.

"The

" The ſame Night the Lord Mayor ſent me ano- *King*
" ther Libel, hanged upon the Standard in *Cheap-* Charles I.
" *ſide*, which was my Speech in the Star Chamber 1637.
" ſet in the Pillory.

" A few Days after another ſhort Libel was ſent
" him in Verſe."

But none of theſe Things abated his Zeal, or relaxed his Rigor, againſt thoſe who cenſured his arbitrary Proceedings.

It was impoſſible to debate Things fairly in pub- *Preſs re-*
lick, becauſe the Preſs was abſolutely at his *Grace's* *ſtrain'd.*
Diſpoſal, according to a new Decree of the Star Chamber made this Summer, which ordains, that
" no Book be printed unleſs it be firſt licenſed
" with all its Titles, Epiſtles, and Prefaces, by the
" Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of *London* for the Time
" being, or by their Appointment; and within the
" Limits of the Univerſity, by the Chancellor or
" Vice-Chancellor, on pain of the Printer's being
" diſabled from his Profeſſion for the future, and to
" ſuffer ſuch other Puniſhment as the *High Commiſſion*
" ſhall think fit. That before any Books imported
" from abroad be ſold, a Catalogue of them ſhall
" be delivered to the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of *Lon-*
" *don*, to be peruſed by themſelves or their Chap-
" lains. And if there be any ſchiſmatical, or offen-
" ſive Books, they ſhall be delivered up to the Bi-
" ſhop, or to the High Commiſſion, that the Of-
" fenders may be puniſhed. It was further ordained,
" that no Perſon ſhall print beyond Sea any *Engliſh*
" Book or Books, whereof the greateſt Part is *Eng-*
" *liſh*, whether formerly printed or not; nor ſhall
" any Book be reprinted, though formerly licenſed,
" without a new Licenſe. And finally, if any Per-
" ſon that is not an *allowed Printer*, ſhall ſet up a
" printing Preſs, he ſhall be ſet in the Pillory, and
" be whipt through the Streets of *London*."

Theſe terrible Proceedings did no Service to Church *Further*
or State, but awaken'd the Reſentments of all *Severities.*
Ranks

King Charles I. 1637.

Ranks and Profeſſions of Men, againſt thoſe in Power: The Laity were as uneaſy as the Clergy, many of whom ſold their Effects, and removed with their Families and Trades into *Holland* or *New England*. This alarmed the King and Council, who iſſued out a Proclamation, *April* 30th. 1637. to the following Purpoſe.

King forbids the Laity to go out of the Kingdom without a Licenſe.

Ruſhw. p. 409.

" —— The King being informed, that great " Numbers of his Subjects were yearly tranſported " into *New England* with their Families and whole " Eſtates, *that they might be out of the reach of Eccleſiaſtical Authority*; his Majeſty therefore com- " mands, that his Officers of the ſeveral Ports ſhould " ſuffer none to paſs, without Licenſe from the " Commiſſioners of the Plantations, and a Teſtimo- " nial from their Miniſter, of their Conformity to " the Orders and Diſcipline of the Church." And to bar the *Miniſters*, the following Order of Council was publiſhed.

And the Miniſters.

Ib. p. 410.

" WHereas it is obſerved, that ſuch Miniſters " who are unconformable to the Diſcipline " and Ceremonies of the Church, do frequently " tranſport themſelves to the *Plantations*, where " they take Liberty to nouriſh their factious and " ſchiſmatical Humours, to the Hindrance of the " good Conformity and Unity of the Church; we " therefore expreſly command you, in his Majeſty's " Name, to ſuffer no Clergyman to tranſport him- " ſelf without a Teſtimonial from the Archbiſhop of " *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*."

Remarks.

This was a Degree of Severity hardly to be paralleld in the Chriſtian World. When the *Edict of Nantz* was revoked, the *French* King allowed his Proteſtant Subjects a convenient Time to diſpoſe of their Effects and leave the Kingdom; but our Proteſtant Archbiſhop will neither let the *Puritans* live peaceably at home, nor take Sanctuary in foreign Countries; a Conduct hardly conſiſtent with the Laws

Laws of Humanity, much leſs with the Character of a Chriſtian Biſhop; but while his *Grace* was running Things to theſe Extremities, the People (as has been obſerved) took a general Diſguſt, and almoſt all *England* became Puritan. *King* Charles I. 1637.

The Biſhops and Courtiers being not inſenſible of the Number and Weight of their Enemies among the more reſolved Proteſtants, determined to balance their Power by joining with the Papiſts; for which Purpoſe the Differences between the two Churches were ſaid to be trifling, and the peculiar Doctrines of Popery were printed, and preached up as proper to be received by the Church of *England*. Biſhop *Montague* ſpeaking of the Points of Faith and Morality affirmed, that none of theſe are controverted between us, but that *the Points in diſpute were of a leſſer Nature, of which a Man might be ignorant without any danger of Salvation*. *Franciſcus de Clara*, an eminent *Franciſcan* Friar, publiſhed a Book, wherein he endeavoured to accommodate the Articles of the Church of *England* to the Senſe of the Church of *Rome*, ſo that both Parties might ſubſcribe them. The Book was dedicated to the King, and the *Friar* admitted to an Acquaintance with the Archbiſhop. *Approach of the Clergy towards Popery.* *Differences between the two Churches leſſened.* Ruſhw. Part 1. p. 209.

Great Streſs was laid upon the uninterrupted Succeſſion of the Epiſcopal Character through the Church of *Rome*; for *miſerable were we* (ſays Dr. *Pocklington*) *if he that now ſits Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *could not derive his Succeſſion from St.* Auſtin, *St.* Auſtin *from St.* Gregory, *and St.* Gregory *from St.* Peter. Dr. *Heylin*, in his moderate Anſwer to Mr. *Burton*, has theſe Words, *That my Lord of* Canterbury *that now is, is lineally deſcended from St.* Peter *in a moſt fair and conſtant Tenor of Succeſſion, you ſhall eaſily find, if you conſult the learned Labours of* MASON de Miniſterio Anglicano. *Uninterrupted Succeſſion of Biſhops.*

Biſhop *Montague* publiſhed a Treatiſe, *Of the Invocation of Saints*, in which he ſays, that *departed Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar* *Invocation of Saints.* Ruſhw. p. 210.

Charge

King Charles I. 1637.

Charge of their Friends; and that ſome Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection and Power, as Angels have alſo, over certain Perſons and Countries by ſpecial Deputation; and that it is not Impiety ſo to believe.

The Maſs and real Preſence.

Dr. *Coſins* ſays in one of his Sermons, that *when our Reformers took away the Maſs they marred all Religion, but that the Maſs was not taken away, in as much as the real Preſence of Chriſt remained ſtill, otherwiſe it were not a reformed, but a deformed Religion.* And in order to perſuade a Papiſt to come to Church, he told him, *That the Body of Chriſt was ſubſtantially and really in the Sacrament.* This *Divine* printed a Collection of private Devotions, in imitation of the *Roman Horary*. The Frontiſpiece had the three Capital Letters *J. H. S.* upon theſe there was a Croſs incircled with the Sun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it. The Book contains the Apoſtle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer divided into ſeven Petitions, the Precepts of Charity, the ſeven Sacraments, the three Theological Virtues, the eight Beatitudes, the ſeven deadly Sins; with Forms of Prayer for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth Hours, and for the *Veſpers* and *Compline*, formerly called the Canonical Hours; then followed the *Litany*, with Prayers for the Sacrament, in Time of Sickneſs, and at the Approach of Death. This Book was licenſed by the Biſhop of *London*, and publickly ſold, when the Books of the moſt reſolved Proteſtants were ſuppreſſed.

Collyer, p. 742.

Merit and Auricular Confeſſion, &c.

Ruſhw. p. 137. Prynne, p. 195, &c.

Mr. *Adams*, in a Sermon preached at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*, aſſerted the Expediency of Auricular Confeſſion, ſaying, *It was as neceſſary to Salvation as Meat is to the Body.* Others preached up the *Doctrine of Penance, and of authoritative, prieſtly Abſolution for Sin.* Some maintained the proper *Merit of good Works*, in Oppoſition to the received Doctrine of *Juſtification by Faith alone.* Others, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there was a full and proper Sacrifice for Sin.

Some declared for Images, Crucifixes, and Pictures in Churches; for Purgatory, and for preſerving, reverencing, and even praying to the Reliques of Saints. The Author of the *Engliſh* Pope, printed 1643. ſays, that *Sparrow* pav'd the way for *Auricular Confeſſion*, *Watts* for *Penance*, *Heylin* for *Altar Worſhip*, *Montague* for *Saint Worſhip*, and *Laud* for the *Maſs*. *Xing* Charles I. 1637.

It was a very juſt Obſervation of a *Venetian* Gentleman in his Travels to *England* about this Time, "That the Univerſities, Biſhops, and Divines of "*England*, daily embraced Catholick Doctrines, "though they profeſſed them not with open Mouth: "they held, that the Church of *Rome* was a true "Church; that the Pope was ſuperior to all Biſhops; that to him it pertained to call general "Councils; that it was lawful to pray for Souls departed; and, that Altars ought to be erected in "all Churches; in ſum, they believed all that was "taught by the *Church of Rome*, but not by the *Court* "*of Rome*." Remarkable are the Words of *Heylin* to the ſame purpoſe, "The greateſt Part of the "Controverſy between us and the Church of *Rome*, "(ſays he) not being in Fundamentals, or in any "eſſential Points of the Chriſtian Religion, I can"not otherwiſe look upon it but as a moſt Chriſtian "and Pious Work, to endeavour an Atonement in "the Superſtructure; as to the Lawfulneſs of it, "I could never ſee any Reaſon produced againſt it: "Againſt the Impoſſibility of it, it has been object"ed, that the Church of *Rome* will yield nothing; "if therefore there be an Agreement, it muſt not be "their meeting us, but our going to them; but "that all in the Church of *Rome* are not ſo ſtiff, ap"pears from the Teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of "*Spalato*, who acknowledged that the Articles of "the Church of *England* were not heretical, and by "the Treatiſe of *Franciſcus de Clara*. Now, if "without Prejudice to Truth, the Controverſies "might

Remarks. May's *Hiſt. of Parl.*

Fuller's *Appeal*, Part 3d. p. 63, 65. *Deſign to unite the two Churches.*

King Charles I. 1627.

" might be compoſed, it is moſt probable, that " other Proteſtant Churches would have ſued to be " included in the Peace; if not, the Church of *Eng-* " *land* will loſe nothing by it, as being hated by the " *Calviniſts*, and not loved by the *Lutherans*." This was the ridiculous Court Scheme which Archbiſhop *Laud* uſed all his Intereſt to accompliſh; and it is no impertinent Story to our preſent purpoſe, becauſe it is well atteſted, that a certain Counteſs (whoſe Huſband's Father the Archbiſhop had married, and thereby brought himſelf into trouble) having turned Papiſt, was aſked by the Archbiſhop the Cauſe of her changing, to whom ſhe replied, *It was becauſe ſhe always hated to go in a Crowd.* Being aſked again the Reaſon of that Expreſſion, ſhe anſwer'd, that *ſhe perceived his Grace, and many others, were making haſte to* Rome, *and therefore to prevent going in a Preſs, ſhe had gone before them.*

Fuller's *Appeal*, p. 61.

Laws againſt Papiſts ſuſpended.

'Tis certain the Papiſts were in high Reputation at Court; the King counted them his beſt Subjects, and relaxed the penal Laws, on pretence, that *hereby foreign Catholick Princes might be induced to ſhew Favour to their Subjects of the Reformed Religion.* Within the Compaſs of four Years Seventy four Letters of Grace were ſigned by the King's own Hand; Sixty four Prieſts were diſmiſſed from the *Gate-Houſe*, and Twenty nine by Warrant from the Secretary of State, at the Inſtance of the Queen, the Queen Mother, or ſome foreign Ambaſſador. Protections were frequently granted, to put a Stop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Juſtice againſt them. I have before me a Liſt of Popiſh Recuſants convicted in the Twenty nine *Engliſh* Counties of the Southern Diviſion, from the firſt of King *Charles* to the ſixteenth, which amounts to no leſs than eleven Thouſand nine Hundred and ſeventy, (as the Account was brought into the Long Parliament by Mr. *John Pulford*, employ'd in their Proſecution by the King himſelf) all of whom were releaſed and pardon'd. And if their Num-

Foxes and Firebrands, Part 3d. p. 75. Ruſhw. p. 284.

Numbers were ſo great in the South, how muſt they abound in the Northern and *Welch* Counties, where they are computed three to one!

King Charles I. 1637.

Many were promoted to Places of the higheſt Honour and Truſt; Sir *Richard Weſton* was Lord High Treaſurer, Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State, Lord *Cottington* was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Mr. *Porter* of the Bed-Chamber; beſides theſe, there was Lord *Conway*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *Toby Mathews*, Mr. *Montague*, jun. the Dutcheſs of *Montague*, the Counteſs of *Newport*, and many others, all Papiſts, who were in high Favour, and had the King and Queen's Ear whenſoever they pleaſed. The Pope had a Nuncio in *England*, and the Queen an Agent at *Rome*; Cardinal *Barberini* was made Protector of the *Engliſh* Nation, and a Society was erected under the Title of *the Congregation for propagating the Faith*. *Richard Smith*, Titular Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, exerciſed Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over the *Engliſh* Catholicks, by Commiſſion from the Pope; he conferr'd Orders, and appeared in *Lancaſhire* with his *Mitre* and *Croſier*; Seignior *Con*, or *Cunæus*, the Pope's Legate, gain'd over ſeveral of the Gentry, and attempted the King himſelf, by Preſents of little Popiſh Toys and Pictures, with which his Majeſty was wonderfully delighted. The Papiſts had a common Purſe, with which they purchaſed ſeveral Monopolies, and beſtowed the Profits upon their beſt Friends; ſeveral of their Military Men were put into Commiſſion, and great Numbers were liſted in his Majeſty's Armies againſt the *Scots*.

They are favoured and promoted at Court.

Their Numbers and Influence.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 135, 137. Prynne, p. 198. *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part 3d. p. 124. Collyer, p. 781.

But let the Reader form his Judgment of the Numbers and Strength of the *Roman* Catholicks, from Lord *Clarendon*, who ſays, "The Pa-
"piſts had for many Years enjoyed a great Calm,
"being on the Matter abſolved from the *ſevereſt*
"Parts of the Law, and diſpenſed with for the *gen-*
"*tleſt*. They were grown to be a Part of the Reve-
"nue, without any probable Danger of being made

Lord Clarendon's Account of them. Vol. I. p. 148.

King Charles I. 1637.

" a Sacrifice to the Law. They were looked upon " as good Subjects at Court, and good Neighbours " in the Country; all the Reſtraints and Re- " proaches of former Times being forgotten: But " they were not prudent Managers of their Proſpe- " rity, being elated with the Connivance and Pro- " tection they received; and though I am perſuaded " their Numbers encreaſed not, their Pomp and " Boldneſs did to that degree, that, as if they affected " to be thought dangerous to the State, they appear- " ed more publickly, entertained, and urged Confe- " rences more avowedly than had before been known. " They reſorted at common Hours to Maſs to *Somer-* " *ſet Houſe*, and returned thence in great Multitudes " with the ſame barefacedneſs as others come from " the *Savoy*, or other neighbouring Churches. They " attempted, and ſometimes gained Proſelytes, of " weak uninformed Ladies, with ſuch Circumſtan- " ces as provoked the Rage, and deſtroyed the Cha- " rity of great and powerful Families, which longed " for their Suppreſſion; they grew not only ſecret " Contrivers, but publick profeſt Promoters of, " and Miniſters in the moſt odious, and moſt grie- " vous Projects, as in that of Soap, formed, framed " and executed by almoſt a Corporation of that Re- " ligion, which under that Licence and Notion " might be, and were ſuſpected to be qualified for " other Agitations. The Prieſts, and ſuch as were " in Orders (Orders that in themſelves were puniſh- " able with Death) were departed from their former " Modeſty and Fear, and were as willing to be " known as to be hearken'd to; inſomuch, that a " Jeſuit at *Paris*, who was coming for *England*, had " the Boldneſs to viſit the Ambaſſador there, who " knew him to be ſuch, and offering him his Ser- " vice, acquainted him with his Journey, as if there " had been no Laws there for his Reception; and " for the moſt invidious Protection and Countenance " of that whole Party, a publick Agent from *Rome*,

" (firſt

" (firſt Mr. *Con*, a *Scottiſh* Man, and after him the " Count of *Roſetti* an *Italian*) reſided in *London* in " great Pomp, publickly viſited the Court, and was " avowedly reſorted to by the Catholicks of all Con- " ditions, over whom he aſſumed a particular Ju- " riſdiction, and was careſſed, and preſented mag- " nificently by the Ladies of Honour who enclined " to that Profeſſion. They had likewiſe with more " Noiſe and Vanity, than Prudence would have " admitted, made publick Collections of Money to " a conſiderable Sum, upon ſome Recommenda- " tions from the Queen, and to be by her Majeſty " preſented, as a Free-will Offering from his *Ro-* " *man* Catholick Subjects to the King, for the car- " rying on the War againſt the *Scots*; which drew " upon them the Rage of that Nation, with little " Devotion and Reverence to the Queen her ſelf, " as if ſhe deſired to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religi- " on in one Kingdom as well as the other, by the " Arms of the *Roman* Catholicks."

King Charles I. 1637.

From this Account, compared with the foregoing Relation, 'tis evident, there never was a ſtronger Combination in favour of Popery, nor was the *Proteſtant Religion* at any Time in a more dangerous Criſis, being deſerted by its pretended Friends, while it was ſecretly undermining by its moſt powerful Enemies.

The Caſe was the ſame with the Civil Liberties and Properties of the People; no Man had any Thing that he could call his own, any longer than the King pleaſed; for in the famous Trial of Mr. *Hampden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, in the Caſe of Ship-Money, all the Judges of *England*, except *Crook* and *Hutton*, gave it for Law, *That the King might levy Taxes on the Subject, by Writ under the Great Seal, without Grant of Parliament, in* CASES OF NECESSITY; *or when the Kingdom was in* DANGER; *of which* DANGER *and* NECESSITY *his Majeſty was the ſole and final Judge; and that by* LAW *his Majeſty might compel the*

The Civil Liberties of England deſtroy'd. Rapin, p. 302.

King Charles I. 1637.

doing thereof in caſe of Refuſal or Refractorineſs. This Determination was enter'd in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter*; and the Judges were commanded to declare it in their Circuits throughout the Kingdom, to the End that no Man might plead Ignorance. "The "Damage and Miſchief cannot be expreſſed (ſays "Lord *Clarendon*) that the Crown ſuſtained by the "deſerved Reproach and Infamy that attended this "Behaviour of the Judges, who out of their Court-"ſhip ſubmitted the grand Queſtions of Law to be "meaſured by what they call the Standard of *Gene-"ral Reaſon and Neceſſity.*" While theſe extraordinary Methods of raiſing Money were built only upon the PREROGATIVE, People were more patient, hoping that ſome Time or other the Law would take place; but when they were declared by all the Judges to be the *very Law it ſelf*, and a Rule for determining Suits between the King and Subject, they were ſtruck with Deſpair, and concluded very juſtly that *Magna Charta*, and the *old* Engliſh *Conſtitution*, was at an end.

Vol. I. p. 70.

L. Clarendon's *Repreſentation of the Times.*

Vol. I. p. 74, 76.

Let the Reader now recollect himſelf, and then judge of the Candor of the noble Hiſtorian, who, notwithſtanding the cruel Perſecutions and Oppreſſions already mentioned, celebrates the *Felicity of theſe Times* in the following Words: "Now after all "this I muſt be ſo juſt as to ſay, that from "the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth "Year of the King, to the beginning of the Long "Parliament, which was about twelve Years, this "Kingdom, and all his Majeſty's Dominions, en-"joy'd the greateſt Calm, and the fulleſt Meaſure "of Felicity that any People, in any Age, for ſo "long Time together have been bleſſed with, to "the Wonder and Envy of all other Parts of Chri-"ſtendom —— the Court was in great Plenty, or "rather Exceſs and Luxury, the Country rich and "full, enjoying the Pleaſure of its own Wealth; "the Church flouriſhed with learned and extraor-

"dinary

" dinary Men; and the Proteſtant Religion was " more advanced againſt the Church of *Rome*, by " the Writings of Archbiſhop *Laud* and *Chilling-* " *worth*, than it had been ſince the Reformation — " Trade encreaſed to that Degree, that we were " the Exchange of Chriſtendom — Foreign Mer- " chants looking upon nothing ſo much their own " as what they had laid up in the Warehouſes of " this Kingdom — The Reputation of the Great- " neſs and Power of the King with foreign Princes " was much more than any of his Progenitors. And " *Laſtly*, For a Complement of all theſe Bleſſings, " they were enjoyed under the Protection of a King " of the moſt harmleſs Diſpoſition, the moſt exem- " plary Piety, and the greateſt Sobriety, Chaſtity, " and Mercy, that any Prince had been endowed " with, and who might have ſaid that which *Pericles* " was proud of upon his Death-bed, concerning his " Citizens, *That no* Engliſh *Man had worn a Mourning* " *Gown through his Occaſion.* In a Word, many wiſe " Men thought it a Time wherein thoſe two Ad- " juncts, *Imperium* and *Libertas* were as well recon- " ciled as poſſible."

King Charles I. 1637.

Not a Line of this *Panegyrick* will bear Examination. When his Lordſhip ſays, *That no People in any Age had been bleſſed with ſo great a Calm, and ſuch a full Meaſure of Felicity for ſo long a Time together* [*twelve Years*] he ſeems to have undervalued the long and pacifick Reign of his Majeſty's Royal Father, King *James*, who was diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of BLESSED. But where was the Liberty or Safety of the Subject, when *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, which the King had ſigned in full Parliament, were ſwallowed up in the Gulph of Arbitrary Power? And the Statute Laws of the Land were exchanged for a *Rule of Government* depending upon the Sovereign Will and Pleaſure of the King? If the *Court was in Exceſs and Luxury*, it was with the Plunder of the People, ariſing from Loans, Benevolences, Ship-Money,

Remarks.

King Charles I. 1637.

Monopolies, and other illegal Taxes on Merchandize. The *Country was ſo far from growing rich and wealthy*, that it was every Year draining of its Inhabitants and Subſtance, as appears not only by the Loſs of the foreign Manufacturers, but by his Majeſty's Proclamations, forbidding any of his Subjects to tranſport themſelves and their Effects to *New England* without his ſpecial Licenſe. Was it poſſible that *Trade could flouriſh*, when almoſt every Branch of it was monopolized, and ſold by the Crown, for large Sums of Money, and when the Property of the Subject was ſo precarious, that the King might call for it upon any Occaſion, and in caſe of Refuſal ruin the Proprietor by exorbitant Fines and Impriſonment? Did *no* Engliſh *Man wear a Mourning Gown in theſe Times*, when the *Seldens*, the *Hollis's*, the *Elliots*, the *Strouds*, the *Hobarts*, the *Valentines*, the *Coritons*, and other Patriots of their Country, were taken out of the Parliament Houſe, and ſhut up for many Years in cloſe Priſons, where ſome of them periſhed? How many of the Nobility and Gentry were puniſhed with exorbitant Fines in the Star Chamber? How many hundred Miniſters, and others, were ruined in the High Commiſſion, or forced from their native Country into Baniſhment, contrary to Law? The Gaols in the ſeveral Counties were never free from State or Church Priſoners, during the laſt twelve Years of his Majeſty's Reign, and yet it ſeems *no* Engliſh *Man wore a Mourning Gown through his Occaſion?* Is it poſſible to believe, that *the Reputation of the Greatneſs and Power of King* Charles I. with foreign Princes, (*however harmleſs, pious, ſober, chaſt and merciful he might be*) was equal to that of Queen *Elizabeth* or King *Henry* VIII? What Service did he do, by his Arms or Counſels, for the Proteſtant Religion, or for the Good of *Europe?* When his Majeſty's Affairs were in the greateſt Diſtreſs, what Credit had he abroad? Or, where was the foreign Prince (except his own Son in Law) that would lend him

him either Men or Money? *If the Proteſtant Religion was advanced in Speculation by the Writings of Archbiſhop* Laud *and* Chillingworth; is it not ſufficiently evident, that the *Roman* Catholicks were prodigiouſly encreaſed in Numbers, Reputation and Influence? Upon the whole, the People of *England* were ſo far from *enjoying a full Meaſure of Felicity*, that they groaned under the Yoke of the heavieſt Oppreſſion, and were prepared to lay hold of any Opportunity to throw it off; ſo that to make his Lordſhip's Account of the Times conſiſtent with Truth, or with his own Behaviour in the beginning of the Long Parliament, one is almoſt tempted to ſuſpect it muſt have received ſome Amendments or Colourings from the Hands of his *Editors*. This was the State of Affairs at the End of the pacifick Part of this Reign, and forwards to the beginning of the Long Parliament.

King Charles I. 1637.

CHAP. VI.

From the beginning of the Commotions in Scotland, *to the Long Parliament in the Year* 1640.

King Charles I. 1637.

WE are now entring upon a Scene of Calamity which opened in the North, and in a few Years, like a riſing Tempeſt, overſpread both Kingdoms, and involved them in all the Miſeries of a Civil War. If Archbiſhop *Laud* could have been content with being *Metropolitan of the Church of* England, he might have gone to his Grave in Peace, but graſping at the Juriſdiction of another Church, founded upon different Principles, he pulled down both upon his Head, and was buried in the Ruins.

We have mentioned the prepoſterous publiſhing the *Scots* Book of Canons, a Year before their Liturgy, which was not finiſhed till the Month of *October*, 1636. His Majeſty's Reaſons for compiling it were, that "his Royal Father had intended it, and made "a conſiderable Progreſs in the Work, in order to "curb ſuch of his Subjects in *Scotland* as were en- "clined to *Puritaniſm*; that his preſent Majeſty re- "ſolved to purſue the ſame Deſign, and therefore "conſented to the Publication of this Book (which "was in Subſtance the ſame with the *Engliſh Liturgy*) "that the *Roman* Party might not upbraid us with "any material Differences, and yet it was ſo far "diſtinct, that it might be truly reputed a Book of "that Church's compoſing, and eſtabliſhed by his "Royal Authority as King of *Scotland*."

Rushw. p. 386.

Scots Liturgy.

The Compilers of this Liturgy were chiefly Dr. *Weederburne*, a *Scots* Divine, beneficed in *England*, but now Biſhop of *Dunblain*, and Dr. *Maxwel*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*. Their Inſtructions from *England* were, to keep ſuch Catholick Saints in their Calendar as were in the *Engliſh*, and that ſuch *new Saints* as were added ſhould

ſhould be the moſt approved, but in no caſe to omit St. *George* and St. *Patrick*. That in the Book of *Orders*, thoſe Words in the *Engliſh* Book be not changed, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*; and that ſundry Leſſons out of the Apocrypha be inſerted; beſides theſe, the Word *Preſbyter* was inſerted inſtead of *Prieſt*; and the Water in the Font for Baptiſm was to be conſecrated. There was a *Benediction* or Thankſgiving for *departed Saints*; ſome Paſſages in the Communion were altered, in favour of the *Real Preſence*; the Rubricks contained Inſtructions to the People, when to ſtand, and when to ſit or kneel; all which the *Scots* were Strangers to. The main Parts of the Liturgy were the ſame with the *Engliſh*, that there might be an Appearance of Uniformity. It was reviſed, corrected, and altered by Archbiſhop *Laud* and Biſhop *Wren*, as appeared by the Original found in the Archbiſhop's Chamber in the *Tower*, in which the Alterations were inſerted with his own Hand. *King Charles I. 1637.*

The Liturgy thus modell'd was ſent into *Scotland*, with a Royal Proclamation, dated *December* 12. 1636. commanding all his Majeſty's loving Subjects of that Kingdom to receive it with Reverence, *as the only Form his Majeſty thinks fit to be uſed in that Kirk*, without ſo much as laying it before a Convocation, Synod, General Aſſembly, or Parliament of that Nation. It was appointed to be read firſt on *Eaſter* Sunday, 1637. againſt which Time all Pariſhes were to be provided with two Books at leaſt; but the Outcries of the People againſt it were ſo great, that it was thought adviſeable to delay it to the 23d. of *July*, that the Lords of the Seſſion, [or Judges] might ſee the Succeſs of it before the Riſing of the Term, which always ends the firſt of *Auguſt*, in order to report in their ſeveral Counties, the peaceable receiving the Book at *Edinburgh* and Parts adjacent. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, with ſome of his more prudent Brethren, foreſeeing the *Impoſed by the Prerogative.*

King Charles I. 1637.

the Diſorders that would ariſe, adviſed the deferring it yet longer; but Archbiſhop *Laud* was ſo much of a different Mind, that he procured a Warrant from the King, commanding the *Scots* Biſhops to go forward at all Events, threatning, that if they moved heavily, or threw in unneceſſary Delays, the King would remove them, and fill their Sees with Churchmen of more Zeal and Reſolution.

Occaſions Tumults.

In obedience therefore to the Royal Command, Notice having been given in all the Pulpits of *Edinburgh*, that the Sunday following [*July* 23.] the new Service Book would be read in all the Churches, there was a vaſt Concourſe of People at St. *Giles*'s, or the *great Church*, where both the Archbiſhops, and divers Biſhops, together with the Lords of the Seſſion, the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and many of the Council were aſſembled; but as ſoon as the *Dean* began to read, the Service was interrupted by clapping of Hands, and an hideous Noiſe among the meaner Sort of People at the lower End of the Church, which the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* obſerving, ſtept into the Pulpit, and endeavoured to quiet them, but the Diſturbance encreaſing, a Stool was thrown towards the Deſk; upon which the Provoſt and Bailiffs of the City came from their Places, and with much difficulty thruſt out the Populace and ſhut the Church Doors; but ſuch were the Clamours from without, rapping at the Doors, and throwing Stones at the Windows, that it was with much difficulty that the *Dean* went through with the Service; and when he and the Biſhop came out of Church in their *Habits*, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the Mob, who followed them, crying out, pull them down, *A Pape*, *A Pape*, Antichriſt, *&c.*

Between the two Sermons the Magiſtrates took proper Meaſures for keeping the Peace in the Afternoon, but after Evening Prayer the Tumult was greater than in the Morning; for the Earl of *Roxborough* returning to his Lodgings with the Biſhop in his Coach, was ſo pelted

pelted with Stones, and preſſed upon by the Multitude, that both were in danger of their Lives. The Clergy that read the Liturgy in the other Churches met with the like Uſage, inſomuch that the whole City was in an Uproar; but it did not yet appear, that any beſides the meaner People were concerned in it; however, the Lords of the Council thought proper to diſpenſe with reading the Service next Sunday, till *their Expreſs* return'd from *England* with further Inſtructions, which *Laud* diſpatched with all Expedition, telling them, *It was the King's firm Reſolution that they ſhould go on with their Work*; and blaming them highly for ſuſpending it. *King* Charles I. 1637.

Among the Miniſters that oppoſed reading the Liturgy, were the Reverend Mr. *Ramſay*, Mr. *Rollock*, Mr. *Henderſon*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Bruce*, who were charged with Letters of *Horning* for their Diſobedience. But they ſtood by what they had done, and in their Petition to the Council gave the following Reaſons for their Conduct; "(1.) Becauſe "the *Service Book* had not been warranted by a General Aſſembly, which is the Repreſentative Body "of the *Kirk*, nor by any Act of Parliament. "(2.) Becauſe the Liberties of the *Scots* Kirk, and "the Form of Worſhip received at the Reformation, "and univerſally practiſed, ſtood ſtill warranted by "Acts of the General Aſſembly, and Acts of Parliament. (3.) Becauſe the *Kirk of Scotland* is a "free and independent Kirk, and therefore her own "Paſtors are the proper Judges what is moſt for "her Benefit. (4.) Some of the Ceremonies con-"tained in this Book have occaſioned great Diviſions in the Kirk, for as much as they are incon-"ſiſtent with the Form of Worſhip practiſed in it, "and ſymbolize with the Kirk of *Rome*, which is "*Antichriſtian*. (5.) Becauſe the People having "been otherwiſe taught, are unwilling to receive "the new Book till they are better convinced." *Reaſons againſt it.*

Theſe Reaſons were of weight with the Council, but they

King Charles I. 1637.

they durſt not ſhew Favour to the Priſoners without Allowance from *England*, which could not be obtained; for the zealous Archbiſhop ſtopt his Ears againſt all gentle Methods of Accommodation, hoping to bear down all Oppoſition with the Royal Authority.

While the Country People were buſy at Harveſt Things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to *Edinburgh* in great Numbers, and raiſed new Diſturbances, upon which the *Council* iſſued out three Proclamations; *one* for the People that came out of the Country, to return home; a *ſecond* for removing the Seſſion or Term from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*; and a *third* for calling in, and burning a ſeditious Pamphlet, called a *Diſcourſe againſt the* Engliſh *Popiſh Ceremonies, obtruded on the Kirk of* Scotland; all which were dated *October* 17. 1637. Theſe Proclamations inflamed the People to ſuch a Degree, that the very next Day, the Biſhop of *Galloway* would have been torn in Pieces by the Mob, as he was going to the Council Houſe, if he had not been reſcued by Mr. *Steward*; but miſſing of his Lordſhip they beſet the Council Houſe, and threaten'd to break open the Door; in ſo much that the Lords who were aſſembled were obliged to ſend for ſome of the popular Nobility in Town to their Relief; but the People would not diſperſe till the *Council* had promiſed to join with the other Lords in petitioning the King againſt the *Service Book*, and to reſtore the ſilenced Miniſters.

Ruſhw. p. 400.

Petitions againſt it.

Soon after this two Petitions were preſented to the Lord Chancellor and Council againſt the Liturgy and Canons; one in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of *Edinburgh*; and the other in the Name of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes. Their Objections againſt them were the ſame with thoſe already mentioned. The Petitions were tranſmitted to the King, who inſtead of returning a ſoft Anſwer, ordered a Proclamation

mation to be publiſhed from *Sterlin* [*Feb.* 19.] againſt the late diſorderly Tumults, in which, after having declared his Abhorrence of all *Superſtition* and *Popery*, he expreſſed his Diſpleaſure againſt the Petitioners; and to prevent any further Riots, ordered the Term or Seſſion to be removed from *Linlithgow* to *Sterlin*, Twenty four Miles from *Edinburgh*, with a ſtrict Injunction, that no Stranger ſhould reſort thither without ſpecial Licenſe. His Majeſty alſo forbid all Aſſemblies, or Convocations of People, to frame or ſign Petitions, upon pain of High Treaſon, and yet declared at the ſame Time, that he would not ſhut his Ears againſt them, if neither the Form nor Matter were prejudicial to his Royal Authority. *King Charles I. 1637.* Ruſhw. p. 731.

Upon publiſhing this Proclamation ſundry Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burghers, met together, and ſigned the following Proteſt, "1. That it is the "undoubted Right of the Subjects of *Scotland*, to "have immediate Recourſe to the King by Petition. "2. That Archbiſhops and Biſhops ought not to ſit "in any Judicatory in this Kingdom Civil or Ec"cleſiaſtical, till they have purged themſelves of "thoſe Crimes which are ready to be proved againſt "them. 3. That no Proclamation of Council, in "*preſence of the Archbiſhops or Biſhops*, ſhall be pre"judicial to any of our Proceedings. 4. That nei"ther we, nor any that adhere to us, ſhall incur "any Damages for not obſerving the Liturgy, or "Book of Canons, *as long as it is not eſtabliſhed by Ge"neral Aſſembly, or Act of Parliament.* 5. That if "any Inconvenience fall out (which God prevent) "upon preſſing the late Innovations, we declare the "ſame is not to be imputed to us. 6. That all our "Proceedings in this Affair have no other Tenden"cy but the Preſervation of the true Reformed Re"ligion, and the Laws and Liberties of the King"dom." *And a Proteſtation.*

The

King Charles I. 1638.

The Council being apprehenſive of Danger from theſe large Aſſemblies and Combinations of People, agreed, That if they would return peaceable to their Houſes, they might appoint ſome of their Number of all Ranks and Orders to repreſent the reſt, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning their *Proteſt* ſhould be further known. Accordingly four TABLES, as they were called, were erected at *Edinburgh*; *one* of the Nobility, *another* of the Gentry, a *third* of the Burroughs, and a *fourth* of the Miniſters. Theſe prepared and digeſted Matters for the *General Table*, formed of Commiſſioners, from the other four, where the laſt and binding Reſolutions were taken.

They erect Tables. Ruſhw. P. 734.

1638. *And renew their Solemn League and Covenant.* Nalſon's *Collect.* P. 20.

One of the firſt Things concluded upon by the TABLES, was the *renewing their Confeſſion of Faith, and the* SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, ſubſcribed by King *James* and his Royal Houſhold, *March* 2. 1580-1. and by the whole *Scots* Nation in the Year 1590. with a *general Band* for Maintenance of true Religion, and the King's Perſon. To this Covenant was now added a Narrative of ſundry Acts of Parliament, by which the Reformed Religion had been ratified ſince that Time, with an Admonition, wherein the late *Innovations* were renounced, and a *Band of Defence* for adhering to each other in the preſent Cauſe.

In their Covenant they declare in the moſt ſolemn Manner, "That they believe with their Hearts, "confeſs with their Mouths, and ſubſcribe with "their Hands, that the *Confeſſion of Faith* then eſta-"bliſhed by Act of Parliament is the true Chriſtian "Faith and Religion, and the only Ground of their "Salvation. —— They further declare their Ab-"horrence of all kinds of Papiſtry in general, and "then enumerate ſundry Particulars of Popiſh Do-"ctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies, as the Pope's "pretended *Primacy* over the Chriſtian Church; *his* "*five Baſtard Sacraments*, the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtan-*"*tiation* —— *the Maſs*, *Purgatory* —— *Prayers for* "*the Dead, and in an unknown Language* —— *Ju-*

" *ſtification by Works* — *Auricular Confeſſion* — *Croſ-* King
" *ſes, Images, Altars, dedicating of Kirks, with all* Charles I.
" *other Rites, Signs, and Traditions, brought into the* 1638.
" *Kirk without, or contrary to the Word of God.* All
" which they promiſe to oppoſe to the utmoſt of
" their Power, and to defend the ancient Doctrine
" and Diſcipline of their Kirk all the Days of their
" Lives, under the Pains contained in the Law,
" and danger both of Body and Soul, in the Day of
" God's fearful Judgment, proteſting, and calling
" the Searcher of all Hearts to witneſs, that their
" Minds and Hearts do fully agree with this their
" Confeſſion, Promiſes, Oath and Subſcriptions.
" They proteſt, and promiſe under the ſame
" Oath, Hand-writing, and Pains, to defend the
" King's Royal Perſon and Authority, with their
" Goods, Bodies, and Lives, in Defence of Chriſt's
" Goſpel, the Liberties of their Country, the Ad-
" miniſtration of Juſtice, and Puniſhment of Iniqui-
" ty againſt all his Enemies within the Realm and
" without; and this they do from their very Hearts,
" as they hope God will be their Defence in the Day
" of Death, and the Coming of the Lord Jeſus
" Chriſt. To whom with the Father and the Holy
" Spirit, be all Honour and Glory eternally."

Then follows a Recital of the Acts of Parliament, *The Band of Defence.* by which the Reformed Religion was eſtabliſhed among them. But inſtead of the *Band of Defence* annexed to the Covenant of 1580. they framed a new one, ſuited to the preſent Time, in which, after reciting the King's Coronation Oath, they declare,
" That as they will defend the King's Royal Perſon
" and Authority, they will alſo ſupport the Autho-
" rity of Parliaments, upon which the Security of
" their Lands, Livings, Rights and Properties,
" depend, and without which neither any Law, nor
" lawful Judicatory, can be eſtabliſhed. They de-
" clare the late *Innovations* brought into the *Kirk* to
" be contrary to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of it,

" and

King Charles I. 1638.

" and contrary to the *Covenant* above-mentioned, " and therefore they will forbear the Practice of " them till they are tried, and allowed in a free " Aſſembly, and in Parliament; and not only ſo, " but they promiſe and ſwear, by the great Name " of God, to reſiſt all theſe Errors and Corruptions " to the utmoſt of their Power, all the Days of " their Lives. They then promiſe and ſwear over " again, to defend the King's Perſon and Authority " in the Preſervation of the aforeſaid true Religion, " Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to aſſiſt " and ſtand by one another at all Adventures, without " ſuffering themſelves to be divided by any Allure- " ment or Terror from this bleſſed and loyal Con- " junction, and without being afraid of the odious " Aſperſions of *Rebellion*, or *Combination*, which " their Adverſaries may caſt upon them. And con- " clude with calling the *Searcher of Hearts* to witneſs " to their Sincerity, as they ſhall anſwer it to Chriſt " in the Day of Account, and under Pain of the " Loſs of all Honours and Reſpect in this World, " and God's everlaſting Wrath in the next." All this was ſworn to and ſubſcribed with great Seriouſneſs and Devotion, firſt at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *February*, 1637-8. and afterwards in the ſeveral Counties and Shires, where it was received by the common People, as a ſacred Oracle, and ſubſcribed by all ſuch as were thought to have any Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country. The Privy Counſellors, the Judges, the Biſhops, and the Friends of arbitrary Power, were the principal Perſons that refuſed. The Univerſities of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdeen* were ſaid to oppoſe it, and thoſe of *Glaſgow* did not ſubſcribe without ſome Limitations.

There cannot be a more ſolemn and awful Engagement to God, and each other than this! What the Reaſons were that induced King *James*, and the whole *Scots* Nation, to enter into it in the Year 1580.

and 1590. is not neceſſary to be determined; but certainly ſuch a Combination of Subjects, without the Conſent of their Sovereign, in a well ſettled Government is unwarrantable, eſpecially when it is confirmed with an Oath, for no Oath ought to be adminiſter'd but by Commiſſion from the chief Magiſtrate. The only Foundation therefore upon which this *Covenant* can be vindicated is, that the *Scots* apprehended their legal Church Eſtabliſhment was broken in pieces by the King's aſſuming the Supremacy, by his erecting an High Commiſſion, and by his impoſing upon them a Book of Canons and Liturgy by his Royal Prerogative, without Conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly.

King Charles I. 1638.

The *Council* ſent Advice of the Proceedings of the Covenanters from Time to Time, and acquainted his Majeſty, that the Cauſe of all the Commotions was the Fears of Innovations in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Kirk, by introducing the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commiſſion; that it was therefore their humble Opinion, that the reading the Service Book ſhould not be urged at preſent. Upon this the King ſent the Marquis of *Hamilton*, his High Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, with Inſtructions to conſent to the ſuſpending the Uſe of the Service Book for the preſent, but at the ſame Time to diſſolve the TABLES, and to require the *Covenant* to be delivered up within ſix Weeks. His Majeſty adds, "That if "there be not ſufficient Strength in the Kingdom to "oblige the Covenanters to return to their Duty, "he will come in Perſon from *England* at the Head "of a ſufficient Power to force them;" and in the mean Time, the Marquis is empowered to uſe all hoſtile Acts againſt them as a rebellious People.

Marquis of Hamilton *ſent High Commiſſioner into* Scotland.

Upon the Marquis's Arrival at *Holyrood Houſe* he was welcomed by great Numbers of the *Covenanters* of all Ranks and Qualities, in hopes that he would call a General Aſſembly, and a Free Parliament; but when he told them, this was not in his *Inſtructions*,

King Charles I. 1638.

they went home full of Reſentments. The People nailed up the Organ-Loft in the Church, and admoniſh'd the *Marquis*, not to read the Liturgy. The Miniſters cautioned their Hearers againſt conſenting to enſnaring Propoſitions; and a Letter was ſent to the Marquis and Council, exhorting them to ſubſcribe the Covenant. His *Lordſhip* writ theſe Things to Court, and moved his Majeſty, either to yield to the People or haſten his Royal Arms. The King replied, That he would rather die than yield to their *impertinent and damnable Demands*; but admitted of the Marquis's flattering them, to gain Time, provided he did not conſent to the calling a General Aſſembly or Parliament, till they had diſavowed and given up the *Covenant*. When this was known, both Miniſters and People declared with one Voice, that they would as ſoon renounce their *Baptiſm* as their Covenant; but withal avowed their Duty and Allegiance to the King, and their Reſolutions to ſtand by his Majeſty, in Defence of the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. The *Marquis* not being able to make any Impreſſion on the *Covenanters* returned to *England*, with an Account of the melancholy State of Affairs in that Kingdom, which ſurprized the *Engliſh* Court, and reflected ſome Diſgrace upon the Archbiſhop, for as his *Grace* was going to Council, *Archibald*, the King's Jeſter ſaid to him, *Whea's Feule now?* Does not your Grace hear the News from *Striveling* about the Liturgy? His Grace complaining of this Uſage to the Council, *Archibald Armſtrong*, the King's Fool, was ordered to have his Coat pulled over his Ears, to be diſcharged the King's Service, and baniſhed the Court.

Ruſhw. p. 752, 762.

King's Conceſſions. Ib. p. 471.

After ſome Time *Hamilton* was ſent back with Inſtructions (if Neceſſity required) to revoke the Liturgy, the Canons, the High Commiſſion, and the five Articles of *Perth*; and with Authority to ſubſcribe the *Confeſſion of Faith of* 1580. *with the Band thereunto annexed*, and to take Orders that all his Maje-

Majeſty's Subjects ſubſcribed the *ſame*. He might alſo promiſe the calling a General Aſſembly and Parliament within a competent Time, but was to endeavour to exclude the Laity from the Aſſembly. The Deſign of ſubſcribing the Band of the old Covenant of 1580. was to ſecure the Continuance of Epiſcopacy, becauſe that *Band* obliges them to maintain the Religion at *that Time profeſſed*, which the King would interpret of Prelatical Government, as being not then legally diſcharged by Parliament, and becauſe it contained no Promiſe of *mutual Defence and Aſſiſtance againſt all Perſons whatſoever*, which might include the King himſelf. But the *Covenanters* did not think fit to ſubſcribe over again, and therefore only thanked the King for diſcharging the Liturgy, the Canons, and High Commiſſion. *King* Charles I. 1638.

At length the Marquis publiſhed a Proclamation for a *General Aſſembly* to meet at *Glaſgow*, *Nov.* 21. The Choice of Members went every where in favour of the Covenanters; the Reverend Mr. *Henderſon*, one of the ſilenced Miniſters, was choſen Moderator, and Mr. *Johnſton*, Clerk Regiſter; but the Biſhops preſented a *Declinator*, "Declaring the Aſſembly to be unlawful, and the "Members of it not qualified to repreſent the "Clergy of the Nation, (1.) Becauſe they were "choſen before the Preſbyteries had received the "Royal Mandate to make Election. (2.) Becauſe moſt of them had not ſubſcribed the Arti-"cles of Religion, nor ſworn to the King's *Supremacy* in preſence of the Biſhops, for neglect of "which they were *ipſo facto* deprived. (3.) Becauſe "they had excluded the Biſhops, who by the Act "of Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, 1610. were to be perpe-"tual Moderators. (4.) Becauſe there were *Lay-"Elders* among them who had no Right to be there, "nor had ordinarily ſet in Preſbyteries for above "Forty Years. (5.) Becauſe they apprehended it "abſurd, as well as contrary to the Practice of the "Chri-

A General Aſſembly at Glaſgow. Ruſhw. p. 865.

The Biſhop's Declinator.

King Charles I. 1638.

" Chriſtian Church, that Archbiſhops and Biſhops " ſhould be judged by a mixt Aſſembly of Clergy " and Laicks." Signed by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Glaſgow*, *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Roſs* and *Brechin*.

But the Force of theſe Objections, how ſtrong ſoever in themſelves, was taken off, by the King's owning the Aſſembly, and ſitting in it by his *Commiſſioner* ſeven Days; though at the Diſſolution he declared their Proceedings to be utterly deſtructive of the Name and Nature of a free Aſſembly.

It is rejected.

The Biſhops Declinator being read, was unanimouſly rejected, and a Committee appointed to draw up an Anſwer. In the mean Time the Aſſembly was buſy in examining Elections, in which the *Covenanters* carried every Thing before them; the *Marquis* therefore deſpairing of any good Iſſue, determin'd, according to his Inſtructions, to diſſolve them; and accordingly went to the *great Church*, where they ſat, and read over his Majeſty's Conceſſions; as, " (1.) That his Majeſty was willing to diſcharge the " *Service Book, and the Book of Canons.* (2.) To diſ- " ſolve the *High Commiſſion.* (3.) That the Articles " of *Perth* ſhould not be urged. (4.) That no Oath " ſhould be required of any Miniſter at his Entrance " into the Miniſtry, but what is requir'd by Act of " Parliament. (5.) That for the future there ſhould " be *General Aſſemblies* as often as the Affairs of the " Kirk ſhall require; and, that the Biſhops ſhould " be cenſurable by the Aſſembly, according to their " Merits. (6.) That the Confeſſion of Faith of " 1580. ſhould be ſubſcribed by all his Majeſty's " Subjects of *Scotland.*" Theſe were very conſiderable Abatements, but did not reach the Requirements of the *Covenanters*, which were the Diſſolution of the Order of Biſhops, and of the above-mentioned Grievances by a Statute Law. The Marquis went on, and in a long Speech declaimed againſt LAY-ELDERS, " an Office (as he ſaid) unknown in the Church for

" fifteen

" fifteen Hundred Years, ſuch Perſons being very " unfit to judge of the high Myſteries of *Predeſtina-* " *tion*, *Effectual Grace*, *Anti and Poſt-Lapſarian* " *Doctrines*, or to paſs Sentence upon their Superiors " in Learning and Office." He therefore adviſed them to break up, and chooſe another Aſſembly of all Clergymen; but his Motion ſtriking at the very Being and Lawfulneſs of their preſent Conſtitution, was unanimouſly rejected; upon which the Marquis diſſolved them, after they had ſat but ſeven Days; forbidding them to continue their Seſſions upon pain of *High Treaſon*; and next Morning the Diſſolution was publiſhed by Proclamation at the *Market Croſs*.

King Charles I. 1638.

The Aſſembly diſſolv'd

But the Aſſembly, inſtead of ſubmitting to the Royal Command, continued ſitting, and the very next Day [*Nov.* 29.] publiſhed a Proteſtation to juſtify their Proceedings, wherein they affirm, " 1. That *Ruling Elders* have conſtantly ſat in their " Aſſemblies before the late Times of Corruption. " 2. That his Majeſty's Preſence in their Aſſemblies, " either in his own Perſon or by his Commiſſioners, " is not for voting, but as *Princes* and *Emperors* of " old, in a princely Manner, to countenance their " Meetings, and preſide in them for external Order. " 3. That it is clear, by the Doctrine and Diſcipline " of the Kirk, contained in the Book of *Policy*, and " regiſter'd in the Book of the Aſſembly, and ſub- " ſcribed by the Preſbyteries of this Kirk, that it " is unlawful in it ſelf, and prejudicial to the Privi- " leges that Chriſt has left his Church, for the King " to diſſolve or break up the Aſſembly of this Kirk, " or to ſtay their Proceedings; for then it would " follow, that Religion and Church Government " ſhould depend abſolutely upon the Pleaſure of the " Prince. 4. That there is no Pretence by Act of Aſ- " ſembly, or Parliament, or any preceding Pra- " ctice, whereby the King's Majeſty, or his Com- " miſſioner, may lawfully diſſolve the General Aſ- " ſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, without their

But continue ſitting.

Their Reaſons for ſo doing.

King Charles I. 1638.

" Conſent. 5. That the Aſſemblies of the Kirk " have continued ſitting, notwithſtanding any *contramand*, as is evident by all the *Records* thereof; " and in particular, by the General Aſſembly of " 1582. And, Laſtly, to diſſolve the Aſſembly be- " fore any Grievances are redreſſed, is to throw " back the whole Nation into Confuſion, and to " make every Man deſpair hereafter ever to ſee In- " novations removed, the Subjects Complaints re- " garded, or Offenders puniſhed. For theſe Rea- " ſons they declare it lawful and neceſſary to con- " tinue the preſent Aſſembly, till they have tried " and cenſured all the *By-gone Evils*, and the *Intro- " ductors* of them, and have provided a ſolid Courſe " for continuing God's Truth in this Land with Pu- " rity and Liberty; they declare further, that the " ſaid Aſſembly is, and ſhall be eſteemed and obey- " ed as a moſt lawful, full and free General Aſſem- " bly of this Kingdom, and that the Acts, Senten- " ces, Cenſures and Proceedings of it, ſhall be obeyed " and obſerved byall the Subjects of this Kingdom."

Preparations of the Engliſh *Court againſt them.* Ruſhw. P. 863.

Archbiſhop *Laud* was vexed at theſe bold and deſperate Proceedings of the Aſſembly, and thought of nothing but diſperſing them by Arms. " I will be " bold to ſay (ſays his Grace) never were there more " groſs Abſurdities, nor half ſo many, in ſo ſhort a " Time, committed in any publick Meeting; and " for a National Aſſembly, never did the Church of " Chriſt ſee the like." " — I am as ſorry as your " *Grace* [the Marquis of *Hamilton*] can be, that the " King's Preparations can make no more haſte; I " hope you think I have called upon his Majeſty, " and by his Command upon ſome others, to haſten " all that may be, and more than this I cannot do; " — I have done, and do daily call upon his Ma- " jeſty for his Preparations; he proteſts he makes " all the haſte he can, and I believe him; but the " Jealouſies of giving the *Covenanters* Umbrage too " ſoon have made Preparations here ſo late."

The

The *Aſſembly*, according to their Reſolution, continued ſitting ſeveral Weeks, till they had paſſed the following Acts; an *Act for diſannulling ſix late Aſſemblies therein mentioned, held in the Years* 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618. *with the Reaſons.* An Act *for abjuring and aboliſhing Epiſcopacy*; an Act *for condemning the five Articles of* Perth; an Act for *condemning the Service Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordination, and the High Commiſſion*; an Act *condemning Archdeacons, Chapters and Preaching Deacons*; an Act *for reſtoring Preſbyteries, Provincial and National Aſſemblies, to their Conſtitution of Miniſters and Elders, and to their Power and Juriſdiction contained in the Book of Policy*; with many others of the like nature. They then pronounced Sentence of Depoſition againſt the Biſhops; eight of whom were excommunicated; four excluded from the Miniſterial Function, and two only allowed to officiate as Paſtors or Preſbyters. Upon this Dr. *Spotſwood*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, retired to *London*, where he died the next Year. Moſt of his Brethren the Biſhops took the ſame Method, only four remained in the Country, three of whom renounced their Epiſcopal Orders, (*viz. Alexander Ramſey*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *George Graham*, Biſhop of *Orkney*, and *James Fairby*, Biſhop of *Argyle*; but the fourth, *George Guthrey*, Biſhop of *Murray*, kept his Ground, and weathered the Storm. At the Cloſe of the Seſſion the Aſſembly drew up a Letter to the King, complaining of his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, who had proclaimed them *Traytors*, and forbid the People to pay any Regard to their Acts; and praying the King to look upon them ſtill as his good and faithful Subjects. They alſo publiſhed another Declaration to the good People of *England*, in vindication of their Proceedings, which his Majeſty took care to ſuppreſs, and iſſued out a Proclamation againſt the ſeditious Behaviour of the *Covenanters*, which he commanded to be read in all the Churches in *England*.

King Charles I. 1638.

Acts of the Aſſembly. Ruſhw. p. 873.

Biſhops depoſed.

Ib. p. 876.

King Charles I. 1638.

First Scots War.

'Twas eaſy to foreſee, that theſe warm Proceedings muſt end in a War, eſpecially when 'tis remember'd, that his Majeſty conſulted with none but the declared Enemies of their *Kirk*, (*viz.*) *Laud*, *Hamilton* and *Wentworth*. On the 26th. of *Jan.* the King publiſhed his Reſolution to go in Perſon againſt the *Scots Covenanters* at the Head of his Army; for this Purpoſe the Nobility were ſummoned to attend his Majeſty, and all the Wheels of the Prerogative were put in Motion to raiſe Men and Money. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* writ to the Biſhops of his Province, that this being *Bellum Epiſcopale*, a *War for the Support of Epiſcopacy*, they ſhould ſtir up their Clergy to a liberal Contribution, after the Rate of three Shillings and ten Pence in the Pound, according to the Valuation of their Livings in the King's Books. He writ alſo to his Commiſſary, Sir *John Lamb*, for a Contribution in the Civil Courts of *Doctors Commons*, requiring him to ſend the Names of ſuch as refuſed, to himſelf at *Lambeth*. The Queen and her Friends undertook for the *Roman Catholicks*; the Courtiers and Country Gentlemen were writ to, to lend Money upon this Occaſion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter Forty only contributed together about fourteen Hundred Pounds. With theſe and ſome other Aſſiſtances, the King fitted out a Fleet of ſixteen Men of War, and raiſed a ſplendid Army of twenty one Thouſand Horſe and Foot.

Prynne's Introd. p. 177, 178, 196. Rushw. p. 841.

The *Scots* being informed of the Preparations that were making againſt them in *England*, ſecured the important Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbritton*, and *Frith*; and raiſed an Army of ſuch Voluntiers as had the Cauſe of the *Kirk* at Heart, and were determined to ſacrifice their Lives in Defence of it; they ſent for their old General *Leſley* from *Germany*, who, upon this Occaſion, quitted the Emperor's Service, and brought over with him ſeveral experienced Officers. But their greateſt Diſtreſs was the want of *Fire-Arms*, *Ammunition*, and *Money*, for there was not

not above three Thouſand Arms to be found in the whole Kingdom; and having no Money, their Soldiers made ſuch a ragged Appearance, that when the King ſaw them he ſaid, *They would certainly fight the* Engliſh *if it were only to get their fine Clothes.* But the Succeſs of this War will fall within the Compaſs of the next Year. *King* Charles I. 1638.

To return to *England*, the *Star Chamber* and *High Commiſſion* went on with their Oppreſſions, as if they were under no Apprehenſions from the Storm that was gathering in the North. Many Miniſters were ſuſpended and ſhut up in Priſon, as Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, B. D. of *Magdalen College*, *Oxford*; Mr. *George Walker*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Small*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Brewer*, a Baptiſt Preacher, who lay in Priſon fourteen Years; Mr. *Foxley* of St. *Martins in the Fields*, who was confined in a Chamber in the *Gate-Houſe* not four Yards ſquare for twenty Months, without Pen, Ink, or Paper, or the Acceſs of any Friends, even in his extreme Sickneſs; and all this without knowing his Crime, or ſo much as gueſſing at it, unleſs it was for ſpeaking in favour of the *Feoffees*. *Proceedings of the High Commiſſion.* Prynne, p. 388.

Great Numbers of *Puritans* continued to flock into *New England*, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the Council laſt Year, inſomuch that the *Maſſachuſet Bay* began to be too ſtraight for them; in the latter end of the Year, 1636. about one Hundred Families travell'd further into the Country, and ſettled on the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, with the Reverend Mr. *Hooker* at their Head; another Detachment went from *Dorcheſter*; a third from *Water Town*; and a fourth from *Roxbury*; and built the Towns of *Hertford*, *Windſor*, *Weathenfield* and *Springfield*, in that Colony. Next Year [1637.] the Paſſengers from *England* were ſo numerous, that they projected a new Settlement on the South Weſt part of *Connecticut River*, in a large Bay near the Confines of *New York*; the Leaders of this Colony were *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; and the Reverend Mr. *Davenport*, who *Settlement of the Colonies of* Connecticut *and* New-Haven.

King Charles I. 1638.

came from *England* with a large Retinue of Acquaintance and Followers; they ſpread along the Coaſt, and firſt built the Town of NEW-HAVEN, which gives Name to the Colony; and after ſome Time, the Towns of *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, *Brainford*, &c. Notwithſtanding theſe Detachments the *Maſſachuſets Bay* had ſuch frequent Recruits from *England*, that they were continually building new Towns, or enlarging their Settlements in the Neighbourhood.

Puritan *Miniſters remove to* New England.

Mr. Rogers.

Mather's *Hiſtory of* New England. B. III. p. 101.

Among the Divines that went over this Summer, were the Reverend Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, M. A. ſome Time Chaplain in the Family of Sir *Francis Barrington*, of *Hatfield Broad Oak*, in *Eſſex*, and afterwards Vicar of *Rowley* in *Yorkſhire*, where he continued a ſucceſsful Preacher to a numerous Congregation almoſt twenty Years; the Archbiſhop of that Dioceſe [Dr. *Matthews*] being a moderate Divine, permitted the Uſe of thoſe Lectures or Propheſyings, which Queen *Elizabeth* had put down; the Miniſters within certain Diſtricts had their monthly Exerciſes, in which one or two preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive Audience. One of the Hearers, that bore an ill-will to the *Exerciſes*, told the Archbiſhop, that the Miniſters prayed againſt him; but his Grace, inſtead of giving Credit to the Informer, anſwer'd with a Smile, that he could hardly believe him, becauſe *thoſe good Men know* (ſays he) *that if I were gone to Heaven their* EXERCISES *would ſoon be put down*; which came to paſs accordingly, for no ſooner was his Succeſſor [*Neile*] in his Chair but he put a Period to them, and urged Subſcription with ſo much Severity, that many of the Clergy were ſuſpended and ſilenced; among whom was Mr. *Rogers*, who having no further Proſpect of Uſefulneſs in his own Country, embarked with ſeveral of his *Yorkſhire* Friends for *New England*, where he arrived in the Summer of the Year 1638. and ſettled at a Place which he called *Rowley*. Here he ſpent the Re-

Remainder of his Days in a viciſſitude of Afflictions and Sorrows till the Year 1660. when he died, in the ſeventieth Year of his Age. *King* Charles I. 1638.

Mr. *Samuel Newman*, Author of that Concordance of the Bible that bears his Name; he was born at *Banbury*, educated at *Oxford*, and having finiſhed his Studies, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became Miniſter of a ſmall Living in that County, but the ſevere Proſecutions of the Spiritual Courts obliged him to no leſs than ſeven Removals, till, at length, he reſolved to get out of their Reach, and remove with his Friends to *New England*, where he arrived this Summer, and ſettled at *Rehoboth* in the Colony of *New Plimouth*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Days to the Year 1663. when he died, in the ſixty third Year of his Age. He was a hard Student, a lively Preacher, and of an heavenly Converſation. *Mr.* Newman.

Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, B. D. educated in *Cambridge*, and *Greek* Profeſſor in that Univerſity. He was afterwards ſettled at *Ware*, and was an admired and uſeful Preacher, till he was driven from thence, as has been related. When the *Book of Sports* was publiſhed, and the Drums beat about the Town, to ſummon the People to their *Dances* and *Revels* on the Lord's Day Evening, he preached againſt it, for which he was ſuſpended, and ſoon after totally ſilenced. Few ſuffered more for Non-Conformity (ſays my Author) by Fines, by Impriſonment, and by Neceſſities, to abſcond, than Mr. *Chauncey*; at length he determined to remove to *New England*, where he arrived in the Year 1638. and became Preſident of *Harward College* in *Cambridge*. Here he continued a moſt learned, laborious, and uſeful Governor, till the Year 1671. when he died, in the eighty ſecond Year of his Age; he left behind him ſix Sons, the eldeſt of which was Dr. *Iſaac Chauncey*, well known heretofore among the Non-Conformiſt Miniſters of *London*. *Mr.* Chauncey. Mather's *Hiſtory of* New England.

King Charles I. 1638.

Oliver Cromwell, *and other Gentlemen, bound for* New England.

I paſs over the Lives and Characters of many other Divines, and ſubſtantial Gentlemen, who deſerted their native Country for the Peace of their Conſciences; but it deſerves a particular Notice, that there were eight Sail of Ships at once, this Spring, in the River of *Thames*, bound for *New England*, and filled with Puritan Families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. *George Bates*, and Mr. *Dugdale*, two famous Royaliſts) were OLIVER CROMWELL, afterwards Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, JOHN HAMPDEN, Eſq; and Mr. ARTHUR HASELRIGGE, who ſeeing no End of the Oppreſſions of their native Country, determined to ſpend the Remainder of their Days in *America*; but the Council being informed of their Deſign, iſſued out an Order, dated *May* 1. 1638. *to make Stay of thoſe Ships, and to put on Shore all the Paſſengers and Proviſions intended for the Voyage.* And to prevent the like for the future, his Majeſty prohibited all Maſters and Owners of Ships, to ſet forth any Ships for *New England* with Paſſengers, without ſpecial Licenſe from the Privy Council; and gives this remarkable Reaſon for it, "Becauſe the People "of *New England* were factious, and unworthy of "any Support from hence, in regard of the great "Diſorders, and want of Government among them, "whereby many that have been well affected to the "Church of *England* have been prejudiced in their "Eſtates by them."

Ruſhw. p. 409.

Others remove to Holland.

When the Puritans might not tranſport themſelves to *New England*, they removed with their Families into the *Low Countries*; among the Divines that went thither about this Time, were Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, educated in *Cambridge*, and a great Admirer of Dr. *Preſton*. In the Year 1628. he was choſen to preach the Lecture in *Trinity Church*, and held it till the Year 1634. when he left the Univerſity and all his Preferments, through Diſſatisfaction with the Terms of Conformity: Having lived in Retirement till this Time, he went with ſome ſelect Friends to *Holland*, and

Dr. Tho. Goodwin.

and ſettled at *Arnheim* in *Gelderland*, where he continued till the beginning of the Long Parliament. *King* Charles I. 1638.

Philip Nye, M. A. educated in *Magdalen Hall*, *Oxon*, and a popular Preacher at St. *Bartholomew*, *Exchange*, *London*. *Mr.* Nye.

Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, a moſt candid and moderate Divine, educated in *Cambridge*, and afterwards a famous Preacher to two of the largeſt Congregations about *London*, viz. *Stepney* and *Cripplegate*. *Mr.* Burroughs.

Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. and Fellow of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*; he was firſt Miniſter in *Eſſex*, and afterwards ſettled in the City of *Norwich*, in the Pariſh of St. *George Tomland*; where he continued till he was ſilenced for Non-Conformity by Biſhop *Wren*, in the Year 1637. and excommunicated. *Mr.* Bridge

Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, educated in *Cambridge*, and afterwards a celebrated Preacher in *London*. Theſe were afterwards the five Pillars of the *Independant* or *Congregational Party*, and were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the *Diſſenting Brethren* in the Aſſembly of Divines. *Mr.* Sympſon.

Several Gentlemen and Merchants of Figure diſpoſed of their Effects, and went after them into Exile, as Sir *Math. Boynton*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Richard Saltingſton*, Mr. *Lawrence*, afterwards Lord Preſident of the Council, Mr. *Andrews*, afterwards Lord Mayor of *London*, Mr. *Aſke*, ſince a Judge, Mr. *Bouchier*, Mr. *James*, Mr. *White*, and others. The States received them with great Humanity, granting them the Uſe of their Churches at different Hours of the Day, with the Liberty of ringing a Bell for publick Worſhip, though they did not approve of the *Dutch* Diſcipline, nor join in Communion with their Churches.

Great was the Damage the Nation ſuſtain'd by theſe Removals; for as *Heylin* obſerves, "The ſe- "vere preſſing of the Ceremonies made the People in "many trading Towns tremble at a Viſitation, but "when they found their ſtriving in vain, and that "they *Heylin's Remarks. Life of* Laud, p. 343, 345.

King Charles I. 1639.

" they had loſt the Comfort of their Lecturers, who " were turned out for not reading the ſecond Service " at the Communion Table in their Hoods and Sur- " plices, and for uſing other Prayers beſides that of " the Fifty fifth Canon, it was no hard Matter for " thoſe Miniſters to perſuade them to tranſport " themſelves into foreign Parts; *The Sun* (ſaid they) " *ſhines as comfortably in other Places, and the Sun of* " *Righteouſneſs much brighter*; *'tis better to go and dwell* " *in* Goſhen, *find it where we can, than tarry in the* " *midſt of ſuch* Egyptian *Bondage as is among us*; *the* " *ſinful Corruptions of the Church are now grown ſo ge-* " *neral, that there is no Place free from the Contagion*; " *therefore go out of her my People, and be not Partakers* " *of her Sins.*" And hereunto they were encouraged by the *Dutch*, *who choſe rather to carry their Manufactures home than be obliged to reſort to their Pariſh Churches, as by the Archbiſhop's Injunctions they were obliged.*

1639. *King marches againſt the* Scots.

The Eyes of all *England* were now towards the North, whither the King went *March* 27th. to put himſelf at the Head of his Army raiſed againſt the *Scots*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Eſſex* and *Holland*, being the chief commanding Officers under his Majeſty. The *Scots*, under the Command of General *Leſley*, met them upon the Borders; but when the two Armies had faced each other for ſome Time, the King perceived that his Proteſtant Nobility and Soldiers were not hearty in his Cauſe, and therefore gave way to a Treaty, at the Petition of the *Scots*, which ended in a Pacification, *June* 17th. by which all Points of Difference were referr'd to a General Aſſembly to be held at *Edinburgh*, *Aug.* 12. and to a Parliament which was to meet about a Fortnight after. In the mean Time both Armies were to be diſbanded, the TABLES to be broke up, and no Meetings held but ſuch as are warranted by Act of Parliament. Accordingly the King diſmiſſed his Army, but with very diſobliging Circumſtances, not giving the Nobility and Gentry ſo much as Thanks for their Affection,

A Pacification.

fection, Loyalty, and perſonal Attendance, which they reſented ſo much, that few or none of them appeared upon the next Summons; the *Scots* delivered back the King's Forts and Caſtles into his Majeſty's Hands, and diſbanded their Soldiery, but wiſely kept their Officers in pay till they ſaw the Effect of the Pacification. *King Charles I. 1639.*

The General *Aſſembly* met at *Edinburgh* according to the Treaty, but being of the ſame Conſtitution with the laſt, the Biſhops preſented another Declinator to his Majeſty's Commiſſioner [the Earl of *Traquair*] and were excuſed giving their Attendance by expreſs Letter from the King, his Majeſty in his Inſtructions to his Commiſſioner having yielded them the Point of Lay-Elders. The *Aſſembly* therefore without any Oppoſition, confirmed the Proceedings of that at *Glaſgow*, which was of very dubious Authority. They appointed the Covenant to be taken throughout the Kingdom, and explained the Bond of mutual Defence to a Conſiſtency with their late Conduct. They voted away the new Service Book, the Book of Canons, the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commiſſion, and with one Conſent determined, that *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy was unlawful, and not to be allowed in their Kirk.* Which the Earl of *Traquair* did not apprehend inconſiſtent with his private Inſtructions from the King, which were theſe, "We allow Epiſcopacy to be aboliſhed for the Reaſons contained in the Articles, and that the Covenant of 1580. for ſatisfaction of our People be ſubſcribed. — Again, if they require Epiſcopacy to be abjured, as contrary to the Conſtitution of the Church of *Scotland*, you are to give way to it, but not as a Point of Popery, or as contrary to God's Law, or the Proteſtant Religion. — Again, in giving way to the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, be careful that it be done without the appearing of any Warrant from the Biſhops in prejudice of Epiſcopacy as unlawful; but only in Satisfaction to the People for ſettling the preſent "Diſ-

A General Aſſembly at Edinburgh.

Nalſon, p. 247.

King's Inſtructions to his Commiſſioner.

Berwick, July 27, 1639.

King Charles I. 1639.

" Diſorders, and ſuch other Reaſons of State; but " herein you muſt be careful that our Intentions ap- " pear not to any." 'Tis evident from hence, that his Majeſty's Uſage of the *Scots* was neither frank nor ſincere; he had no deſign to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, but conſented to ſuſpend it, becauſe he was told that the Biſhops being one of the three Eſtates of Parliament, no Law made in their Abſence could be of force, much leſs an Act for aboliſhing their whole Order, after they had enter'd their Proteſt in form. When his Majeſty gave way to the ſubſcribing the Covenant, it was with another reſerve, " as far *as may ſtand with our* " *future Intentions well known to you.* For though we " have diſcharged the Service Book and Canons, we " will never conſent that they be condemned as Po-

Ib. p. 254. " piſh or Superſtitious, — nor will we acknowledge " that the High Commiſſion was without Law, nor " that the five Articles of *Perth* be condemned as " contrary to the Confeſſion of Faith, 'tis enough " that they be laid aſide." His Majeſty's Inſtructions conclude, " That if any Thing be yielded in " the preſent Aſſembly prejudicial to his Majeſty's " Service, his Commiſſioner ſhall proteſt, that his " Majeſty may be heard for Redreſs thereof in his " own Time and Place."

Parliament meets. Nalſon, p. 256.

The *Scots* Parliament met *Aug.* 31. and having firſt ſubſcribed the ſolemn League and Covenant with the King's Conſent, they confirmed all the Acts of the General Aſſembly, concluding with the *utter Extirpation of Epiſcopacy as unlawful.* But the King having by Letter to his Commiſſioner forbid him to conſent to the Word *unlawful*, leſt it ſhould be interpreted *abſolutely*, tho' it ſeems to have a Reference only to the Kirk of *Scotland*, his Lordſhip prorogued the Parliament, firſt for fourteen Days, and then by the King's expreſs Command for nine Months, without ratifying any of their Acts. The Earl of *Dumferlin* and Lord *Loudon* were ſent to *London*, to beſeech his Majeſty to give way to their Ratification; but they

King refuſes to confirm their Acts.

were

were ſent home with a Reprimand for their Miſbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the King's Preſence. It ſeems too apparent, that his Majeſty meant little or nothing by his Conceſſions but to gain Time, for in his Declaration before the next War, about ſix Months forward, he ſays, "Concerning "our Promiſe of a Free Parliament, no Man can "imagine we intended it ſhould be ſo free, as not to "be limited by the Enjoyment of their Religion "and Liberties, according to the Eccleſiaſtical and "Civil Laws of that Kingdom; but if they paſs "theſe Bounds, we are diſobliged, and they left "at liberty to fly at our Monarchical Government "without controul, to wreſt the Sceptre out of our "Hands, and to rob the Crown of the faireſt Flower "belonging to it." The King therefore did not really intend the Alteration of any of the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of that Kingdom, and by his Majeſty's not ratifying any of their Acts, it was evident, that the *Engliſh* Court had reſumed their Courage, and were determined once more to try the Fortune of War. *King* Charles I. 1639.

In the mean Time, to balance the Declaration of the *Scots* Aſſembly, Biſhop *Hall*, at the Requeſt of *Laud*, compoſed a Treatiſe of the DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, which the Archbiſhop reviſed. The Propoſitions which he advances are theſe, (1.) *That Form of Government* which is of Apoſtolical Inſtitution ought to be eſteemed of *Divine Right*. (2.) *That Form* which was practiſed and recommended by the Apoſtles, though not expreſly commanded, is of *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*. (3.) The Government ſet up by the Apoſtles was deſigned for perpetuity. (4.) The univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church is the beſt Rule to judge of the Apoſtolical Practice. (5.) We ought not to ſuppoſe the Primitive Fathers would change the Form of Government they had received from the Apoſtles. (6.) The Acceſſion of Privilege and honourable Titles does not affect the Subſtance *Biſhop* Hall's *Divine Right of Epiſcopacy*.

King Charles I. 1639.

of the Epiſcopal Function. (7.) The Preſbyterian Government, though challenging the glorious Title of *Chriſt's Kingdom and Ordinance*, has no Foundation in Scripture, nor in the Practice of the Church for fifteen Hundred Years, and is altogether incongruous and unjuſtifiable.

Reviſed by Laud.

The Biſhop's Book was altered in many Places, contrary to his own Inclinations, by the Archbiſhop, and particularly in thoſe wherein he had called *the Pope Antichriſt, or ſpoke too favourably of the Morality of the Sabbath*; or ſaid, *that Preſbytery was of uſe, where Epiſcopacy could not be obtained.* His *Grace* diſapproved of his Lordſhip's waving the Queſtion, *Whether Epiſcopacy was a diſtinct Order*, or only an *higher Degree* of the *ſame Order? And of his advancing the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy no higher than the Apoſtles, whereas he would have it derived from Chriſt himſelf.* Upon the whole, his Lordſhip's Book was ſo model'd by his Metropolitan, that in the Debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the Lengths of his own Performance.

The Biſhops ſtill kept a ſtrict Hand over the Puritans; not a Sermon was to be heard on the diſtinguiſhing Points of *Calviniſm* all over *England.* In ſome Dioceſes great Complaints were made of Puritan Juſtices of Peace, for being too ſtrict in putting the Laws in Execution againſt Profaneneſs. At *Aſhford* in *Kent* the Archbiſhop ſaid, he muſt have recourſe to the *Statute of Abjuration*, and call in the Aſſiſtance of the Temporal Courts to reduce the Separatiſts, the Cenſures of the Church not being ſufficient. Upon the whole, there was no Abatement of the Height of Conformity, even to the End of this Year, though the Flames that were kindling in *Scotland* began to diſturb the Tranquillity of the Church.

Bagſhaw's Readings againſt the Biſhops.

Mr. *Bagſhaw*, a Lawyer of ſome Standing in the *Middle Temple*, being choſen Reader in that Houſe for the *Lent* Vacation, began to attack the Power of the Biſhops. In his Lectures on the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.*

cap. 7. he maintained, That Acts of Parliament were valid without the Aſſent of the *Lords Spiritual.* 2. That no beneficed Clerk was capable of temporal Juriſdiction at the making that Law. And, 3. That no Biſhop, without calling a Synod, had Power as a Dioceſan to convict an Heretick. *Laud* being informed of theſe Poſitions, told the King, that *Bagſhaw* had juſtified the *Scots* Covenanters in decrying the Temporal Juriſdiction of Churchmen, and the undoubted Right of the Biſhops to their Seats in Parliament; upon which he was immediately interdicted all further Reading on thoſe Points; and though *Bagſhaw* humbly petition'd the Lord Keeper, and the Archbiſhop for Liberty to proceed, he could get no other Anſwer after long Attendance, than that *it had been better for him not to have meddled with that Argument, which ſhould ſtick cloſer to him than he was aware of.* Whereupon he retired into the Country.

King Charles I. 1640. Heylin's *Life of* Laud, p. 381.

The Reſolution of the *Engliſh* Court to renew the War with *Scotland*, was owing to the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, whom Archbiſhop *Laud* had ſent for from *Ireland* for this purpoſe. This Nobleman, from being a Patriot of his Country, was become a petty Tyrant, and had govern'd *Ireland* in a moſt arbitrary and ſove-reign Manner for about ſeven Years, diſcountenancing the Proteſtants, becauſe they were *Calviniſts*, and enclined to *Puritaniſm*, and giving all imaginable Encouragement to the *Roman* Catholicks, as Friends to the Prerogative, whereby he gave up the Balance of Power in that Kingdom into the Hands of the Papiſts. *Wentworth* being come to Court was immediately created Earl of *Strafford* and Knight of the Garter, and in concert with *Laud* adviſed the King to ſet aſide the *Pacification*, and to puſh the *Scots* War with Vigor, offering his Majeſty eight Thouſand *Iriſh*, and a large Sum of Money for his Aſſiſtance; but this not being ſufficient, the War was thought ſo reaſonable and neceſſary to the King's Honour, that it might

1640. *Earl of* Strafford *called out of* Ireland, *adviſes a ſecond War.*

King Charles I. 1640.

might be ventur'd with an *Engliſh* Parliament, which being laid before the Council, was chearfully agreed to, and (after twelve Years Interval) a Parliament was ſummoned to meet *April* 13. 1640.

Scots *are encouraged by the* Engliſh.

The *Scots* foreſeeing the impending Storm, conſulted where to fly for Succour; ſome were for throwing themſelves into the Hands of the *French*, and accordingly writ a very ſubmiſſive Letter to that Monarch, ſigned by the Hands of ſeven *Scots* Peers, but never ſent it; for upon Application to their Friends at *London*, they were aſſured by a Letter, writ by Lord *Saville*, and ſigned by himſelf, with the Names of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Brook*, *Warwick*, *Say* and *Seal*, and *Mandeville*, (who agreed to the Letter, though they were ſo cautious as not to write their own Names) "That the Hearts of the People of "*England* were with them; that they were convin- "ced, the Liberties of both Nations were at ſtake, "and therefore they might depend upon their Aſſi- "ſtance as ſoon as a fair Opportunity offered." Upon this Encouragement the *Scots* laid aſide their Deſign of applying to *France*, and reſolved to raiſe another Army from among themſelves, and march into *England*.

The ſhort Parliament.

"The Parliament that met at *Weſtminſter* (ſays "the noble Hiſtorian) was made up of ſober and "diſpaſſionate Men, exceedingly diſpoſed to do "the King Service," and yet his Majeſty would not condeſcend to ſpeak to them from the Throne, but ordered the Lord Keeper *Finch* to acquaint them with the undutiful Behaviour of the *Scots*, whom he was determined to reduce, and therefore would not admit of the Mediation of the two Houſes, but expected their immediate Aſſiſtance, after which he would give them Time to conſider of any juſt Grievances to be redreſſed. But the Commons, inſtead of beginning with the Supply, appointed Committees for *Religion* and *Grievances*, which

which diſobliged the King ſo much, that after ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts to perſuade them to begin with the *Subſidy Bill*, he diſſolv'd them in Anger, without paſſing a ſingle Act, after they had ſat about three Weeks. The Blame of this haſty Diſſolution was by ſome caſt upon *Laud*, by others on Sir *Harry Vane*, but the King laid it upon the Miſbehaviour of the Houſe of Commons, who would not take his *Royal Word* for Redreſs of Grievances, after they had given the neceſſary Supplies; he therefore ſent for the leading Members of the Houſe into Cuſtody, and committed them Priſoners to the *Fleet* and other Priſons. *King* Charles I. 1640.

His Majeſty having failed of a Parliamentary Supply at the Time he demanded it, was told by Lord *Strafford*, and others of the Council, that he *was now abſolved from all Rules of Government, and might take what his Neceſſities required, and his* POWER *could obtain*. This, indeed, was no more than his Majeſty had been doing for twelve Years before; but ſome People drew an unhappy Concluſion from this Maxim (*viz.*) *That if the King was abſolved from all Rules of Government, the People might be abſolved from all Rules of Obedience*. *King goes on to raiſe Money by Prerogative.*

However, all the Engines of arbitrary Power were ſet at work to raiſe Money for the War, as *Loans*, *Benevolences*, *Ship-Money*, *Coat and Conduct* Money, *Knighthood*, *Monopolies*, and other Springs of the Prerogative, ſome of which (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) were ridiculous, and others ſcandalous, but all very grievous to the Subject. Thoſe that refuſed Payment were fined and impriſoned by the Star Chamber or Council Table; among whom were ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and Sheriffs of ſeveral Counties. The Courtiers advanced three hundred Thouſand Pounds in three Weeks, the Clergy in Convocation gave ſix Subſidies, the Papiſts were very generous; *Strafford* went over to *Ireland* and obtained four Subſidies of the Parliament of that Kingdom; Soldiers were preſſed into the Ser-

King Charles I. 1640.

vice in all Counties, few liſting themſelves voluntarily except Papiſts, many of whom had Commiſſions in the Army, which gave riſe to a common Saying among the People, that *the Queen's Army of Papiſts were going to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in* Scotland.

Mutinous Diſpoſition of the People.

The People groaned under theſe Oppreſſions, the Odium of which fell upon *Laud* and *Strafford*, who were libel'd and threaten'd with the Fury of the Populace. *May* 9. a Paper was fixed upon the old *Exchange*, animating the Apprentices to pull the Archbiſhop out of his Palace at *Lambeth*; upon this the Train'd Bands were order'd into St. *George*'s *Fields*, nevertheleſs the Mob roſe and broke his Windows, for which one of them being apprehended ſuffer'd Death as a Traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a Breach of the Peace. From *Lambeth* the Mob went to the Houſe of the Pope's Agent, where they were diſperſed by the King's Guards, and ſome of them ſent to the *White Lion* Priſon; but next Week [*May* 15.] they roſe again and reſcued their Friends. The Country was in the ſame mutinous Poſture, there being frequent Skirmiſhes between them and the new raiſed Soldiers, even to Bloodſhed. The City *Train Bands* were in Arms all the Summer, but the Campaign proving unſucceſsful, there was no keeping the People within Bounds afterwards; for while the *High Commiſſion* was ſitting at St. *Paul*'s, *Octob.* 22. near two Thouſand *Browniſts* (as the Archbiſhop calls them) raiſed a Diſturbance and broke up the Court, crying out, *No Biſhops, no High Commiſſion.* Such were the Diſtempers of the Times!

Convocation open'd.

The Convocation that ſat with this Parliament was opened *April* 14. with more Splendor and Magnificence than the Situation of Affairs required. The Sermon was preached by Dr. *Turner*, Canon Reſidentiary of St. *Paul*'s, from St. *Matth.* xvi. 16. *Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheep among Wolves.* After which they adjourn'd to the *Chapter-Houſe*, where the King's Writ of Summons being read, the

the Archbiſhop, in a *Latin* Speech, recommended to the Lower Houſe the chooſing a Prolocutor, to be preſented to himſelf or his Commiſſary in the Chapel of *Henry* VII. on *Friday* following, to which Time and Place the Convocation was adjourn'd. *King* Charles I. 1640.

On the 17th of *April*, after Divine Service, Dr. STEWARD, Dean of *Chicheſter*, and Clerk of the Cloſet, was preſented to the Archbiſhop as *Prolocutor* in the Chapel of *Henry* VII. whom his *Grace* approved, and then produced his Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great Seal, authorizing them *to make and ordain certain Canons and Conſtitutions, for the eſtabliſhing true Religion, and the Profit of the State of the Church of* England. The Commiſſion was to remain in Force during the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable Clauſe, *nothing was to be concluded without the Archbiſhop's being a Party in the Conſultation.* It was intended alſo to draw up an *Engliſh Pontifical*, which was to contain the Form and Manner of Royal Coronations. — A Form *for conſecrating Churches, Church-Yards and Chapels.* — A Form for *reconciling Penitents and Apoſtates.* — A *Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops at their Viſitation.* — And *a ſhort Form of Prayer for before Sermon*, comprehending the Subſtance of the Fifty fifth Canon. But moſt of theſe Projects were interrupted by the ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament. *Proceedings of the Convocation.* Collyer's *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 793. *Life of* Heylin.

The Convocation, according to ancient Cuſtom, ſhould have broke up at the ſame Time, but one of the Lower Houſe having acquainted the Archbiſhop with a Precedent in the 27th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, of the Clergy's granting a Subſidy or Benevolence, of two Shillings in the Pound, to be raiſed upon all the Clergy, after the Parliament was riſen, and levying it by their own *Synodical Act* only, under the Penalty of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, it was concluded from thence, that the Convocation might ſit independent of the Parliament, and therefore inſtead *Continued after the Diſſolution of the Parliament.* Fuller's *Appeal*, p. 67, 69.

King Charles I. 1640.

of diſſolving, they only adjourned for a few Days, to take further Advice.

The zealous Archbiſhop relying upon this ſingle Precedent applied to the King for a Commiſſion, to continue the Convocation during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, in order to finiſh the Canons and Conſtitutions, and to grant the Subſidies already voted. The Caſe being referr'd to the Judges, the Majority gave it as their Opinion, *That the Convocation being called by the King's Writ under the Great Seal, doth continue till it be diſſolved by Writ or Commiſſion under the Great Seal, notwithſtanding the Parliament be diſſolved.* Signed *May* 14. 1640. by

Opinion of the Judges.

John Finch, Cuſtos, *M. S.*

H. Mancheſter, *Rob. Heath*,
John Bramſton, *Edw. Littleton*,
Ralph Whitfield, *John Banks.*

Several of the Members diſſatisfy'd.

Upon this a Commiſſion under the Great Seal was granted, and the Convocation re-aſſembled; but notwithſtanding the Opinion of theſe Gentlemen of the Long Robe, Dr. *Hackett*, *Brownrigge*, *Holdiſworth*, and others, to the Number of Thirty ſix, proteſted earneſtly againſt it, though in regard the Seſſion was warranted by ſo many conſiderable Perſons, they did not withdraw, nor enter their Proteſt in Form of Law, as they ought to have done. They were further ſo influenced by his Majeſty's Meſſage, ſent by Sir *H. Vane*, Secretary of State, to acquaint them, "That it was his Royal Pleaſure, that none of "the Prelates or Clergy, ſhould withdraw from the "Synod or Convocation, till the Affairs they had in "command from the King were perfected and fi-"niſhed."

Fuller, B. IX. p. 112.

Upon this dubious Foundation the Convocation was continued, and a Committee of twenty ſix appointed to prepare Matters for the Debate of the Houſe;

Houſe; but the Mob were ſo inflam'd, that they threaten'd to pull down the Convocation-Houſe, upon which the King appointed them a Guard of the Militia of *Middleſex*, commanded by *Endymion Porter*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, a *Papiſt*, under whoſe Protection the *Synod* was continued, till the *Canons* were perfected, and ſix Subſidies given, by way of Supply for the Exigency of his Majeſty's Affairs; to be collected in ſix Years, after the Rate of four Shillings in the Pound, amounting to about one Hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds; after which it was diſſolved [*May* 29.] by a ſpecial *Mandate* or *Writ* from his Majeſty, after it had continued twenty five Seſſions. The Canons having been approved by the Privy Council, were ſubſcribed by as many of both Houſes of Convocation as were preſent, and then tranſmitted to the Provincial Synod of *York*, by whom they were ſubſcribed at once, without ſo much as debating either Matter or Form. Dr. *John Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was in the *Tower*, and had no concern with the Canons. Dr. *Goodman*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, a concealed Papiſt, was the only Prelate who declin'd the Subſcription, but the Archbiſhop threatning him with Deprivation, and the reſt of his Brethren preſſing him to comply, he was perſwaded to put his Name to the Book; but ſeveral of the Members of the Lower Houſe avoided the *Teſt*, by withdrawing before the Day of Subſcription; for of above one Hundred and ſixty, of which both Houſes of Convocation conſiſted, there were not many more than one Hundred Names to the Book.

King Charles I. 1640. *Their Proceedings.*

The unreaſonableneſs of continuing the Synod after the Diſſolution of the Parliament appears from hence, that the Convocation, conſiſting of Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Clerks, the three former act in their perſonal Capacities only, and may give for themſelves what Subſidies they pleaſe; but the Clerks being choſen for their reſpective Cathedrals and Dioceſes, *Remarks.*

King Charles I. 1640.

ceſes, legally to ſit as long as the Parliament continues, deſiſt from being *publick Perſons* as ſoon as it is diſſolved, and loſe the Character of *Repreſentatives*; they are then no more than *private Clergymen*, who, though they may give the King what Sums of Money they pleaſe for themſelves, cannot vote away the Eſtates of their Brethren, unleſs they are re-elected. Beſides, it was contrary to all *Law* and *Cuſtom*, both before and ſince the Act of *Submiſſion of the Clergy* to King *Henry* VIII. except in the ſingle Inſtance of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Canons of this Synod, conſiſting of ſeventeen Articles, were publiſhed *June* 30. and entitled, *Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *Preſidents of the Convocation for their reſpective Provinces, and the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed upon with the King's Majeſty's Licenſe, in their ſeveral Synods began at* London *and* York, 1640.

CANON I. *Concerning the Regal Power.*

Abſtract of the Canons. Of the kingly Power. Nalſon, p. 545.

"We ordain and decree, That every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon one Sunday in "every Quarter of the Year, in the Place where "he ſerves, ſhall read the following Explanation "of the Regal Power.

"That the moſt high and ſacred Order of Kings "is of DIVINE RIGHT, being the Ordinance of "God himſelf, founded in the prime Laws of Na-"ture and Revelation, by which the Supreme "Power over all Perſons Civil and Eccleſiaſtical is "given to them.

"That they have the Care of God's Church, and "the Power of calling and diſſolving Councils, both "National and Provincial.

"That for any Perſons to ſet up in the King's "Realms any independent, coercive Power, either "Papal or Popular, is treaſonable againſt God and

" the King. And for Subjects to bear Arms againſt *King* " their King, either offenſive or defenſive, upon any Charles I. " Pretence whatſoever, is at leaſt to reſiſt the Powers 1640. " ordained of God; and though they do not invade, " but only reſiſt, St. *Paul* ſays, *They ſhall receive* " *Damnation.*

" And though Tribute and Cuſtom, Aid and Sub- " ſidy be due to the King, by the Law of God, Na- " ture and Nations, yet Subjects have a Right and " Property in their Goods and Eſtates; and theſe " two are ſo far from croſſing one another, that they " mutually go together for the honourable and " comfortable Support of both.

" If any Clergyman ſhall voluntarily and careleſ- " ly neglect to publiſh theſe Explications, he ſhall " be ſuſpended; or if in any Sermon, or publick " Lecture, he ſhall maintain any Poſition contrary " hereunto, he ſhall be forthwith excommunicated " and ſuſpended for two Years; and if he offend a " ſecond Time he ſhall be deprived."

CANON II. *For the better obſerving the Day of his Majeſty's Inauguration.*

" The Syond decrees and ordains, That all Per- *For obſer-* " ſons ſhall come to Church the Morning of the ſaid *ving the* " Day, and continue there till Prayers and Preach- *King's In-* " ing are ended, upon Pain of ſuch Puniſhment as *auguration* " the Law inflicts on thoſe who wilfully abſent them- *Day.* " ſelves from Church on Holy Days."

CANON III. *For ſuppreſſing the Growth of Popery.*

" All Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within their ſeveral *Againſt* " Pariſhes or Juriſdictions, ſhall confer privately *Popery.* " with Popiſh Recuſants, but if private Conference " prevail not, the Church muſt and ſhall come to " her Cenſures, and to make way for them, ſuch " Perſons ſhall be preſented at the next Viſitation,

" who

King Charles I. 1640.

" who come not to Church, and refuſe to receive " the holy Euchariſt; or who either ſay or hear " Maſs, and if they remain obſtinate after Citation, " they ſhall be excommunicated.

" But if neither Conference nor Cenſures pre- " vail, the Church ſhall then complain of them " to the Civil Power; and this ſacred Synod does " earneſtly intreat the Reverend Juſtices of Aſſize " to be careful in executing the Laws, as they will " anſwer it to God. And every Biſhop ſhall once a " Year ſend into the Court of *Chancery*, a *ſignificavit* " of the Names of thoſe who have ſtood excommu- " nicated beyond the Time limited by Law, and " ſhall deſire, that a Writ *de excommunicato capiendo* " may be at once ſent out againſt them all.

" Care is likewiſe to be taken, that no Perſon be " admitted to teach School, but who has ſubſcribed " to the Church as the Law directs; and that no " excommunicate Perſon be abſolved by any Ap- " peal, unleſs he firſt take the Oath *de parendo Juri* " *& ſtando mandatis Eccleſiæ.*"

CANON IV. *Againſt Socinianiſm.*

Againſt Socinia- niſm.

" It is decreed, That no Perſons ſhall import, " print, or diſperſe any of their Books, on pain of " Excommunication, and of being further puniſhed " in the Star Chamber. No Miniſter ſhall preach " any ſuch Doctrines in his Sermons, nor Student " have any ſuch Books in his Study, except he be a " Graduate in Divinity; and if any Lay-Man em- " brace their Opinions, he ſhall be excommunica- " ted, and not abſolved without Repentance and " Abjuration."

[*N. B.* None of the Doctrines of *Socinus*, nor any of his peculiar Sentiments, are mentioned in this Canon.]

CANON

King Charles I. 1640.

CANON V. *Againſt Sectaries.*

Againſt Separatiſts.

" The Synod decrees, That the Canon above-
" mentioned againſt *Papiſts* ſhall be in full Force
" againſt all *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Separatiſts*, and
" other Sectaries, as far as they are applicable; and
" further, the Clauſe againſt the Books of *Socinians*
" above-mentioned, ſhall be in force againſt all
" Books written againſt the Diſcipline and Govern-
" ment of the Church of *England*.

" It is alſo ordained, That ſuch Perſons who re-
" ſort to their Pariſh Churches to hear the Sermon,
" but don't join in the publick Prayers, ſhall be
" ſubject to the ſame Penalties with other *Sectaries*
" and *Recuſants*."

CANON VI. *An Oath for preventing Innovations in Doctrine and Government.*

To prevent Alterations in Church Government.

" The Synod decrees, That all Archbiſhops,
" Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, ſhall before the
" 2d. of *November* next take the following Oath,
" which ſhall be tender'd by the Biſhop in Perſon,
" or ſome grave Divine deputed by him, and ſhall
" be taken in preſence of a publick Notary."

The OATH.

The Oath called Et cætera.

" I *A. B. do ſwear, That I do approve the Doctrine,*
" *Diſcipline or Government, eſtabliſhed in the Church*
" *of* England, *as containing all Things neceſſary to Sal-*
" *vation; and that I will not endeavour by my ſelf, or*
" *any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any*
" * POPISH *Doctrine, contrary to that which is ſo eſta-*

* In his Majeſty's Duplicate of this Canon, ſent by the Arch-biſhop to the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Word [Popiſh] is omitted, as it is in the Duplicate ſent to the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and ſeveral others. Nalſon, p. 499.

" *bliſhed*;

King Charles I. 1640.

" *bliſhed; nor will I ever give my Conſent to alter the* " *Government of this Church, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops,* " *Deans and Archdeacons,* &c. *as it ſtands now eſta-* " *bliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever* " *to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of the* " *See of* Rome. *And all theſe Things I do plainly and* " *ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain* " *and common Senſe and Underſtanding of the ſame Words,* " *without any Equivocation, or mental Evaſion, or ſe-* " *cret Reſervation whatſoever; and this I do heartily,* " *willingly and truly, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian. So* " *help me God in Jeſus Chriſt.*"

" If any beneficed Perſon in the Church ſhall re- " fuſe this Oath, he ſhall after one Month be ſuſpend- " ed *ab Officio*; after a ſecond Month he ſhall be " ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*; and after a third " Month, if he continue to refuſe, he ſhall be de- " prived.

" It is likewiſe ordained, That all that are incor- " porated in either of the Univerſities, or take any " Degree, whether Lawyers, Divines or Phyſicians, " ſhall take the ſame Oath: And all Governors of " Halls and Colleges in the Univerſity; all School- " Maſters, and in general, all that enter into Holy " Orders, or have Licenſe to preach."

CANON VII. *A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies.*

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

" The Synod declares, That the Standing of the " Communion Table ſide ways, under the Eaſt " Window of the Chancel or Chapel, is in its own " Nature indifferent; but foraſmuch as Queen *Eli-* " *zabeth*'s Injunctions order it to be placed where the " Altar was, we therefore judge it proper, that all " Churches and Chapels do conform themſelves to " the *Cathedral* or *Mother Churches*. And we de- " clare, that this Situation of the Holy Table does

" not

" not imply that it is, or ought to be eſteemed a " true and proper Altar, whereon Chriſt is again " ſacrificed; but it may be called an Altar in the " Senſe of the Primitive Church; and becauſe it " has been obſerved, that ſome People in Time of " Divine Service have irreverently lean'd, caſt their " Hats, or ſet upon, or under the Communion " Table, therefore the Synod thinks meet that the " Table be rail'd round. *King Charles I. 1640.*

" It is further recommended to all good People, " That they do Reverence at their entring in, and " going out of the Church; and that all Communi- " cants do approach the Holy Table to receive the " Communion at the Rails, which has heretofore " been unfitly carried up and down by the Miniſter, " unleſs the Biſhop ſhall diſpenſe with it."

CANON VIII. *Of Preaching for Conformity.*

" All publick Preachers ſhall twice a Year preach " poſitively and plainly, that the Rites and Cere- " monies of the Church of *England* are lawful, and " that it is the Duty of all People to conform to " them." *Preaching for Conformity.*

CANON IX. *A Book of Articles for Parochial Viſitation.*

" No other Book of *Articles of Inquiry* ſhall be " uſed in Parochial Viſitation, but that which is " drawn up by the Synod."

CANON X. *Of the Converſation of the Clergy.*

" The Clergy are enjoin'd to avoid all Exceſſes " and Diſorders, and by their Chriſtian Converſation " to adorn their holy Profeſſion."

CANON

CANON XI. *Chancellors Patents.*

"No Biſhop ſhall grant any Patent to any Chancellor, or Official, for any longer Term than the Life of the *Grantees*, and the Biſhop ſhall keep in his own Hands the Power of inſtituting to Benefices, and of licenſing to preach."

CANON XII. *Chancellors Cenſures*, &c.

"No Chancellor, Commiſſary or Official, not being in Holy Orders, ſhall inflict any Cenſure on the Clergy in criminal Cauſes, other than Neglect of appearing; but all ſuch Cauſes ſhall be heard by the Biſhop, or ſome dignified Clergyman with the Chancellor."

CANON XIII. *Excommunication and Abſolution.*

"No Sentence of Excommunication or Abſolution ſhall be pronounced but by a Prieſt, and in open Conſiſtory, or at leaſt in the Church or Chapel, having firſt received it under the Seal of an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, from whom it comes."

CANON XIV. *Of Commutations.*

"No Commutation of Penance to be admitted without Conſent of the Biſhop, and the Money to be diſpoſed of to charitable Uſes."

CANON XV. *Of Juriſdictions.*

"No Executor ſhall be cited into any Court or Office, for the Space of ten Days, after the Death of the Teſtator, though the Executor may prove the *Will* within ſuch Time."

CANON

King Charles I. 1640.

CANON XVI. *Of Licenſes to Marry.*

"No Licenſe to Marry ſhall be granted to any "Party, unleſs one of the Parties have been *Commo-* "*rant* in the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary to whom "he applies, for the Space of one Month before the "ſaid Licenſe be deſired. The Archiepiſcopal Pre- "rogative is excepted."

CANON XVII. *Againſt vexatious Citations.*

"No Citation into any Eccleſiaſtical Court ſhall "be iſſued out, but under the Hand and Seal of one of "the Judges of thoſe Courts, and within thirty Days "after committing the Crime; and unleſs the Party be "convicted by two Witneſſes, he ſhall be allowed to "purge himſelf by Oath, without paying any Fee; "provided that this Canon extend not to any "grievous Crime, as *Schiſm*, *Incontinence*, *Miſbehavi-* "*our in the Church in Time of Divine Service*, *obſtinate* "*Inconformity*, or the like."

They are unacceptable to the Clergy.

When theſe Canons were made publick, they were generally diſlik'd; ſeveral Pamphlets were printed againſt them, and diſperſed among the People, as *England's Complaint to Jeſus Chriſt againſt the Biſhops Canons; wherein the Nakedneſs of them is expoſed, in a ſolemn Application to Jeſus Chriſt as the Saviour of his Church. Queries relating to the ſeveral Articles and Determinations of the late Synod*, &c. All that loved the *old Engliſh Conſtitution* were diſſatisfied with the firſt Canon, becauſe it declares for the *abſolute Power of Kings, and for the Unlawfulneſs of defenſive Arms, on any Pretence whatſoever*. The Puritans diſlik'd the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth Canons; but the whole Body of the Clergy were nearly concerned in the *ſixth*, being obliged by the ſecond of *November* to take the Oath therein mentioned, on pain of Suſpen-

King Charles I. 1640.

ſion and Deprivation. The *London* Clergy, among whom were Dr. *Weſtfield*, *Downham*, *Burges*; Mr. *Calamy*, *Jackſon*, *John Goodwin*, *Off-ſpring*, and others, drew up a Petition againſt it to the Privy Council; and to give it the more weight, procured a great many Hands. The Miniſters, School-Maſters, and Phyſicians in *Kent*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and in moſt Counties of *England*, took the ſame Method; ſome objecting to the *Oath*, as contrary to the Oath of Supremacy; ſome complaining of the ET CAETERA in the middle. Others objected to the Power of the Synod to impoſe an Oath, and many confeſſed, That *they wiſhed ſome Things in the Diſcipline of the Church might be alter'd*, and therefore could not ſwear never to attempt it, in a proper Way. Some of the Biſhops endeavoured to ſatisfy their Clergy, by giving the moſt favourable Interpretation to the *Oath*. Biſhop *Hall* told them, that it meant no more than this, "That I do ſo far approve of the "Diſcipline and Doctrine of this Church, as that I "do believe there is nothing in any other pretended "Diſcipline or Doctrine neceſſary to Salvation, be-"ſides that which is contained in the Doctrine and "Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. And as I do "allow the Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, "Deans, Archdeacons, ſo I will not, upon the "Suggeſtion of any factious Perſons, go about to "alter the ſame as it now ſtands, and as by due "Right (being ſo eſtabliſhed) it ought to ſtand in "the Church of *England*." But moſt of the Biſhops preſs'd the *Oath* abſolutely on their Clergy; and to my certain Knowledge (ſays Mr. *Fuller*) obliged them to take it *kneeling*, a Ceremony never requir'd in taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; but to ſuch an Height of Power did theſe Prelates aſpire upon the Wing of the Prerogative!

Nalſon, p. 496, 498.

B. XI. p. 171.

The Execution of them ſuſpended. Nalſon, p. 497.

The Archbiſhop was adviſed of theſe Difficulties by Dr. *Sanderſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who aſſured his *Grace* by Letter, "That Multitudes of "Church-

" Churchmen, not only of the preciſer Sort, but of " ſuch as were regular and conformable, would ut- " terly refuſe to take the Oath, or be brought to it " with much Difficulty and Reluctancy; ſo that un- " leſs by his Majeſty's ſpecial Direction, the preſ- " ſing the Oath may be forborn for a Time; or " that a ſhort Explanation of ſome Paſſages in it " moſt liable to Exception, be ſent to the ſeveral " Perſons who are to adminiſter the ſame, to be " publickly read before the Tender of the ſaid *Oath*. " The Peace of this Church is apparently in danger " to be more diſquieted by this one Occaſion, than " by any Thing that has happen'd within our Me- " mories." But this reſolute Prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his Majeſty's Affairs, would relax nothing to the Times, but would have broken the King's Intereſt among the conformable Clergy, if the Nobility and Gentry with the King at *York*, had not prevailed with his Majeſty to lay him under a Reſtraint, by the following Letter, under the Hand of the principal Secretary of State.

King Charles I. 1640.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

" I Am, by his Majeſty's Command, to let you " know, That upon ſeveral Petitions preſented " by divers Churchmen, as well in the Dioceſe of " *Canterbury*, as *York*, to which many Hands are ſub- " ſcribed, as the Mode of Petitions now are, againſt " the Oath in the Canons made in the laſt Synod, " his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, that as he took order " before his coming into theſe Parts, that the Exe- " cution of neither ſhould be preſs'd on thoſe that " were already beneficed in the Church, which was " ordered at the Council Board in your *Grace*'s " Preſence, but that it ſhould be adminiſter'd to " thoſe who were to receive Orders, and to be admit- " ted; it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that thoſe ſhould " be diſpenſed withal alſo, and that there be no Proſe-

Nalſon, p. 500.

King Charles I. 1640.

"cution thereof till the Meeting of the Convo-
"cation."

H. VANE.

York, Sept. 30. 1640.

Second Scots War.

We have mentioned the ſecret Correſpondence between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Nobility to recover the Liberties of both Kingdoms, which encouraged the *Scots* to march a ſecond Time to their Borders, where the King met them with his Army, commanded by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Strafford*; but it ſoon appeared that the *Engliſh* Nobility were not for conquering the *Scots*; nor had the Proteſtant Soldiers any Zeal in his Majeſty's Cauſe, ſo that after a ſmall Skirmiſh the *Scots* Army paſſed the *Tweed*, *Aug.* 21. and on the 30th. took Poſſeſſion of the important Town of *Newcaſtle*, the Royal Army retreating before them as far as *York*, and leaving them Maſters of the three Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, where they ſubſiſted their Army, and raiſed what Contributions they pleaſed. As ſoon as the *Scots* enter'd *Newcaſtle* they ſent an Expreſs to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to aſſure them, they would not interrupt the Trade between that Town and the City of *London*, but would cultivate all manner of Friendſhip and brotherly Correſpondence. They alſo ſent Meſſengers to the King, with an humble Petition, that his Majeſty would pleaſe *to confirm their late Acts of Parliament, reſtore their Ships and Merchandize, recall his Proclamation which ſtiles them* Rebels, *and call an* Engliſh *Parliament, to ſettle the Peace between both Kingdoms.* This was followed by another, ſigned by twelve Peers, with his Majeſty at *York*, and by a third from the City of *London*. The King finding it impoſſible to carry on the War, appointed Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, who agreed to a *Ceſſation of Arms for two Months*, from the 26th. of *October*, the *Scots* to have eight Hundred and fifty Pounds

Pounds a Day for Maintenance of their Army; and the Treaty to be adjourned to *London*, where a Free Parliament was immediately to be called. The calling an *Engliſh* Parliament was the grand Affair that had been concerted with the *Scots* before their coming into *England*; and it was high Time; becauſe to all Appearance this was the laſt Criſis for recovering the Conſtitution; for if the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* Armies were raiſed to reduce *Scotland*, under the arbitrary Power of the Prerogative (as Lord *Clarendon* confeſſes) what could be expected, but that afterwards they ſhould march back into *England*, and eſtabliſh the ſame deſpotick Power here, with a ſtanding Army, beyond all Recovery.

King Charles I. 1640.

Sad and melancholy was the Condition of the *prime Miniſters*, when they ſaw themſelves reduced to the Neceſſity of ſubmitting their Conduct to the Examination of an *Engliſh* Parliament, ſupported by an Army from *Scotland*, and the general Diſcontents of the People! Several of the Courtiers began to ſhift for themſelves; ſome withdrew from the Storm, and others having been concerned in one illegal Project or other, deſerted their *Maſters*, and made their Peace, by diſcovering the King's Counſels to the leading Members of Parliament, which diſabled the *Junto* from making any conſiderable Efforts for their Safety. All Men had a Veneration for the Perſon of the KING, though his Majeſty had loſt Ground in their Affections by his ill Uſage of his Parliaments, and by *taking the Faults of his Miniſters upon himſelf*. But the QUEEN was in no manner of Eſteem with them who had the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country at heart. The BISHOPS had ſunk their Character by their high Behaviour in the *Spiritual Courts*, ſo that they had nothing to expect, but that their Wings ſhould be clipt. And the JUDGES were deſpiſed and hated, for abandoning the Laws of their Country, and giving a Sanction to the illegal Proceedings of the *Council* and *Star Chamber*. As his

Sad Condition of the Court at the calling the Long Parliament.

King Charles I. 1640. Majeſty had but few Friends of Credit or Intereſt among the People at home, ſo he had nothing to expect from abroad; *France* and *Spain* were pleaſed with his Diſtreſs; the foreign Proteſtants wiſhed well to the oppreſſed People of *England*; they publiſhed their Reſentments againſt the *Biſhops*, for their hard Uſage of the *Dutch* and *French* Congregations, and gave it as their Opinion, *That a Proteſtant King that countenanced Papiſts, and at the ſame Time drove his Proteſtant Subjects out of the Kingdom, was not worthy the Aſſiſtance of the Reformed Churches, eſpecially after he had renounced Communion with them, and declared openly, that the Religion of the Church of* England *was not the ſame with that of the foreign Proteſtants.*

Death of Mr. Ball. Three conſiderable Divines, of a very different Character, died about this Time; Mr. *John Ball*, educated in *Brazen Noſe College*, *Oxon*, and afterwards Miniſter of *Whitmore*, a ſmall Village near *Newcaſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, where he lived upon twenty Pounds a Year, and the Profits of a little School. He was a learned and pious Man, deſerving as high Eſteem (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) as the beſt Biſhop in *England*, tho' he was content with a poor Houſe, a mean Habit, and a ſmall Maintenance. Being diſſatisfied with the Terms of Conformity, it was ſome Time before he could meet with an Opportunity to be ordained without *Subſcription*, but at laſt he obtained it from the Hands of an *Iriſh* Biſhop, then occaſionally in *London*; though he lived and died a Non-Conformiſt he was againſt a *Separation*, and writ againſt Mr. *Can* and Mr. *Robinſon* upon that Head. His laſt Work, entitled, *A Stay againſt Straying*, was ſubſcribed by five moſt noted Preſbyterian Divines, who all teſtified that he died abundantly ſatisfied in the Cauſe of Non-Conformity, which he diſtinguiſhed from Separation. His other Works were very numerous, and of great Reputation in thoſe Times. He died *Oct.* 20. 1640. in the fifty ſixth Year of his Age.

Dr.

King Charles I. 1640.

Of Dr. Chadderton.

Clark's *Lives*, p. 246.

Fuller's *Worthies*, B. II. p. 118.

Dr. *Lawrence Chadderton*, born in *Lancaſhire*, 1546. of Popiſh Parents, who, when they heard their Son had changed his Religion, diſinherited him; he was firſt Fellow of *Chriſt College*, and afterwards Maſter of *Emanuel College*, *Cambridge*. King *James* nominated him one of the four Repreſentatives of the Puritans in the *Hampton-Court* Conference; and afterwards one of the Tranſlators of the Bible. He commenced *D. D.* 1612. and governed his College with great Reputation many Years, being remarkable for Gravity, Learning and Piety; he had a plain, but effectual Way of preaching (ſays *Fuller*) having a ſtrict Regard for the Sabbath, and a great Averſion to *Arminianiſm*. He was a fine grey-headed old Gentleman, and could read without Spectacles to his Death, which happen'd in the Ninety fifth Year of his Age. Being advanced in Years, and afraid of being ſucceeded by an *Arminian Divine*, he reſigned his Maſterſhip to Dr. *Preſton*, whom he ſurvived; and ſaw Dr. *Sancroft*, and after him Dr. *Holdiſworth* ſucceed him, which laſt attended his Funeral at St. *Andrew*'s Church, and gave him a large and deſerved Commendation in a Funeral Sermon.

Of Dr. Neile, Archbiſhop of York.

Dr. *Richard Neile*, Archbiſhop of *York*, born in *King-Street*, *Weſtminſter*, of mean Parents, his Father being a Tallow Chandler; he was educated in St. *John*'s *College*, *Cambridge*, and paſſed through all the Degrees and Orders of the Church of *England*, having been a School-Maſter, Curate, Vicar, Parſon, Chaplain, Maſter of the *Savoy*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Clerk of the Cloſet to two Kings, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Lincoln*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*; and laſtly, Archbiſhop of *York*. The *Oxford* Hiſtorian ſays, he was an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true Friend to all that relied upon him. Dr. *Heylin* confeſſes, that he was not very eminent either for Parts or Learn-

King Charles I. 1640.

ing; Mr. *Prynne* ſays, He was a Popiſh Arminian Prelate, and a Perſecutor of all orthodox and godly Miniſters. 'Tis certain, he had few or none of the Qualifications of a Primitive Biſhop; for he hardly preached a Sermon in twelve Years, but gained his Preferments by Flattery and ſervile Court Compliances. He was a zealous Advocate for pompous Innovations in the Church, and oppreſſive Projects in the State, for which he would have felt the Reſentments of the Houſe of Commons, had he lived a little longer; but he died very ſeaſonably for himſelf, in an advanced Age, *Oct.* 31. 1640. three Days before the Meeting of the Long Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Character of the Long Parliament. Their Arguments againſt the late Convocation and Canons. The Impeachment of Dr. William Laud, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *Votes of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Promoters of the late* Innovations.

King Charles I. 1640. *The Long Parliament.*

WE are now entring upon the Proceedings of the *Long Parliament*, which continued ſitting, with ſome little Intermiſſion, for above eighteen Years, and occaſioned ſuch prodigious Revolutions in *Church* and State, as were the Surprize and Wonder of all *Europe*. The Houſe of Commons have been ſeverely cenſured for the ill Succeſs of their Endeavours to recover and ſecure the Conſtitution of their Country; but the Attempt was Glorious, though a Train of unforeſeen Accidents render'd it fatal in the Event. The Members were made up chiefly of Country Gentlemen, who had no Attachment to the Court; for as *Whitlock* obſerves, "Though the Court laboured to bring in their "Friends, yet thoſe who had moſt Favour with "them, had leaſt in the Country; and it was not a "little ſtrange, to ſee what a Spirit of Oppoſition "to the Court Proceedings, was in the Hearts and "Actions of moſt of the People, ſo that very few of "that Party had the Favour of being choſen Mem-"bers of this Parliament." Mr. *Eachard* inſinuates ſome unfair Methods of Elections, which might be true on both ſides; but both he and Lord *Clarendon* admit, that there were many great and worthy PATRIOTS in the Houſe, and as eminent as any Age had ever produced; Men of Gravity, of Wiſdom, and of great and plentiful Fortunes, who would have been

King Charles I. 1640.

been ſatisfied with ſome few Amendments in Church and State.

Before the beginning of the Seſſion the principal Members conſulted Meaſures for *ſecuring the Frequency of Parliaments*; *for redreſſing of Grievances in Church and State*; and, *for bringing the King's arbitrary Miniſters to Juſtice*; to accompliſh which it was thought neceſſary to ſet ſome Bounds to the Prerogative, and to leſſen the Power of the Biſhops, but it never enter'd into their Thoughts to overturn the *Civil* or *Eccleſiaſtical* Government, as will appear from the concurrent Teſtimony of the moſt unexceptionable Hiſtorians.

Their religious Character. Clarен. Vol. I. p. 184, &c.

"As to their Religion (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) "they were all Members of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, "and almoſt to a Man for Epiſcopal Government. "Though they were undevoted enough to the "Court, they had all imaginable Duty for the "King, and Affection for the Government eſta-"bliſhed by Law, or ancient Cuſtom; and without "doubt the Majority of that Body were Perſons of "Gravity and Wiſdom, who being poſſeſſed of "great and plentiful Fortunes, had no mind to "break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any "conſiderable Alterations in the Government of the "Church or State." Dr. *Lewis du Moulin*, who lived through theſe Times, ſays, "That both "Lords and Commons were moſt, if not all, peace-"able, orthodox Church of *England* Men, all con-"forming to the Rites and Ceremonies of Epiſco-"pacy, but greatly averſe to Popery and Tyranny, "and to the corrupt part of the Church that enclined "towards *Rome*." This is further evident from their Order of *Nov.* 20. 1640. *That none ſhould ſit in their Houſe, but ſuch as would receive the Communion according to the Uſage of the Church of* England. The Commons, in their grand Remonſtrance of *Dec.* 1. 1641. declared to the World, "That it was far from their

"Pur-

" Purpoſe to let looſe the golden Reins of Diſcipline " and Government in the Church, to leave private " Perſons, or particular Congregations, to take up " what Form of Divine Service they pleaſed; for we " hold it requiſite (ſay they) that there ſhould be " throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that " Order which the Law enjoins, according to the " Word of God." The *noble Hiſtorian* adds further, " That even after the Battle of *Edgehill* the Deſign " againſt the Church was not grown Popular in the " Houſe; that in the Years 1642. and 1643. the Lords " and Commons were all in perfect Conformity to the " Church of *England*, and ſo was their Army, the " General and Officers both by Sea and Land being " neither *Preſbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, " nor *Conventiclers*; and that, when they caſt their " Eyes upon *Scotland*, there were in truth very few " in the two Houſes who deſired the Extirpation of " Epiſcopacy. Nay, his Lordſhip is of Opinion, " that the Nation in general was leſs inclined to the " Puritans than to the Papiſts; at leaſt, that they " were for the Eſtabliſhment, for when the King " went to *Scotland* [1641.] the Common Prayer was " much reverenced throughout the Kingdom, and " was a general Object of Veneration with the " People — There was a full Submiſſion and Love " to the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church and " State, eſpecially to that part of the Church which " concerned the Liturgy and Book of Common " Prayer;" which, though it be hardly credible, as will appear hereafter by the Numbers of Petitions from ſeveral Counties againſt the Hierarchy, yet may ſerve to ſilence thoſe of his Lordſhip's Admirers, who through Ignorance and Ill-will have repreſented the Long Parliament, and the Body of the Puritans, at their firſt ſitting down, as in a Plot againſt the whole Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment.

King Charles I. 1640.

If we may believe his Lordſhip's Character of the Leading Members of both Houſes, even of thoſe

King Charles I. 1640.

that were moſt active in the War againſt the King, we ſhall find they were *true Churchmen* according to Law; and that they had no Deſigns againſt Epiſcopacy, nor any Inclinations to *Preſbytery*, or the *Separation*.

Character of the leading Members among the Peers.

Earl of Eſſex.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 182, 185, 189, 211, 212, 233, 507. Vol. II. p. 211, 212, 214, 462, 597, &c.

The Earl of ESSEX was General of the Parliament Army, and ſo great was his Reputation, that his very Name commanded Thouſands into their Service. It had been impoſſible for the Parliament to have raiſed an Army, in his Lordſhip's Opinion, if the Earl of *Eſſex* had not conſented to be their General; and "yet *this Nobleman*, ſays he, *was not indevoted to the Function of Biſhops, but was as much devoted as any Man to the Book of Common Prayer, and obliged all his Servants to be preſent with him at it; his houſhold Chaplain being always a conformable Man, and a good Scholar.*"

Earl of Bedford.

The Earl of BEDFORD was General of the Horſe under the Earl of *Eſſex*, "but *he had no deſire that there ſhould be any Alteration in the Government of the Church*; he had always lived towards my Lord of *Canterbury* himſelf, with all Reſpect and Reverence; he frequently viſited and dined with him, ſubſcribed liberally to the Repairing St. *Paul*'s, and ſeconded all pious Undertakings."

Lord Kimbolton.

Lord KIMBOLTON, afterwards Earl of *Mancheſter*, was a Man of great Generoſity and good Breeding; and no Man was more in the Confidence of the diſcontented Party, nor more truſted; he was Commander of part of the Parliament Forces, *and rather complied with the Changes of the Times than otherwiſe*; he had a conſiderable Share in the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, and was in high Favour with him till his Death.

Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of WARWICK was Admiral of the Parliament Fleet; he was the Perſon who ſeized on the King's Ships, and employed them againſt him during the whole Courſe of the War; he was looked upon as the greateſt Patron of the Puritans, and yet *this*

Nobleman (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) *never diſcovered any Averſion to Epiſcopacy, but much profeſſed the contrary.* *King* Charles I. 1640.

In truth (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) when the Bill was brought into the Houſe to take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, there were only at that Time taken Notice of in the Houſe of Peers, the Lords SAY, and BROOK, as poſitive Enemies to the whole Fabrick of the Church, and to deſire a Diſſolution of the Government.

Amongſt the leading Members in the Houſe of Commons we may reckon WILLIAM LENTHAL, *Eſq*; their Speaker, *who was of no ill Reputation for his Affection to the Government both of Church and State*; (ſays his Lordſhip) and declared on his Death-bed after the Reſtoration, that he had always believed Epiſcopal Government to be the beſt Government of the Church, and accordingly died a dutiful Son of the Church of *England*. *Character of the leading Members in the Houſe of Commons.* *Of Mr.* Lenthal *the Speaker*

Mr. PYM had the greateſt Influence in the Houſe of Commons, and was in truth the moſt popular Man, and moſt able to do hurt, of any that lived in his Time; and yet Lord *Clarendon* ſays, *Though he was an Enemy to the Arminians, he profeſt to be very entirely for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* England, *and was never thought to be for violent Meaſures, till the King came to the Houſe of Commons, and attempted to ſeize him amongſt the five Members.* *Mr.* Pym.

DENZIL HOLLIS, *Eſq*; after the Reſtoration promoted to the Dignity of a *Baron*, was at the Head of all the Parliament's Counſels till the Year 1647. *He had an Indignation* (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) *againſt the Independants, nor was he affected to the Preſbyterians, any otherwiſe than as they conſtituted a Party to oppoſe the others, but was well pleaſed with the Government of the Church.* *Mr.* Holles.

Sir H. VANE the Elder did the King's Affairs an unſpeakable Prejudice, and yet *in his Judgment he liked the Government both of Church and State; nay, he* *Sir* H. Vane, *ſen.*

not

King Charles I. 1640.

not only appeared highly conformable himſelf, but exceeding ſharp againſt thoſe that were not.

Sir John Hotham.

Sir JOHN HOTHAM was the Gentleman who ſhut the Gates of *Hull* againſt the King; and in a Sally that he made upon the King's Forces ſhed the firſt Blood that was ſpilt in the Civil War; and was the firſt his Majeſty proclaimed a Traitor; and yet his Lordſhip declares, *He was very well affected to the Government.*

Mr. Hampden.

His Lordſhip is a little more dubious about the Famous Mr. HAMPDEN, but ſays, That moſt People believed *his Diſlike was rather to ſome Churchmen, than to the Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church.*

Of the E. *of* Eſſex's *Party.*

I might mention Mr. WHITLOCK, SELDEN, LANGHORNE, and others, who are repreſented without the leaſt Inclination to Preſbytery; but it is ſufficient to obſerve from his Lordſhip, *That all the Earl of* Eſſex's *Party in both Houſes, were Men of ſuch Principles, that they deſired no Alteration in the Court or Government, but only of the Perſons that acted in it; nay, the chief Officers of his Army were ſo zealous for the Liturgy, that they would not hear a Man as a Miniſter that had not Epiſcopal Ordination.*

And others.

Nathaniel Fiennes, Eſq; Sir *H. Vane*, jun. and ſhortly after Mr. *Hampden*, were believed to be for *Root* and *Branch*; yet (ſays his Lordſhip) Mr. PYM was not of that Mind, nor Mr. HOLLIS, nor any of the Northern Men, or any of thoſe Lawyers, who drove on moſt furiouſly with them; all who, were well pleaſed with the Government of the Church; for tho' it was in the Hearts of ſome few to remove Foundations, they had not the Courage and Confidence to communicate it.

This was the preſent Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament, from whence his Lordſhip juſtly concludes, that *as they were all of them, almoſt to a Man, Conformiſts to the Church of* England, *they had all imaginable Duty for the King, and Affection for the Government eſtabliſhed by Law; and as for the Church,*

Church, the major part even of theſe Perſons would have been willing to ſatisfy the King; the rather, becauſe they had no reaſon to think the two Houſes, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to purſue the contrary. How injurious then are the Characters of thoſe Church-Hiſtorians, and others, who have repreſented the Members of this Parliament, even at their firſt ſitting down, as Men of the *New Religion*, or of *no Religion*, *Fanaticks*, and Men that had form'd deep Deſigns againſt the whole Conſtitution in Church and State! *King* Charles I. 1640.

The Parliament was open'd *Nov.* 3. with a moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, wherein his Majeſty declares, he would concur with them in ſatisfying their juſt Grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only ſome Offence was taken at his Majeſty's calling the *Scots*, REBELS, at a Time when there was a Pacification with them; upon which his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and inſtead of ſoftning his Language, very imprudently avowed the Expreſſion, ſaying, *He could call them neither better nor worſe.* The Houſes petition'd his Majeſty to appoint a Faſt, for a Divine Bleſſing upon their Counſels, which was obſerved *Nov.* 17. the Reverend Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Burges* preached before the Commons; the former on 2 *Chron.* xv. 2. *The Lord is with you, while you are with him; if you ſeek him he will be found of you, but if you forſake him he will forſake you.* The latter on *Jer.* l. 5. *They ſhall aſk the Way to* Zion *with their Faces thitherward, ſaying, Come, and let us join our ſelves to the Lord in an everlaſting Covenant that ſhall not be forgotten.* The Sermons were long, but delivered with a great deal of Caution: The Houſe gave them Thanks, and a piece of Plate for their Labours. The Biſhops of *Durham* and *Carliſle* preached before the Lords in the *Abbey Church* of *Weſtminſter*; the one a Courtier, and the other a Favourer of the Puritans. The Lord's Day following all the Members in a Body received the Sacrament from the Hands *Long Parliament open'd.*

King Charles I. 1640.

Hands of Biſhop *Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, not at the Rails about the Altar, but at a Communion Table, placed by Order of the Houſe, in the middle of the Church, for that purpoſe.

They appoint Committees.

At their firſt entring upon Buſineſs they appointed four grand Committees; the *firſt* to receive Petitions about Grievances of Religion, which was afterwards ſubdivided into twenty or thirty; the *ſecond* for the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the *third* for Civil Grievances, as Ship-Money, Judges, Courts of Juſtice, Monopolies, *&c.* the *fourth* concerning Popery and Plots relating thereunto. Among the Grievances of Religion, one of the firſt Things that came before the Houſe, was, the Acts and Canons of the late Convocation; ſeveral warm Speeches were made againſt the Compilers of them, *Nov.* 9. and among others Lord *Digby*, who was as yet with the Country Party, ſtood up and ſaid, "Does not every Parliament-"Man's Heart riſe, to ſee the Prelates uſurping to "themſelves the grand Pre-eminence of Parliaments? "the granting Subſidies under the Name of a Bene-"volence, under no leſs a Penalty to them that re-"fuſe it, than the Loſs of Heaven and Earth; of "Heaven by Excommunication, and of Earth by "Deprivation, and this without Redemption by "Appeal? What good Man can think with Pati-"ence, of ſuch an enſnaring Oath, as that which "the new Canons enjoin to be taken, by Miniſters, "Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Graduates in the Uni-"verſity, where, beſides the ſwearing ſuch an Im-"pertinence, as that Things neceſſary to Salvation "are contained in Diſcipline; beſides the ſwearing "thoſe to be of *Divine Right*, which among the "Learned was never pretended to, as the ARCH "Things in our Hierarchy; beſides the ſwearing "not to conſent to the Change of that, which the "State may, upon great Reaſons, think fit to alter; "beſides the bottomleſs Perjury of an *Et Caetera*; "beſides all this, Men muſt ſwear that they ſwear "freely

Speeches againſt the late Canons.

" freely and voluntarily, what they are compell'd " to; and laſtly, That they ſwear to the Oath in " the literal Senſe, whereof no two of the Makers " themſelves, that I have heard of, could ever " agree in the Underſtanding." *King* Charles I. 1640.

Sir *B. Rudyard*, Sir *J. Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, ſpoke with the ſame Warmth, and ſatyrical Wit, for *diſcharging* the Canons, *diſmounting* them, and *melting them down*; nor did any Gentleman ſtand up in their behalf but Mr. *Holbourn*, who is ſaid to make a Speech of two Hours length in their Vindication; but his Arguments made no Impreſſion on the Houſe, for at the cloſe of the Debate, a Committee of twelve Gentlemen, among whom were Mr. *Selden*, *Maynard*, and *Coke*, was appointed to ſearch for the Warrants by which the Convocation was held, after the Parliament broke up, and for the Letters Patents of the *Benevolence*, and for ſuch other Materials as might aſſiſt the Houſe in their next Debate upon this Argument, which was appointed for *December* 14. when ſome of the Members would have aggravated the Crime of the Convocation to High Treaſon, but Serjeant *Maynard* and Mr. *Bagſhaw* moderated their Reſentments, by convincing them, that they were only in a Præmunire. At the Cloſe of the Debate the Houſe came to the following Reſolutions.

Reſolved Nem. Contradicente, " That the Clergy of " *England* convened in any Convocation or Synod, or " otherwiſe, have no Power to make any Conſtitu- " tions, Canons or Acts whatſoever, in Matters of " Doctrine, Diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind the " Clergy or Laity of the Land, without Conſent of " Parliament. *Reſolutions againſt them.* Dec. 15, 16.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral Conſtitutions and Ca- " nons Eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Arch- " biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Preſidents of the " Convocations for their reſpective Provinces, and " the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy of thoſe Pro-

King Charles I. 1640.

" vinces, and agreed upon with the King's Ma-
" jeſty's Licenſe, in their ſeveral Synods begun at
" *London* and *York*, 1640. do not bind the Clergy or
" Laity of the Land, or either of them.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral Conſtitutions and
" Canons made and agreed to in the Convocations or
" Synods abovementioned, do contain in them many
" Matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to
" the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm,
" to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and
" Liberty of the Subject, and Matters tending to
" Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral Grants of Benevo-
" lences or Contributions, granted to his moſt excel-
" lent Majeſty by the Clergy of the Provinces of
" *Canterbury* and *York*, in the ſeveral Convocations
" or Synods holden at *London* and *York*, in the Year
" 1640. are contrary to the Laws, and ought not to
" bind the Clergy."

Remarks. If the firſt of theſe Reſolutions be according to Law, I doubt there were then no Canons ſubſiſting, for thoſe of 1603. were not brought into Parliament, but being made in a Parliamentary Convocation, were ratified by the King under the Great Seal, and ſo became binding to the Clergy, according to the Statute of the 25th of King *Henry* VIII. In the *Saxon* Times all Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Conſtitutions were confirmed by the Peers, and by the Repreſentatives of the People; but thoſe great Councils, to which our Parliaments ſucceed, being made up of Laicks and Eccleſiaſticks, were afterwards divided, and then the Clergy did their Buſineſs by themſelves, and enacted Laws without Confirmation of King or Parliament, during the Reign of Popery, till the Act *of the Submiſſion of the Clergy* to King *Henry* VIII. ſo that the Claim of making Canons without Conſent of Parliament, ſeemed to ſtand upon no other Foundation than the uſurped Power of the Pope; nor did the Parliament in thoſe Times yield up their Right,

for

for in the 51ſt of *Edward* III. the Commons paſſed a Bill, That no Act or Ordinance ſhould be made for the future upon the Petition of the Clergy, without Conſent of the Commons; *and that the ſaid Commons ſhould not be bound for the Future by any Conſtitutions of the Clergy, to which they had not given their Conſent in Parliament.* But the Bill was dropt, and Things went on upon the former Foot till the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. when the Pope's uſurped Power was ſet aſide, and both Parliament and Clergy agreed (by the *Act of Submiſſion*) that no Canons ſhould be binding without the Royal Aſſent; nor that the Clergy in Convocation ſhould ſo much as conſult about any, without the King's ſpecial Licenſe; but Serjeant *Maynard* ſaid in the Houſe, that it did not follow, that becauſe the Clergy might not make Canons *without the King's Licenſe*, that therefore they might make them, and bind them on the Clergy by his Licenſe ALONE; for this were to take away the ancient Rights of Parliament before the Pope's Uſurpation, which they never yielded up, nor does the *Act of Submiſſion of the Clergy* take away. Upon this Reaſoning the Commons voted their *firſt Reſolution*, the Strength of which I leave to the Conſideration of the Reader.

King Charles I. 1640.

Fuller's Appeal, p. 42.

The Arguments upon which the other Reſolutions are founded will be put together, after we have related the Proceedings of Convocation.

Proceedings of Convocation.

The Convocation was open'd *Nov.* 4. Dr. *Bargrave*, Dean of *Canterbury*, preached the Sermon, and Dr. *Steward*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, was choſen Prolocutor, and preſented to the Archbiſhop's Acceptance in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, when *his Grace* made a pathetick Speech, lamenting the Danger of the Church, and exhorting every one preſent to perform the Duty of their Places with Reſolution, and not to be wanting to themſelves, or the Cauſe of Religion; but nothing of moment was tranſacted, there being no Commiſſion from the King; only Mr. *Warmiſtre*, one of the Clerks for the

King Charles I. 1640.

Dioceſe of *Worceſter*, being convinced of the Invalidity of the late Canons, moved the Houſe, That *they might cover the Pit which they had opened*, and prevent a parliamentary Inquiſition, by petitioning the King for leave to review them; but his Motion was rejected, the Houſe being of Opinion that the *Canons* were juſtifiable; nor would they appear ſo mean as to condemn themſelves before they were accuſed. Mr. *Warmiſtre* ſuffered in the Opinion of his Brethren within Doors for his cowardly Speech; and was reproached from without as an Enemy to the Church, and a *Turn-Coat*, becauſe he had ſubſcribed thoſe Articles which now he condemned. This obliged him to publiſh his Speech to the World, in which, after having declared his Satisfaction in the Doctrine, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of *England*, as far as it is eſtabliſhed by Law, he goes on to wiſh there had been no private Innovations brought in; for though he approves of an outward Reverence in the Worſhip of God, he is againſt directing it to Altars and Images. He apprehends it reaſonable, that ſuch innocent Ceremonies as have a proper Tendency to Decency and Order ſhould be retained, but wiſhes the removal of Croſſes and Images out of Churches, as ſcandalous and ſuperſtitious, having an apparent Tendency towards Idolatry; and that there might be no lighted Candles in the Day-time; he then gives his Reaſons againſt the *Oath in the ſixth Canon*, and concludes with theſe Words; "If my Subſcription "be urged againſt what I have ſaid, I was perſuaded "it was the Practice of *Synods* and *Councils*, that the "whole Body ſhould ſubſcribe to thoſe Acts which "are paſſed, by the major Part, as *Synodical Acts*, not-"withſtanding their private Diſſent; if my Sub-"ſcription implied any more, I do ſo far recant and "condemn it in my ſelf, and deſire Pardon both of "God and the Church, reſolving by God's Grace "to be more cautious hereafter." Mr. *Warmiſtre*'s Behaviour ſhewed him to be a wiſe and diſcreet Clergy-

Mr Warmiſtre's *Speech.*

Clergyman; and his being ſequeſter'd from his Livings ſome Time after, for not ſubmitting to the Parliament, ſhews him to be a Man of Principle, not to be moved from his Integrity by the Reſentments of his Friends, or the Flatteries of his Enemies. *King Charles I. 1640.*

And though the Convocation was ſo ſanguine at their firſt coming together, as to deſpiſe Mr. *Warmiſtre's* Motion, yet when they ſaw the vigorous Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Canons, and the Articles of Impeachment againſt their Metropolitan for High Treaſon, one of which was *for compiling the late Canons*, they were diſpirited, and in a few Weeks deſerted their Stations in the Convocation-Houſe; the Biſhops alſo diſcontinued their Meetings, and in a few Weeks both Houſes dwindled to nothing, and broke up without Adjournment or Prorogation. *They diſperſe.*

To return to the Parliament; it was argued againſt the *late Convocation*, that they were no legal Aſſembly after the Diſſolution of the Parliament; that his Majeſty had no more Power to continue them than to recal his Parliament; nor could he, by his Letters Patents, convert them into a National or Provincial Synod, becauſe the Right of their Election ceaſing at the Expiration of the Convocation, they ought to have been re-choſen before they could act in the Name of the Clergy whom they repreſented, or bind them by their Decrees. 'Tis contrary to all Law and Reaſon in the World, that a Number of Men met together in Convocation, upon a Summons limitted to a certain Time, ſhould, after the Expiration of that Time, by a new Commiſſion, be changed into a National or Provincial Synod, without the Voice or Election of any one Perſon concerned. The Commons were therefore at a Loſs what Name to call this extraordinary Aſſembly by, being, in their Opinion, neither *Convocation* nor *Synod*, becauſe no repreſentative Body of the Clergy. The Words *Convocation* and *Synod* are convertible Terms, *Objections of the Commons againſt the late Convocation.*

King Charles I. 1640.

and ſignify the ſame Thing, but 'tis eſſential to both that they be choſen by the Clergy, if they are to make Conſtitutions and Canons to bind them. Some, indeed, have thought of a ſmall Diſtinction, as that a *Convocation* muſt begin and end with the Parliament, whereas a *Synod* may be called by the King out of Parliament, but then ſuch an Aſſembly can't give Subſidies for their Brethren, nor make Laws to bind them.

And againſt the Canons.

The Objections to the particular Canons were theſe:

I. Againſt the *firſt Canon* it was argued, That the Compilers of it had invaded the Rights and Prerogative of Parliament, by pretending to ſettle and declare the Extent of the King's Power, and the Subjects Obedience.

By declaring the ſacred Order of Kings to be of *Divine Right*, founded in the prime Laws of Nature and Revelation, by which they condemned all other Governments.

By affirming, that the King had an *abſolute Power* over all his Subjects, and a *Right* to the Subſidies and Aids of his People, without Conſent of Parliament.

By affirming, that Subjects may not bear Arms againſt their King, either offenſive or defenſive, upon any Pretence whatſoever, upon pain of *receiving to themſelves Damnation.*

By taking upon themſelves to define ſome Things to be Treaſon not included in the Statute of Treaſons.

And, *Laſtly*, by inflicting a Penalty on ſuch of the King's Subjects as ſhall dare to diſobey them, in not reading and publiſhing the above-mentioned Particulars; in all which Caſes it was averr'd, that they had *invaded the Rights of Parliament, deſtroy'd the Liberty of the Subject, and ſubverted the very fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of* England.

II.

II. It was objected againſt the *ſecond Canon*, that they had aſſumed the Legiſlative Power, in appointing a new *Holy Day*, contrary to the Statute, which ſays, there ſhall be ſuch and ſuch Holy Days, and *no more*. *King* Charles I. 1640.

IV. It was objected againſt the *fourth Canon*, that whereas the Determination of *Hereſy* is expreſly reſerved to Parliament, the Convocation had declared *that* to be *Hereſy* which the Law takes no Notice of; and had condemned *Socinianiſm* in general, without declaring what was included under that Denomination, ſo that after all, it was left in their own Breaſts whom they would condemn and cenſure under that Character.

VI. It was objected againſt the *ſixth Canon*, that it impoſed a *new Oath* upon the Subject, which is a Power equal, if not ſuperior to the making a *new Law*. It was argued likewiſe againſt the *Oath it ſelf*, that in ſome Parts it was very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly falſe and illegal.

Objections againſt the Et caetera *Oath.*

We are to ſwear in the *Oath*, that *we approve the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, and yet we are not told wherein that Doctrine and Diſcipline is contained; whether by the Doctrine of the Church we are to underſtand only the Thirty nine Articles, or likewiſe the Homilies and Church Catechiſm; and by the Diſcipline, only the Book of Canons, or likewiſe all other Eccleſiaſtical Orders, not repealed by Statute; for it is obſervable, that the Words of the Oath are, *As it is eſtabliſhed*, and not, *as it is eſtabliſhed by Law*. And the Ambiguity is further encreaſed by that remarkable *Et caetera*, inſerted in the Body of the Oath; for whereas Oaths ought to be explicit, and the Senſe of the Words as clear and determined as poſſible, we are here to ſwear to we know not what, to ſomething that is not expreſs'd; by which means we are left to the arbitrary Interpretation of the Judge,

King Charles I. 1640.

and may be involved in the Guilt of Perjury before we are aware.

But beſides the *Ambiguity* of the Oath, it contains ſome Things falſe and illegal; for it affirms, the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, to be of *Divine Right*; for after we have ſworn to the Hierarchy as eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, we are to ſwear further, that *by Right it ought ſo to ſtand:* Which Words are a mere Tautology, or elſe muſt infer ſome further *Right* than that which is included in the legal Eſtabliſhment, which can be no other than a *Divine Right*. Now, though it ſhould be allowed, that the Government of the Church by *Biſhops* is of Divine Right, yet certainly Archbiſhops, Deans and Archdeacons can have no Pretence to that Claim.

Beſides, to ſwear, *never to give our Conſent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops,* &c. *as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed,* is directly contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, for in that Oath we are ſworn to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Exerciſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction or Government, by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal, directed to ſuch Perſons as he ſhall think meet; ſo that if his Majeſty ſhould think fit at any Time to commiſſion other Perſons to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction than at preſent, we are ſworn by the Oath of Supremacy, not only to conſent, but to aid and aſſiſt him in it; whereas in this new Oath we ſwear, never to conſent to any ſuch Alteration.

Nothing is more evident, than that the *Diſcipline* of the Church is alterable; the Church it ſelf laments the want of Godly Diſcipline; and many of the Clergy and Laity wiſh and deſire an Amendment; it is therefore very unreaſonable, that all that take Degrees in the Univerſities, many of whom may be Members of Parliament, ſhall be ſworn beforehand, *never to conſent to any Alteration.* And though 'tis known

known to all the World, that many of the conforming Clergy are diſſatisfied with ſome Branches of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, yet they are to ſwear, that they take this Oath HEARTILY and WILLINGLY, though they are compell'd to it under the Penalties of Suſpenſion and Deprivation. Some Objections were made to the ſeventh, and other Canons, but theſe were the chief. *King* Charles I. 1640.

Archbiſhop *Laud*, in his Anſwer to the Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons againſt himſelf, boldly undertakes to refute all theſe Objections, and to juſtify the whole, and every Branch of the Canons; his Words are theſe, "I hope I am able to make it good in any "learned Aſſembly in Chriſtendom, that this Oath, "and all thoſe Canons (then made, and here before "recited) and every Branch in them, are juſt and "orthodox, and moderate, and moſt neceſſary for "the preſent Condition of the Church of *England*, "how unwelcome ſoever to the preſent Diſtempers." Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes himſelf modeſtly on the other ſide; he doubts, whether the Convocation was a legal Aſſembly after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, but is very ſure, that their Proceedings are not to be juſtified; "The Convocation-Houſe (ſays he) "which is the regular and legal Aſſembling of the "Clergy, was after the Determination of the Par- "liament, continued by a new Writ under the pro- "per Title of a *Synod*, made Canons, which it was "thought it might do, and gave Subſidies out of "Parliament, and enjoined Oaths, which certainly "it might not do; in a Word, did many Things "which in the beſt of Times might have been que- "ſtion'd, and therefore were ſure to be condemned "in the worſt." The Parliament that ſat after the Reſtoration was of the ſame Mind with his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as theſe Canons were excepted out of the Act of 13 *Car.* II. *cap.* 12. and declared of no Validity. Mr. *Eachard* is of Opinion, that the Synod that framed theſe Canons was not a legal *Remarks.*

Repre-

King Charles I. 1640.

Repreſentative of the Clergy after the Diſſolution of the two Houſes. But Biſhop *Kennet* in his complete Hiſtory, ſays, That theſe publick Cenſures of the Canons were grounded upon Prejudice and Faction; that it is hard to find any Defect of Legality in the making them; and that if theſe Canons are not binding, we have no proper Canons ſince the Reformation; he therefore *wiſhes* them, or ſome others like them, revived, becauſe *in very much of Doctrine and Diſcipline they are a good Example to any future Convocation; and, that we can hardly hope for Unity, or any tolerable Regularity, without ſome Conſtitutions of the like Nature.* Strange! that a dignified Clergyman, that held his Biſhoprick upon *Revolution Principles*, ſhould wiſh the Subverſion of the Conſtitution of his Country, and declare for Principles of Perſecution. If I might have liberty to wiſh, it ſhould be, That neither we nor our Poſterity may ever enjoy the Bleſſings of Unity and Regularity upon the Foot of ſuch Canons.

Kennet, p. 113.

Archbiſhop Laud impeach'd of High Treaſon.

Dec. 16.

Upon the ſame Day that the Houſe paſt the above-mentioned Reſolutions againſt the *Canons*, ſeveral warm Speeches were made againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as the chief Author of them; and a Committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far his *Grace* had been concerned in the Proceedings of the Convocation, and in the treaſonable Deſign of ſubverting the Religion and Laws of his Country, in order to draw up a Charge againſt him. Next Day the Earl of *Briſtol* acquainted the Houſe of Lords, that the *Scots Commiſſioners* had preſented ſome Papers againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which were read by the Lord *Paget*, and then reported to the Houſe of Commons, at a Conference between the two Houſes. Their Charge conſiſted of divers Grievances (which had occaſioned great Diſturbances in the Kingdom of *Scotland*) ranged under three Heads, of all which they challenged the Archbiſhop to be the chief Author upon Earth.

The firſt Branch of the Charge conſiſted of *divers Alterations in Religion, impoſed upon them without Order, and againſt Law, contrary to the Form eſtabliſhed in their Kirk*; as, his enjoining the Biſhops to appear in the Chapel in their *Whites*, contrary to the Cuſtom of their Kirk, and the Archbiſhop's own Promiſe; his directing the *Engliſh Service* to be read in the Chapel twice a Day; his ordering a Liſt of thoſe Counſellors, and Senators of the College of Juſtice, who did not communicate in the Chapel, according to a Form not received in their *Kirk*, to be ſent up to him, in order to their being puniſhed; his preſumptuous Cenſuring the Practice of the Kirk, *in faſting ſometimes on the Lord's Day*, as oppoſite to Chriſtianity it ſelf; his obtaining Warrants for the ſitting of an *High Commiſſion Court* once a Week at *Edinburgh*; and his directing the taking down of Galleries and Stone Walls in the Kirks of *Edinburgh* and St. *Andrews*, to make way for Altars, and Adoration towards the Eaſt. *King* Charles I. 1640. *The* Scots *Charge.*

The *ſecond* Branch of their Charge was, *his obtruding upon them a Book of Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, deviſed, for the eſtabliſhing a Tyrannical Power in the Perſons of their Prelates, over the Conſciences, Liberties, and Goods of the People; and for aboliſhing that Diſcipline and Government of their Kirk, which was ſettled by Law, and had obtained amongſt them ever ſince the Reformation.* For Proof of this they alleged that the Book of Canons was corrected, altered, and enlarged by him at his Pleaſure, as appears by the Interlineations, and marginal Notes in the Book, written with the Archbiſhop's own Hand: That he had added ſome entire new Canons, and altered others, in favour of Superſtition and Popery; and in ſeveral Inſtances relating to the Cenſures of the Church, had lodged an unbounded Power in the Prelates over the Conſciences of Men.

The

King Charles I. 1640.

The *third* and great Innovation with which they charged the Archbiſhop, was, *the Book of Common Prayer, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Parts of Divine Worſhip, brought in without Warrant from their Kirk, to be univerſally received as the only Form of Divine Service, under the higheſt Pains both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; which Book contained many Popiſh Errors and Ceremonies, repugnant to their Confeſſion of Faith, Conſtitutions of their General Aſſemblies, and to Acts of Parliament.* Several of theſe Errors are mentioned in the Article, and they declare themſelves ready, when deſired, to diſcover a great many more of the ſame kind; all which were impoſed upon the Kingdom, contrary to their earneſt Supplications; and upon their Refuſal to receive the *Service Book*, they were, by his *Grace*'s Inſtigation, declared *Rebels* and *Traitors*; an Army was raiſed to ſubdue them, and a Prayer compoſed and printed by his Direction, to be read in all the Pariſh Churches in *England*, in Time of Divine Service, wherein they are called *traiterous Subjects, having caſt off all Obedience to their Sovereign*; and Supplication is made to the *Almighty*, to cover their Faces with Shame, as Enemies to God and the King. They therefore pray, that the Archbiſhop may be immediately removed from his Majeſty's Preſence, and that he may be brought to a Trial, and receive ſuch Cenſure as he has deſerved, according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

His Grace's Reply.

The Archbiſhop has left behind him a particular Anſwer to theſe Articles, in his Diary, which is writ with a peculiar Sharpneſs of Stile, and diſcovers a great Opinion of his own Abilities, and a ſovereign Contempt of his Adverſaries; but either from a Diſtruſt of the Strength of his Reply, or for ſome other Reaſons, his *Grace* was pleaſed wiſely to evade the whole Charge at his Trial, by pleading *the Act of Oblivion* at the Pacification of the *Scots* Troubles.

When the Report of theſe Articles was made to the *Commons*, the Reſentments of the Houſe againſt

the

the Archbiſhop immediately broke out into a Flame; many ſevere Speeches were made againſt his late Conduct; and among others, one was by Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Speaker of that Parliament that reſtored the King, who ſtood up and ſaid, "That "this great Man, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "was the very *Sty* of all that peſtilential Filth that "had infeſted the Government; that he was the "only Man that had advanced thoſe, who, together "with himſelf, had been the Authors of all the Mi- "ſeries the Nation now groaned under. That he "had managed all the Projects that had been ſet on "foot for theſe ten Years paſt, and had condeſcend- "ed ſo low as to deal in *Tobacco*, by which Thou- "ſands of poor People had been turned out of their "Trades, for which they ſerved an Apprenticeſhip; "that he had been charged in this Houſe, upon ve- "ry ſtrong Proof, with Deſigns to ſubvert the Go- "vernment, and alter the Proteſtant Religion in "this Kingdom, as well as in *Scotland*; and there is "ſcarce any Grievance or Complaint comes before "the Houſe, wherein he is not mentioned, like an "angry Waſp, leaving his Sting in the Tail of eve- "ry Thing." He therefore moved, that the Charge of the *Scots* Commiſſioners might be ſupported by an Impeachment of their own; and, that the Queſtion might now be put, *Whether the Archbiſhop had been guilty of High Treaſon?* Which being voted, Mr. *Hollis* was immediately ſent up to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords to impeach him in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, and to deſire, that his Perſon might be ſequeſter'd, and that in convenient Time they would bring up the Particulars of *their Charge*; upon which his *Grace* being commanded to withdraw, ſtood up in his Place and ſaid, "That he "was heartily ſorry for the Offence taken againſt "him, but humbly deſired their Lordſhips to look "upon the whole Courſe of his Life, which was "ſuch, as that he was perſuaded not one Man in the "Houſe

King Charles I. 1640.

Sir H. Grimſtone's *Speech againſt him.*

He is impeached by the Engliſh *Parliament.*

King Charles I. 1640.

"House of Commons did believe in his Heart that "he was a *Traitor.*" To which the Earl of *Essex* replied, *That it was a high Reflection upon the whole House of Commons, to suppose they would charge him with a Crime which themselves did not believe.* After this his *Grace* withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the Usher of the *Black Rod*, to be kept in safe Custody, till the House of Commons should deliver in their Articles of Impeachment.

He is committed to the Usher of the Black Rod.

Upon the 26th of *February* Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Mr. *Maynard*, by Order of the Commons, went up to the House of Lords, and at the Bar of the House presented their Lordships with fourteen Articles, in Maintenance of their former Charge of High Treason against the Archbishop, which were read, his *Grace* being present.

Heads of the Impeachment of the H. of Commons.

In the *first*, he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the Constitution, by introducing an arbitrary Power of Government, without any Limitation or Rule of Law. In the *second*, he is charged with procuring Sermons to be preached, and other Pamphlets to be printed, in which the Authority of Parliaments is denied, and the ABSOLUTE POWER of the King asserted to be agreeable to the Law of God. The *third* Article charges him with interrupting the Course of Justice, by Messages, Threatnings, and Promises to the Judges. The *fourth*, with selling Justice in his own Person, under Colour of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and with advising his Majesty to sell Places of Judicature, contrary to Law. In the *fifth*, he is charged with the *Canons*, and *Oath*, imposed upon the Subject by the late Convocation. In the *sixth*, with robbing the King of his Supremacy, by denying the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* to be derived from the Crown. In the *seventh*, with bringing in Popish Doctrines, Opinions, and Ceremonies, contrary to the Articles of the Church, and cruelly persecuting those who opposed them. In the *eighth*, he his charged with promoting Persons to the high-

est

eſt and beſt Preferments in the Church who are corrupt in Doctrine and Manners. In the *ninth*, with employing ſuch for his domeſtick Chaplains, as he knew to be popiſhly affected, and committing to them the licenſing of Books, whereby ſuch Writings have been publiſh'd, as have been ſcandalous to the Proteſtant Religion. The *tenth* Article charges him with ſundry Attempts to reconcile the Church of *England* with the Church of *Rome*. The *eleventh*, with Diſcountenancing of Preaching, and with ſilencing, depriving, impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſundry godly and orthodox Miniſters. The *twelfth*, with dividing the Church of *England* from the foreign Proteſtant Churches. The *thirteenth*, with being the Author of all the late Diſturbances between *England* and *Scotland*.—And the *laſt*, with endeavouring to bereave the Kingdom of the Legiſlative Power, by alienating the King's Mind from his Parliaments. *King* Charles I. 1640.

At the Delivery of theſe Articles Mr. *Pym* declared, that the Commons reſerved to themſelves the liberty of preſenting ſome *additional Articles*, by which they intended to make the Charge more *particular* and *certain*, as to Time, and other Circumſtances; and pray'd their Lordſhips to put the Cauſe into as quick a Forwardneſs as they could.

When the Archbiſhop had heard the Articles read, he made his Obeiſance to the Houſe, and ſaid, "That it was a great and heavy Charge, and that "he was unworthy to live if it could be made good; "however, it was yet but in *Generals*, and Generals "made a great Noiſe, but were no Proof. For hu- "man Frailties he could not excuſe himſelf, but for "Corruption in the leaſt Degree, he feared no Ac- "cuſer that would ſpeak Truth. But that which "went neareſt him, was, that he was thought *falſe* "*in his Religion*, as if he ſhould profeſs with the "Church of *England*, and have his Heart at *Rome*." He then beſought their Lordſhips, that he might enlarge *Archbiſhop ſpeaks for himſelf.*

King Charles I. 1640.

enlarge himſelf, and ſo made a ſhort Reply to each Article, which conſiſted in an abſolute Denial of the whole. But the Lords voted him to the *Tower*; whither he was carried in Mr. *Maxwell*'s Coach through the City, on *Monday*, *March* 1. It was deſigned he ſhould have paſs'd *incognito*, but an Apprentice in *Newgate Street* happening to know him, raiſed the Mob, which ſurrounded the Coach, and followed him with Huzza's and Inſults till he got within the *Tower* Gate. Indeed, ſuch was the univerſal Hatred of all Ranks and Orders of Men againſt this ſevere Prelate, for his cruel Uſage of thoſe that had fallen into his Hands in the Time of his Proſperity, that no Man's Fall in the whole Kingdom was ſo unlamented as his. His *Grace* being lodged in the *Tower*, thought it his Intereſt to be quiet, without ſo much as moving the Lords to be brought to a Trial, or putting in his Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment, till the Commons, after two or three Years, exhibited their additional Articles, and moved the Peers, that he might be brought to Judgment.

He is ſent to the Tower.

Priſoners of the Prerogative releaſed.

Biſhop of Lincoln.

Before the Archbiſhop was confined he had the Mortification to ſee moſt of the Church and State Priſoners ſet at liberty; *Nov.* 16. the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was diſcharged from his Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and his Fine remitted. Next Day being a publick Faſt, he appeared in the *Abbey Church* at *Weſtminſter*, and officiated as *Dean*. When he reſumed his Seat in the Houſe of Lords, he behaved with more Temper than either the King or the Archbiſhop could expect; upon which his Majeſty ſent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the Court, by promiſing to make him full Satisfaction for his paſt Sufferings; in order to which his Majeſty commanded all the Judgments that were filed againſt him to be cancelled, and within a Twelvemonth tranſlated him to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, with Leave to hold his Deanry of *Weſtminſter* in

in *Commendam* for three Years: The Biſhop therefore never complained to the Houſe of his Sufferings, nor petition'd for Satisfaction. *King* Charles I. 1640.

Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, and Dr. *Baſtwick*, being remanded from the ſeveral Iſlands to which they had been confined, upon their humble Petition to the Houſe of Commons, were met ſome Miles out of Town by great Numbers of People on Horſeback with Roſemary and Bays in their Hats, and attended into the City in a ſort of Triumph, with loud Acclamations for their Deliverance; a few Weeks after, the Houſe came to the following Reſolutions; Prynne, Burton, *and* Baſtwick.

"That the ſeveral Judgments given againſt them "were illegal, unjuſt, and againſt the Liberty of "the Subject: That their ſeveral Fines be remitted; "that they be reſtored to their ſeveral Profeſſions; "and, that for Reparation of their Loſſes, Mr. "*Burton* ought to have ſix Thouſand Pounds, and "Mr. *Prynne* and Dr. *Baſtwick* five Thouſand Pounds "each, out of the Eſtates of the Archbiſhop of *Can-*"*terbury*, the High Commiſſioners, and thoſe Lords "who had voted againſt them in the Star Cham-"ber; but the Confuſion of the Times prevented "the Payment of the Money."

Dr. *Leighton* was releaſed about the ſame Time, and his Fine of ten Thouſand Pounds remitted: The reading his Petition drew Tears from the Houſe, being to this Effect.

The humble Petition of Alexander Leighton, *Priſoner in the* Fleet,

Humbly Sheweth,

"THAT on *Feb.* 17. 1630. he was apprehend-"ed coming from Sermon by a High Com-"miſſion Warrant, and dragged along the Street "with Bills and Staves to *London Houſe*. That the "Gaoler of *Newgate* being ſent for, clapt him in "Irons, and carried him with a ſtrong Power into *Dr.* Leighton's *Petition.*

King Charles I. 1640.

" a loathſome and ruinous Dog-hole, full of Rats " and Mice, that had no Light but a little Grate, " and the Roof being uncovered, the Snow and Rain " beat in upon him, having no Bedding, nor Place " to make a Fire, but the Ruins of an old ſmoaky " Chimney. In this woful Place he was ſhut up for " fifteen Weeks, no body being ſuffer'd to come to " him, till at length his Wife only was admitted.

" That the fourth Day after his Commitment the " *Purſuivant*, with a mighty Multitude, came to his " Houſe to ſearch for Jeſuits Books, and uſed his " Wife in ſuch a barbarous and inhuman Manner as " he is aſhamed to expreſs; that they rifled every " Perſon and Place, holding a Piſtol to the Breaſt of " a Child of five Years old, threatning to kill him " if he did not diſcover the Books; that they broke " open Cheſts, Preſſes, Boxes, and carried away " every Thing, even Houſhold Stuff, Apparel, " Arms, and other Things; that at the end of fif- " teen Weeks he was ſerved with a *Subpœna*, on " an Information laid againſt him by Sir *Robert* " *Heath*, Attorney General, whoſe dealing with " him was full of Cruelty and Deceit; but he was " then ſick, and, in the Opinion of four Phyſicians, " thought to be poiſoned, becauſe all his Hair and " Skin came off; that in the height of this Sickneſs " the cruel Sentence was paſt upon him mentioned " in the Year 1630. and executed *Nov.* 26. follow- " ing, when he received thirty ſix Stripes upon his " naked back with a threefold Cord, his Hands be- " ing tied up to a Stake, and then ſtood almoſt two " Hours in the Pillory in the Froſt and Snow, before " he was branded in the Face, his Noſe ſlit, and his " Ears cut off; that after this he was carried by " Water to the *Fleet*, and ſhut up in ſuch a Room " that he was never well, and after eight Years was

He is releaſed.

" turned into the common Gaol ——" The Houſe voted him Satisfaction for his Sufferings; but it does not appear that he had any, except being Keeper of

Lam-

Lambeth Houſe for a Priſon, which he muſt be very unfit for, being now in the ſeventy ſecond Year of his Age, and worn out with Poverty, Weakneſs and Pain. *King* Charles I. 1640.

Beſides theſe, Dr. *Oſbaldeſton*, one of the Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*; the Reverend Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, B. D. of *Magdalen Hall*, *Oxford*, Mr. *Smith*, *Wilſon*, *Small*, *Cooper*, and *Brewer*, who had been in Priſon fourteen Years; Mr. *George Walker*, who had been committed for preaching a Sermon, *Octob.* 14. 1638. at St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*'s, *London*, and detained four Weeks in the Hands of a Meſſenger, to whom he paid twenty Pounds Fees. And after his Proſecution in the Star Chamber, had been ſhut up ten Weeks in the *Gate Houſe*, and at laſt enforced to enter into Bond of a Thouſand Pounds to confine himſelf Priſoner in his Brother's Houſe at *Chiſwick*, where he continued till this Time, his Parſonage being ſequeſter'd; and in general, all that were confined by the High Commiſſion were ſet at liberty, paſſing their Words to be forth-coming when they ſhould be called for. *Dr.* Osbaldeſton *and others.* Nalſon, p. 250. Ib. p. 570.

The Impriſonment of the above-mentioned Gentlemen being declared illegal, 'tis natural to imagine the Houſe would make ſome Enquiry after their Proſecutors. About the latter end of *January* Dr. *Coſins*, Prebendary of *Durham*, and afterwards Biſhop of the ſame Dioceſe, was ſent for into Cuſtody, on account of the ſuperſtitious Innovations which he had introduced into that Cathedral. The Doctor, in his Anſwer, denied the whole Charge, and as to the Particulars he replied, that the Marble Altar with Cherubims was ſet up before he was Prebendary of the Church; that he did not approve of the Image of God the Father, and that to his Knowledge there was no ſuch Repreſentation in the Church at *Durham*; that the Crucifix with a blue Cap and golden Beard, was miſtook for the Top of Biſhop *Hatfield*'s Tomb, which had been erected twenty five Years; that *Authors of the late Innovations cenſured.* *Dr.* Coſins.

King Charles I. 1640.

there were but two Candles on the Communion Table; and, that no more were uſed on *Candlemas Night* than in the *Chriſtmas* Holidays; that he did not forbid the ſinging the Pſalms in Metre, nor direct the ſinging of the *Anthem* to the three Kings of *Colen*; nor uſe a conſecrated Knife at the Sacrament. The Lords were ſo far ſatisfied with the Doctor's Anſwer, as not to commit him at preſent; but the Commons having voted him unfit to hold any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, the Doctor foreſeeing the Storm that was coming upon the Church, wiſely withdrew into *France*, where he behaved diſcreetly and prudently till the Reſtoration, being ſoften'd in his Principles by Age and Sufferings.

Bp. Wren. Nalſon, p. 398.

Dr. *Matthew Wren*, late Biſhop of *Norwich*, and now of *Ely*, having been remarkably ſevere againſt the Puritan Clergy in his Dioceſes; the Inhabitants of *Ipſwich* drew up a Petition againſt him, and preſented it to the Houſe *December* 22. 1640. upon which the Committee of Parliament exhibited a Charge againſt him, conſiſting of twenty five Articles relating to the late Innovations. It was carried up to the Lords by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and ſets forth, that during the Time of his being Biſhop of *Norwich*, which was about two Years, fifty Miniſters had been excommunicated, ſuſpended, and deprived, *for not reading the ſecond Service at the Communion Table*; *for not reading the Book of Sports*; *for uſing conceived Prayers before the Afternoon Sermon*, &c. and that by his rigorous Severities many of his Majeſty's Subjects, to the Number of three Thouſand, had removed themſelves, their Families, and Eſtates, to *Holland*, and ſet up their Manufacturies there, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom. I don't find that the Biſhop put in a particular Anſwer to theſe Articles, nor was he taken into Cuſtody, but only gave Bond for his Appearance. Some Time after the Commons voted him unfit to hold any Eccleſiaſtical Preferment in the Church, and both Lords

Lords and Commons joined in a Petition to the King, to remove the ſaid Biſhop from his Perſon and Service; ſome Time after he was impriſoned, with the reſt of the proteſting Biſhops; after his Releaſe he retired to his Houſe at *Downham* in the Iſle of *Ely*, from whence he was taken by a Party of Parliament Soldiers and conveyed to the *Tower*, where he continued a patient Priſoner till the end of the Year 1659. without being brought to his Trial, or admitted to Bail. *King* Charles I. 1642.

Complaints were made againſt ſeveral other Biſhops and Clergymen, as Dr. *Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Montague* Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Owen* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Manwaring* Biſhop of *St. David's*; but the Houſe had too many Affairs upon their Hands to attend their Proſecutions. Of the inferior Clergy, Dr. *Stone*, *Chaffin*, *Aſton*, *Jones*, and ſome others, who had been Inſtruments of Severity in the late Times, were voted unfit for Eccleſiaſtical Promotions. Dr. *Layfield* Archdeacon of *Eſſex*, pleaded his Privilege as a Member of Convocation, according to an old Popiſh Statute of *Henry* VI. but the Committee over-ruled it, and voted the Doctor into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Dr. *Pocklington* Canon of *Windſor*, and Prebendary of *Peterborough*, was complained of for two Books, one entitled, the *Chriſtian Altar*; the other, *Sunday no Sabbath*, which had been licenſed by Dr. *Bray*, one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains. The Doctor acknowledged his Offence at the Bar of the Houſe, confeſſed that he had not examined the Books with that Caution that he ought, and made a publick Recantation in the Church of *Weſtminſter*; but *Pocklington* refuſing to recant about thirty falſe Propoſitions, which the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had collected out of his Books, was ſentenced by the *Lord Keeper to be deprived of his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments*; *to be for ever diſabled to hold any Place or Dignity in the Church or Commonwealth*; *never to come within the Verge of his Majeſty's Court*; *and his Books to be burnt by the Hands of the common* *And ſeveral other Clergymen.*

Xing Charles I. 1640.

Hangman in the City of London, *and the two Universities*; but both the Doctors died ſoon after. The Number of Petitions that were ſent up to the Committee of Religion from all Parts of the Country againſt their Clergy is incredible; ſome complaining of their ſuperſtitious Impoſitions, and others of the Immorality of their Lives, and Neglect of their Cures; which ſhews the little Eſteem they had among the People, who were weary of their Yoke, and reſpected them no longer than they were under the Terror of their Excommunications.

Mutinous Behaviour of the People.

Such was the Spirit of the Populace, that it was difficult to prevent their out-running Authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous Manner what they were told was illegally ſet up. At St. *Saviour's Southwark* the Mob pulled down the Rails about the Communion Table. At *Halſtead* in *Eſſex* they tore the *Surplice*, and abuſed the Service Book; nay, when the Houſe of Commons was aſſembled at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, as the Prieſt was beginning the ſecond Service at the Communion Table, ſome at the lower end of the Church began a Pſalm, which was followed by the Congregation, ſo that the Miniſter was forced to deſiſt. But to prevent theſe ſeditious Practices for the future, the Lords and Commons paſſed a very ſevere Sentence on the Rioters, and publiſhed the following Order, bearing Date *Jan.* 16. 1640-1. appointing it to be read in all the Pariſh Churches of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and the Borough of *Southwark*, (*viz.*) "That Divine Service "ſhall be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of "Parliament of this Realm; and that all ſuch as di-"ſturb that wholeſome Order ſhall be ſeverely pu-"niſhed according to Law." But then it was added, "That the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates of the "ſeveral Pariſhes, ſhall forbear to introduce any "Rites or Ceremonies that may give Offence, other-"wiſe than thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by the Laws "of the Land." The Deſign of this Proviſo was

Votes to prevent it.

to

to guard againſt the late Innovations, and in particular, againſt the Clergy's refuſing the Sacrament to ſuch as would not receive it kneeling at the Rails. *King* Charles I. 1640.

Service of the Church neglected.

There was ſuch a violent Clamour againſt the *High Clergy*, that they could hardly officiate according to the late Injunctions, without being affronted, nor walk the Streets in their Habits (ſays *Nalſon*) without being reproached as *Popiſh Prieſts*, *Cæſar's Friends*, &c. the Reputation of the *Liturgy* began to ſink; reading Prayers was called a *Lifeleſs Form of Worſhip*, and a quenching the Holy Spirit, whoſe Aſſiſtances are promiſed in the Matter, as well as the Manner of our Prayers; beſides, the Nation being in a Criſis, it was thought impoſſible that the old *Forms* ſhould be ſuitable to the Exigency of the Times, or to the Circumſtances of particular Perſons, who might deſire a Share in the Devotions of the Church. Thoſe Miniſters, therefore, who prayed with Fervency and Devotion, in Words of their own Conception, ſuitable either to the Sermon that was preached, or to the preſent Urgency of Affairs, had crouded and attentive Auditories, while the ordinary Service of the Church was deſerted as formal, lifeleſs, and without Spirit.

Hiſtory of the Independants continued. Of Mr. Lathorp, MS. penes me.

The Diſcipline of the Church being relaxed, the *Browniſts* or *Independants*, who had aſſembled in private, and ſhifted from Houſe to Houſe for twenty or thirty Years, took Courage, and ſhewed themſelves in publick. We have given an Account of their Original, from Mr. *Robinſon* and Mr. *Jacob*, in the Year 1616. which laſt was ſucceeded by Mr. *John Lathorp*, formerly a Clergyman in *Kent*, but having renounced his Orders, he became Paſtor of this little Society. In his Time the Congregation was diſcovered by *Tomlinſon*, the Biſhop's Purſuevant, *April* 29. 1632. at the Houſe of Mr. *Humphry Barnet*, a Brewer's Clark, in *Black Fryars*, where forty two of them were apprehended, and but eighteen eſcaped: Of

King Charles I. 1640.

thoſe that were taken, ſome were confined in the *Clink*, others in *New Priſon* and the *Gate Houſe*, where they continued about two Years, and were then releaſed upon Bail, except Mr. *Lathorp*, for whom no Favour could be obtained; he therefore petition'd the King for liberty to depart the Kingdom, which being granted, he went in the Year 1634. to *New England*, with about thirty of his Followers. Mr. *Lathorp* was a Man of Learning, and of a meek and quiet Spirit, but met with ſome Uneaſineſſes, upon Occaſion of one of his People carrying his Child to be baptized by the Pariſh Miniſter; ſome of the Congregation inſiſting, that it ſhould be re-baptized, becauſe the other Adminiſtration was not valid; but when the Queſtion was put, it was carried in the Negative, and reſolved by the Majority, not to make any Declaration at preſent, *Whether or no Pariſh Churches were true Churches?* Upon this ſome of the more rigid, and others who were diſſatisfied about the Lawfulneſs of *Infant Baptiſm*, deſired their Diſmiſſion, which was granted them; theſe ſet up by themſelves, and choſe Mr. *Jeſſe* their Miniſter, who laid the Foundation of the firſt Baptiſt Congregation that I have met with in *England*. But the reſt renewed their Covenant, *to walk together in the Ways of God, ſo far as he had made them known, or ſhould make them known to them, and to forſake all falſe Ways.* And ſo ſteady were they to their Vows, that hardly an Inſtance can be produced, of one that deſerted to the Church by the ſevereſt Proſecutions.

Mr. Canne.

Upon Mr. *Lathorp*'s retiring to *New England* the Congregation choſe for their Paſtor the famous Mr. *Canne*, Author of the Marginal References in the Bible, who after he had preached to them in private Houſes for a Year or two, was driven, by the Severity of the Times into *Holland*, and became Paſtor of the *Browniſt* Congregation at *Amſterdam*.

After

After Mr. *Canne*, Mr. *Samuel Howe* undertook the Paſtoral Care of this little Flock; he was a Man of Learning, and printed a ſmall Treatiſe, called, *The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching*. But not being ſufficiently upon his Guard in Converſation, he laid himſelf open to the *Informers*, by whoſe Means he was cited into the *Spiritual Courts*, and excommunicated; upon this he abſconded, but being at laſt taken, he was ſhut up in cloſe Priſon where he died. His Friends would have buried him in *Shoreditch Church Yard*, but being excommunicated the Officers of the Pariſh would not admit it, ſo they buried him in a Piece of Ground at *Anniſeed Clear*, where many of his Congregation were buried after him. *King* Charles I. 1640. *Mr.* Howe.

Upon Mr. *Howe*'s Death the little Church was forced to take up with a *Lay-Man*, Mr. *Stephen More*, a Citizen of *London*, of good natural Parts, and of conſiderable Subſtance in the World; he had been their Deacon for ſome Years, and in the preſent Exigency accepted of the Paſtoral Office, to the apparent Hazard of his Eſtate and Liberty. But the Face of Affairs beginning now to change, this poor Congregation, which had ſubſiſted almoſt by a Miracle for above twenty four Years, ſhifting from Place to Place, to avoid the Notice of the *Publick*, ventur'd to open their Doors in *Dead Man's Place*, in *Southwark*, *Jan.* 18. 1640-1. Mr. *Fuller* calls them a Congregation of *Anabaptiſts*, who were met together to the Number of eighty; but by their Journal or Church Book, an Abſtract of which is now before me, it appears to be Mr. *More*'s Congregation of *Independants*, who being aſſembled in *Dead Man*'s *Place* on the Lord's Day, were diſturbed by the Marſhal of the *King's Bench*, and moſt of them committed to the *Clink* Priſon. Next Morning ſix or ſeven of the Men were carried before the Houſe of Lords, and charged with denying the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and with preaching in ſepa- *Mr.* More. *They appear in publick.*

rate

King Charles I. 1640.

rate Congregations, contrary to the Statute of the 35th of *Eliz.* The latter they confeſſed, and as to the former, they declared to the Houſe, that *they could acknowledge no other Head of the Church but Chriſt; that they apprehended no Prince on Earth had Power to make Laws to bind the Conſcience; and that ſuch Laws as were contrary to the Laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but that they diſowned all foreign Power and Juriſdiction.* Such a Declaration a twelvemonth ago would have coſt them their Ears; but the Houſe, inſtead of remitting them to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, diſmiſſed them with a gentle Reprimand, and three or four of the Members came out of Curioſity to their Aſſembly next Lord's Day, to hear their Miniſter preach, and ſee him adminiſter the Sacrament, and were ſo well ſatisfied, that they contributed to their Collection for the Poor.

Votes of Parliament againſt Innovations.

To return to the Parliament. It has been obſerved, that one of their Reſolutions at firſt ſitting down, was to reduce the Powers of the Spiritual Courts. The old Popiſh Canons, which were the Laws by which they proceeded (as far as they had not been repealed by particular Statutes) were ſuch a Labyrinth, that when the Subject was got into the *Commons* he knew not how to defend himſelf, nor which way to get out. The Kings of *England* had always declined a Reformation of the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, though a Plan had been laid before them ever ſince the Reign of King *Edward* VI. But the Grievance was now become inſufferable, by the Numbers of illegal Impriſonments, Deprivations, and Fines levied upon the Subject in the late Times, for Crimes not actionable in the Courts of *Weſtminſter Hall*; it was neceſſary therefore to bring the Affairs of the Church to a Parliamentary Standard, but till this could be accompliſhed by a new Law, all that could be done was to vote down the late Innovations, which had

very little effect; and therefore on the 23d of *January* they ordered Commiſſioners to be ſent into all Counties, to demoliſh and remove out of Churches and Chapels, all *Images, Altars, or Tables turned Altarwiſe, Crucifixes, ſuperſtitious Pictures, and other Monuments and Relicts of Idolatry*, agreeably to the Injunctions of King *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*; but how far, and upon what emergent Occaſions, the Houſe of Commons, who are but one third of the Legiſlature, may lawfully appoint Commiſſioners to put the Laws in Execution, without the Concurrence of the other two, I muſt leave with the Reader. *King Charles I. 1640.*

The Univerſity of *Cambridge* having complained of the Oaths and Subſcriptions impoſed upon young Students at their Matriculation, as, *ſubſcribing to the Book of Common Prayer, and to the Thirty nine Articles*, the Houſe of Commons voted, "That the Statute "made Twenty ſeven Years ago in the Univerſity of "*Cambridge*, impoſing upon young Scholars a Sub-"ſcription, according to the Thirty ſixth Canon of "1603. is againſt Law, and the Liberty of the "Subject, and ought not to be impoſed upon any "Students or Graduates whatſoever." About five Months forwards they paſſed the ſame Reſolution for *Oxford*, which was not unreaſonable, becauſe the Univerſities had not an unlimited Power, by the Thirty ſixth Canon, to call upon all their Students to ſubſcribe, but only upon ſuch Lecturers or Readers of Divinity whom they had a Power of Licenſing; and to this I conceive the laſt Words of the Canon refer; *but if either of the Univerſities offend therein, we leave them to the Danger of the Law and his Majeſty's Cenſure.* *Votes againſt Subſcriptions of the Univerſity.*

And it ought to be remember'd, That all the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons this Year, in puniſhing Delinquents; and all their Votes and Reſolutions about the Circumſtances of publick Wor- *Deſign of their Votes.*

King Charles I. 1640.

Worſhip, had no other View, than the cutting off thoſe illegal Additions and Innovations, which the Iniquity of the late Times had introduced, and reducing the Diſcipline of the Church to the Standard of Statute Law. No Man was puniſhed for acting according to Law; but the Diſpleaſure of the Houſe ran high againſt thoſe, who in their publick Miniſtrations, or in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, had bound thoſe Things upon the Subject which were either contrary to the Laws of the Land, or which the Laws had taken no notice of.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Antiquity of Liturgies, *and of the* Epiſcopal Order, *debated between Biſhop* HALL *and* SMECTYMNUUS. *Petitions for and againſt the Hierarchy.* ROOT *and* BRANCH *Petition. The Miniſters Petition for* Reformation. *Speeches upon the Petitions. Proceedings againſt* Papiſts.

THE Debates in the Houſe of Commons about the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Hierarchy, engaged the Attention of the whole Nation, and revived the Controverſy without Doors. The Preſs being open great Numbers of anonymous Pamphlets appeared againſt the Eſtabliſhment, not without indecent and ſevere Language, under theſe and the like Titles; *Prelatical Epiſcopacy not from the Apoſtles. Lord Biſhops not the Lord's Biſhops. Short View of the Prelatical Church of* England. *A Compariſon between the Liturgy and the Maſs Book. Service Book no better than a Meſs of Pottage*, &c. Lord *Brook* attacked the Order of Biſhops in a Treatiſe of the *Nature of Epiſcopacy*, wherein he reflects, in an ungenerous Manner, upon the low Pedigree of the preſent *Bench*, as if nothing but a noble Deſcent could qualify Men to ſit among the Peers. Several of the Biſhops vindicated their Pedigree and Deſcent, as Biſhop *Williams*, *Moreton*, *Curle*, *Cook*, *Owen*, &c. and Archbiſhop *Uſher* defended the *Order*, in a Treatiſe, entitled, *The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy*; but then, by a *Biſhop*, his Lordſhip underſtood no more, than a ſtated Preſident over an Aſſembly of Preſbyters, which the *Puritans* of theſe Times were willing to admit. But the moſt celebrated Writer on the Side of the Eſtabliſhment, was the learned and pious Biſhop *Hall*, who at the Requeſt of Archbiſhop *Laud* had publiſhed

King Charles I. 1640.

Pamphlets for and againſt Epiſcopacy.

Bp. Hall's *Divine Right of Epiſcopacy.*

King Charles I. 1640.

liſhed a Treatiſe, entitled, EPISCOPACY OF DIVINE RIGHT, as has been related. This Reverend Prelate, upon the gathering of the preſent Storm, appeared a ſecond Time in its Defence, in *an humble Remonſtrance to the High Court of Parliament*; and ſome Time after, in *A Defence of that Remonſtrance*, in Vindication of the Antiquity of Liturgies, and of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy.

Anſwer'd by Smectymnuus.

The Biſhop's Remonſtrance was anſwered by a celebrated Treatiſe, under the Title of SMECTYMNUUS, a fictitious Word, made up of the initial Letters of the Names of the Authors (*viz.*) *Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Mathew Newcomen*, and *William Spurſtow*. When the Biſhop had replied to their Book, theſe Reverend Divines publiſhed *a Vindication of their Anſwer to the humble Remonſtrance*; which being an Appeal to the Legiſlature on both Sides, may be ſuppoſed to contain the Merits of the Controverſy, and will therefore deſerve the Reader's Attention.

The Debate was upon theſe two Heads;

Abſtract of the Controverſy upon Antiquity of Liturgies.

I. Of the Antiquity of Liturgies, or Forms of Prayer.

II. Of the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy.

Bp. Hall.

The Biſhop begins with Liturgies, by which he underſtands *certain preſcribed and limited Forms of Prayer, compoſed for the publick Service of the Church, and appointed to be read at all Times of publick Worſhip.* The Antiquity of theſe, his Lordſhip derives down from *Moſes*, by an uninterrupted Succeſſion, to the preſent Time. "God's People, ſays he, ever ſince "*Moſes*'s Day, conſtantly practiſed a ſet Form, and "put it over to the Times of the Goſpel. Our bleſ-"ſed Saviour, and his gracious Forerunner, taught "a direct Form of Prayer. When *Peter* and *John* "went up to the Temple at the ninth Hour of Pray-"er,

" er, we know the Prayer wherein they joined " was not of an *extempore* and ſudden Conception, " but of a regular Preſcription; and the evangelical " Church, ever ſince, thought it could never better " improve her Peace and Happineſs, than in com- " poſing thoſe religious Models of Invocation and " Thankſgiving, which they have traduced unto " us, as the Liturgies of St. *James*, *Baſil*, and *Chry-* " *ſoſtom*, and which, though in ſome Places corrup- " ted, ſerve to prove the Thing it ſelf." *King* Charles I. 1640.

SMECTYMNUUS replies, That if there had been any Liturgies in the Times of the firſt and moſt venerable Antiquity, the great Inquirers after them would have produc'd them to the World before this Time; but that there were none in the Chriſtian Church is evident from *Tertullian*, in his *Apol. cap.* 30. where he ſays, the Chriſtians of thoſe Times, in their publick Aſſemblies, pray'd *ſine monitore quia de pectore*; *without any Prompter but their own Hearts.* And in his Treatiſe of Prayer he adds, There are ſome Things to be aſked *according to the Occaſions of every Man.* St. *Auſtin* ſays the ſame Thing, *Ep.* 121. It is free to aſk the ſame Things that are deſired in the Lord's Prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, ſometimes in one manner of Expreſſion, and ſometimes in another. And before this *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Apology ſays, ὁ προεστὼς, *the Preſident*, or he that inſtructed the People, prayed *according to his Ability*, or as well as he could. Nor was this liberty of Prayer taken away till the Times when the *Arian* and *Pelagian* Hereſies invaded the Church; it was then firſt ordained, that none ſhould pray *pro Arbitrio*, *ſed ſemper eaſdem Preces*; *that they ſhould not uſe the Liberty which they had hitherto practiſed, but ſhould always keep to one Form of Prayer*, Concil. Laod. Can. 18th. But ſtill this was a Form of their own compoſing, as appears by a Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, *Anno* 397. which gives this Reaſon for it, *Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem, pro filio, vel filium, pro patre nominet, & cum Altari ad-* Smectymnuus *for liberty of Prayer.*

King Charles I. 1640.

adsistitur semper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio; & Quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit, non iis utatur nisi prius eas cum fratribus instructioribus contulerit, i. e. "That "none in their Prayers might mistake the Father "for the Son, or the Son for the Father; and that "when they assist at the Altar, Prayer might be al-"ways directed to the Father. And whosoever "composes any different Forms, let him not make "use of them, till he has first consulted with his more "learned Brethren." It appears from hence, that there was no uniform prescribed Liturgy at this Time in the Church, but that the more ignorant Priests might make use of Forms of their own composing, provided they consulted their more learned Brethren; but at length it was ordained at the Council of *Milan*, *Anno* 416. that none should use set Forms of Prayer, but such as were approved in a Synod.

Primitive Manner of Worship.

They go on to transcribe from *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, the Manner of publick Worship in *their* Times, which was this; first, the Scriptures were read, after reading followed an Exhortation to the Practice and Imitation of what was read, then all rose up and joined in Prayer, after this they went to the Sacrament, in the beginning whereof the President of the Assembly poured out Prayers and Thanksgivings, *according to his Ability*, and the People said *Amen*; then followed the Distribution of the Elements, and a Collection of Alms; this was *Justin Martyr*'s Liturgy or Service, and *Tertullian*'s is the same, only he mentions their beginning with Prayer before reading the Scriptures, and their *Love Feasts*, which also began and ended with Prayer, and were celebrated with singing of Psalms. The *Smectymnuans* admit, that our blessed Saviour taught his Disciples a Form of Prayer, but deny that he designed to confine them to the Use of those Words only, nor did the Primitive Church so understand it, as has been proved from St. *Austin*. The pretended Liturgies of St. *James*, *Basil*, and St. *Chrysostom*, are of little

little Weight in this Argument, as being allowed by the Biſhop, and the moſt learned Criticks, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, to be full of Forgeries and ſpurious Inſertions. Upon the whole therefore, they challenge his Lordſhip to produce any one genuine Liturgy, uſed in the Chriſtian Church, for three Hundred Years after Chriſt *. *King* Charles I. 1640.

From the Antiquity of Liturgies in general, the Biſhop deſcends to a more particular Commendation of that which is eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, as, that it was drawn up by wiſe and good Men with great Deliberation; that it had been ſealed with the Blood of Martyrs; and was ſelected out of ancient Models, not *Roman* but *Chriſtian*. Bp. Hall's *Commendation of the* Engliſh *Liturgy*.

In anſwer to which theſe Divines appeal to the Proclamation of King *Edward* VI. wherein the Original of it is publiſhed to the World. The *Statute* mentions four different Forms then in uſe, out of which an uniform Office was to be collected (*viz.*) *the Uſe of* Sarum, *of* Bangor, *of* York, *and of* Lincoln; all which were ROMAN rather than CHRISTIAN; they Smectymnuus's *Reply*.

* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That it was in the fourth Century that the Liturgies of St. *James*, St. *Baſil*, &c. were firſt mentioned; that the Council of *Laodicea* appointed the ſame Prayers to be uſed Mornings and Evenings, but that theſe Forms were left to the Diſcretion of every Biſhop; nor was it made the Subject of any publick Conſultation till St. *Auſtin*'s Time, when in their Dealing with Hereticks they found they took Advantage from ſome of the Prayers that were in ſome Churches; upon which it was ordered, that there ſhould be no publick Prayers uſed but by common Advice. Formerly, *ſays the Biſhop*, the Worſhip of God was a pure and ſimple Thing, and ſo it continued, till Superſtition had ſo infected the Church, that thoſe Forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more artificial Rules, and dreſſed up with much Ceremony. In every Age there were notable Additions made, and all the Writers almoſt in the eighth and ninth Centuries employed their Fancies to find out Myſtical Significations for every *Rite* that was then uſed, till at length there were ſo many *Miſſals*, *Breviaries*, *Rituals*, *Pontificals*, *Pontoiſes*, *Pies*, *Graduals*, *Antiphonals*, *Pſalteries*, *Hours*, and a great many more, that the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a Piece of the Trade, that it was not to be learn'd without long Practice. Hiſt. Ref. Part 2d. p. 72.

King Charles I. 1640.

admit his Lordſhip's other Encomiums of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, but affirm, that it was ſtill imperfect; and in many Places offenſive to tender Conſciences.

Bp. Hall's Conceſſions about Liberty of Prayer.

The good Biſhop after all, ſeems willing to compromiſe the Difference about Prayer; "Far be it "from me (ſays his Lordſhip) to diſhearten any "good Chriſtian from the Uſe of conceived Prayer "in his *private Devotions*, and upon Occaſion alſo "in the *publick*. I would hate to be guilty of pouring ſo much Water upon the Spirit, to which I "ſhall gladly add Oil rather. No, let the full Soul "freely pour out it ſelf in gracious Expreſſions of "its holy Thoughts, into the Boſom of the Almighty; let both the ſudden Flaſhes of our quick Ejaculations, and the conſtant Flames of our more "fixed Conceptions mount up from the Altar of a "zealous Heart unto the Throne of Grace; and if "there be ſome Stops or Soleciſms, in the fervent "Utterance of our private Wants, theſe are ſo far "from being offenſive, that they are the moſt pleaſing Muſick to the Ears of that God, unto whom "our Prayers come; let them be broken off with "Sobs and Sighs, and Incongruities of our Delivery, "our good God is no otherways affected to this imperfect Elocution, than an indulgent Parent is "to the clipped and broken Language of his dear "Child, which is more delightful to him than any "others ſmooth Oratory. This is not to be oppoſed in another, by any Man that hath found the true "Operations of this Grace in himſelf—" "What "I have profeſſed concerning *conceived Prayers*, is "that which I have ever allowed, ever practiſed "both in private and publick. God is a free Spirit, "and ſo ſhould ours be, in pouring out our voluntary Devotions upon all Occaſions; nothing hinders, but that this liberty, and a publick Liturgy "ſhould be good Friends, and go hand in hand together; and whoſoever would forcibly ſeparate "them let them bear their own blame — the over-

Def. of Remonſtrance.

" rigorous preſſing of the Liturgy, to the juſtling " out of Preaching, or *conceived Prayers*, was ne- " ver intended, either by the Law-makers, or " moderate Governors of the Church." If the Biſhops, when in Power, had practiſed according to theſe Conceſſions, their Affairs could not have been brought to ſuch a dangerous Criſis as at this Time. *King* Charles I. 1640.

II. The other Point in Debate, between the Biſhop and his Adverſaries, related to the *ſuperior Order of Biſhops*. And here the Controverſy was not about the Name, which ſignifies, in the *Greek*, no more than an OVERSEER, but about the Office and Character; the *Smectymnuan* Divines contended, that a *Primitive Biſhop* was no other than a *Parochial Paſtor*, or a preaching Preſbyter, without Inequality, or any proper Rule over his Brethren. His Lordſhip, on the other hand, affirms, that *Biſhops* were originally a *diſtinct Order from Preſbyters, inſtituted by the Apoſtles themſelves, and inveſted with the ſole Power of Ordination and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*; that in this Senſe they are of *Divine Inſtitution*, and have continued in the Church by an uninterrupted Succeſſion to the preſent Time. The Biſhop enters upon this Argument with unuſual Aſſurance, bearing down his Adverſaries with a Torrent of bold and unguarded Expreſſions. His Words are theſe, " This holy Calling (meaning the Order of Biſhops " as diſtinct from Preſbyters) fetches its Pedigree " from no leſs than Apoſtolical, and therefore Di- " vine Inſtitution —— Except all Hiſtories, all Au- " thors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this; " out of them we can and do ſhew, on whom the " Apoſtles of Chriſt laid thier Hands, with an Ac- " knowledgment, and Conveyance of IMPARITY " and JURISDICTION. We ſhew, what Biſhops, ſo " ordained, lived in the Times of the Apoſtles, and " ſucceeded each other in their ſeveral Charges, un- *Of the Diſtinction between Biſhop and Preſbyter.* *Bp.* Hall. *Remonſt.* p. 21.

King Charles I. 1640.

"der the Eyes and Hands of the then living Apoſtles. We ſhew, who immediately ſucceeded "thoſe immediate Succeſſors, in their ſeveral Sees, "throughout all the Regions of the Chriſtian "Church, and deduce their uninterrupted Line, "through all the following Ages, to this preſent "Day; and if there can be better Evidence under "Heaven for any Matter of Fact (and in this Cauſe "Matter of Fact ſo derived, evinceth Matter of "Right) let Epiſcopacy be for ever abandoned out "of God's Church — Again, if we do not ſhew "out of the genuine and undeniable Writings of "thoſe holy Men, who lived both in the Times of "the Apoſtles, and ſome Years after them, and "converſed with them as their bleſſed Fellow-Labourers, a clear and received Diſtinction both of "the Names and Offices of Biſhops, Preſbyters, "and Deacons, as *three diſtinct, ſubordinate Callings "in God's Church*, with an evident Specification of "the Duty and Charge belonging to each of them; "let this claimed Hierarchy be for ever hooted out "of the Church."

Defence, p. 47.

The Biſhop admits, that in the Language of Scripture, *Biſhops* and *Preſbyters* are the ſame; that there is a plain Identity in their Denomination, and that we never find theſe three Orders mentioned together, *Biſhops*, *Preſbyters*, and *Deacons*; but tho' there be no Diſtinction of Names, his Lordſhip apprehends, there is a real Diſtinction and Specification of Powers; which are,

I. The ſole Right of Ordination.
II. The ſole Right of Spiritual Juriſdiction.

Of the Right of Ordination by Biſhops. Bp. Hall.

I. The *ſole Right of Ordination* his Lordſhip proves from the Words of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* i. 6. *Stir up the Gift of God which is in thee by the Laying on of* MY HANDS; and that this Power was never communicated to *Preſbyters*, from the Words of St. *Jerom*,

by whom Ordination is excepted from the Office of a Preſbyter: *Quid facit Epiſcopus, quod non facit Preſbyter, excepta Ordinatione.* And yet (ſays his Lordſhip) our *Engliſh* Biſhops do not appropriate this *Power* to themſelves; "Say, Brethren, I be- "ſeech you, after all this Noiſe, what Biſhops ever "undertook to ordain a Preſbyter *alone*, or without "the concurrent Impoſition of many Hands? This "is perpetually and unfailably done by us." *King* Charles I. 1640.

The *Smectymnuan Divines* contend on the other hand, That Biſhops and Preſbyters were originally the ſame: That *Ordination* to the Office of a Biſhop does not differ from the Ordination of a Preſbyter; that there are no Powers conveyed to a Biſhop which Preſbyters are ſecluded from; nor any Qualification required in one more than in the other; that admitting *Timothy* was a proper Biſhop, which they deny, yet that he was ordained by the Laying on of the Hands of the *Preſbytery* as well as of St. *Paul*'s, 2 *Tim.* iv. 14. That the Original of the *Order* of Biſhops was from the Preſbyters chooſing one from among themſelves to be a ſtated Preſident in their Aſſemblies, in the ſecond or third Century; that St. *Jerom* declares once and again, that in the Days of the Apoſtles, Biſhops and Preſbyters were the ſame; that as low as his Time they had gained nothing but *Ordination*; and that St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact* affirm, that while the Apoſtles lived, and for ſome Ages after, the Names of Biſhops and Preſbyters were not diſtinguiſhed. This (ſay they) is the Voice of the moſt Primitive Antiquity *. But the *Smectym-* Smectymnuus *for Ordination by Presbyters.*

* In the Debate of the Houſe on this Head, the Authority of that very ancient Parchment Copy of the Bible in St. *James*'s Library, ſent by *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to King *Charles* I. being all written in great Capital *Greek* Letters, was vouched and aſſerted by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, a great Antiquary, wherein the Poſtſcript to the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus* are only this, "The firſt to *Timo-* "*thy*, written from *Laodicea*; to *Titus*, written from *Nicopolis*," whence he inferr'd, that the ſtiling of *Timothy* and *Titus* firſt Biſhops

King Charles I. 1640.

Smectymnuans are amazed at his Lordſhip's Aſſertion, that the Biſhops of the Church of *England* never ordained without Preſbyters; and that this was ſo conſtant a Practice, that no Inſtance can be produced of its being done without them. "Strange! (ſay "they) when ſome of us have been Eye-witneſſes "of many Scores who have been ordained by a Bi"ſhop in his private Chapel, without the Preſence "of any Preſbyter, except his domeſtick Chaplain, "who only read Prayers. Beſides, the Biſhop's "*Letters of Orders* make no mention of the Aſſiſtance "of Preſbyters, but challenge the whole Power to "themſelves, as his Lordſhip had done, in his Book "entitled, *Epiſcopacy of Divine Right*, the fifteenth "Section of which has this Title, *The Power of Or*"*dination is only in Biſhops.*"

Whether Presbyters may ordain without a Biſhop.

But the main Point upon which the Biſhop lays the whole Streſs of the Cauſe is, *Whether Preſbyters may ordain without a Biſhop?* For the Proof of this the *Smectymnuans* produce the Author of the Comment on the *Epheſians*, which goes under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays, that *in* Egypt *the Preſbyters ordain if the Biſhop be not preſent*; ſo ſaith St. *Auguſtine* in the ſame Words; and the *Chorepiſcopus*, who was but a *Preſbyter*, had Power to impoſe Hands, and to ordain within his Precincts with the Biſhop's Licence; nay further, the Preſbyters of the City of *Alexandria*, with the Biſhop's leave, might ordain, as appears from *Con. Ancyr. Carit.* 3. where it is ſaid, *It is not lawful for Chorepiſcopi to ordain Preſbyters or Deacons; nor for the Preſbyters of the City, without the Biſhop's Letter*, IN ANOTHER PARISH; which implies, they might do it with the Biſhop's Letter, or perhaps without it, in their *own*; and *Firmilianus* ſays of them that rule in the Church,

ſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, were the ſpurious Additions of ſome Eaſtern Biſhop or Monk, at leaſt five Hundred Years after Chriſt. *Ruſhw.* Vol. IV. p. 284.

whom

whom he calls *Seniores & Præpoſiti*, that is, *Presbyters* as well as *Biſhops*, that they had the Power of baptizing, and of laying on of Hands in ordaining*. *King* Charles I. 1640. II.

* It may be ſome Satisfaction to the Reader, to ſee the Judgment of other learned Men upon this Argument, which has broke the Bands of Brotherly Love and Charity, between the Church of *England* and all the foreign Proteſtants that have no Biſhops.

The learned Primate of *Ireland*, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in his Letter to Dr. *Bernard*, ſays, " I have ever declared my Opinion to be, that " *Epiſcopus & Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non Ordine*, and " conſequently, that in Places where Biſhops can't be had, the Or- " dination by Presbyters ſtands valid; but the Ordination made " by ſuch Presbyters, as have ſevered themſelves from thoſe Bi- " ſhops to whom they have ſworn Canonical Obedience, I can't " excuſe from being Schiſmatical. I think that Churches that have " no Biſhops are defective in their Government, yet for the juſtify- " ing my Communion with them (which I do love and honour as " true Members of the Church univerſal) I do profeſs, if I was " in *Holland*, I ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament at the Hands " of the *Dutch* Miniſters, with the like Affection as I ſhould from " the Hands of the *French* Miniſters, was I at *Charenton*." The ſame moſt Reverend Prelate, in his Anſwer to Mr. *Baxter*, ſays, " That the King having asked him at the Iſle of *Wight*, whether " he found in Antiquity, that *Presbyters alone ordained any?* He re- " plied yes, and that he could ſhew his Majeſty more, *even where* " *Presbyters alone ſucceſſively ordained Biſhops*, and inſtanced in " *Hierom*'s Words, *Epiſt. ad Evagrium*, of the Presbyters of *Alex-* " *andria*, chooſing and making their own Biſhops from the Days of " *Mark*, till *Heraclus* and *Dionyſius*." Baxter's *Life*, p. 206.

This was the conſtant Senſe of our firſt Reformers, *Cranmer*, *Pilkington*, *Jewel*, *Grindal*, *Whitgift*, &c. and even of *Bancroft* himſelf; for when Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, moved, That the *Scots* Biſhops elect might firſt be ordained Presbyters, in the Year 1610. *Bancroft* replied, there was no need of it, ſince *Ordination by Presbyters was valid*; upon which the ſaid Biſhop concurred in their Conſecration. And yet lower, when the Archbiſhop of *Spalato* was in *England*, he deſired Biſhop *Moreton* to re-ordain a Perſon that had been ordained beyond Sea, that he might be more capable of Preferment; to which the Biſhop replied, that it could not be done, but to the Scandal of the Reformed Churches, wherein he would have no Hand. The ſame Reverend Prelate adds, in his *Apol. Cathol.* that to ordain was the *Jus Antiquum* of Presbyters. To theſe may be added the Teſtimony of Biſhop *Burnet*, whoſe Words are theſe, " As for the Notion of diſtinct Offices of Biſhop " and Presbyter, I confeſs, 'tis not ſo clear to me, and therefore,

King Charles I. 1640.

Of the Right of Juriſdiction.

Bp. Hall.

II. The other Branch of *Power* annexed to the Epiſcopal Office, is *the ſole Right of Spiritual Juriſdiction*; this the Biſhop ſeems in ſome ſort to diſclaim; "Who ever (ſays he) challenged a SOLE Juriſdiction? We willingly grant, that Preſbyters have, and ought to have, a Juriſdiction within their own Charge; and that in all great Affairs of the Church they ought to be conſulted. We admit, that Biſhops of old had their Eccleſiaſtical Council of Preſbyters; and we ſtill have the ſame in our *Deans and Chapters*; but we ſay, that the Superiority of Juriſdiction is ſo in the Biſhop, that Preſbyters may not exerciſe it without him, and that the Exerciſe of external Juriſdiction is derived from, by, and under him, to thoſe who exerciſe it within his Dioceſe." This his Lordſhip proves from ſeveral Teſtimonies out of the Fathers.

Smectymnuus for the Juriſdiction of Preſbyters.

The *Smectymnuans* agree with his Lordſhip, that in the ancient Church, Biſhops could do nothing without the Conſent of the Clergy; nor in Caſes of Excommunication and Abſolution without the Allowance of the whole Body of the Church to which the Delinquent belonged, as appears from the Teſtimonies of *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*; but they aver, upon their certain Knowledge, that our *Engliſh* Biſhops have exerciſed ſeveral Parts of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction without their Preſbyters. And further (ſay they) where, in all Antiquity, do we meet with ſuch Delegates, as *Lay-Chancellors*, *Commiſſaries*, and others, as never received Impoſition of Hands? Theſe Offices were not known in thoſe Times; nor can any Inſtance be produced of Laity or Clergy that had them, for above four Hundred Years after Chriſt.

Upon the whole, allowing that in the third or fourth Century, Biſhops were a *diſtinct Order* from

"ſince I look upon the Sacramental Actions, as the higheſt of ſacred Performances, I cannot but acknowledge thoſe who are empowered for them, muſt be of the higheſt Office in the Church." *Vindication of the Church of* Scotland, *p.* 336.

Preſ-

Preſbyters, yet, ſay theſe Divines, our modern Biſhops of the Church of *England* differ very widely from them; the Primitive Biſhops were elected by a free Suffrage of the Preſbyters, but ours by a *Congé d' Eſlire* from the King. They did not proceed againſt Criminals but with the Conſent of their Preſbyters, and upon the Teſtimony of ſeveral Witneſſes; whereas ours proceed by an Oath *ex officio*, by which Men are obliged to accuſe themſelves; the Primitive Biſhops had no lordly Titles and Dignities, no Lay-Chancellors, Commiſſaries and other Officials, nor did they engage in ſecular Affairs, *&c.* After ſeveral Compariſons of this kind they recapitulate the late Severities of the Biſhops in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and conclude with a humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament, "That if "*Epiſcopacy* be retained in the Church it may be re- "duced to its Primitive Simplicity; and if they "muſt have a *Liturgy*, that there may be a Conſul- "tation of Divines to alter and reform the preſent; "and that even then, it may not be impoſed up- "on the Clergy, but left to the Diſcretion of the "Miniſter, how much of it to read when there is "a Sermon."

King Charles I. 1640.

By this Repreſentation it appears, that the Controverſy between theſe Divines might have been compromiſed, if the reſt of the Clergy had been of the ſame Spirit and Temper with Biſhop *Hall*; but the *Court Biſhops* would abate nothing as long as the Crown could ſupport them. And as the Parliament encreaſed in Power, the *Puritan Divines* ſtiffened in their Demands, till all Methods of Accommodation were impracticable.

Remarks.

While this Controverſy was debating at home, Letters were ſent from both Sides to obtain the Judgment of foreign Divines, but moſt of them were ſo wiſe as to be ſilent. Dr. *Plume*, in the Life of Biſhop *Hacket*, writes, that *Blondel*, *Voſſius*, *Hornbeck*, and *Salmaſius*, were ſent to by the King's Friends in vain;

Judgment of foreign Divines.

King Charles I. 1640.

vain; *Blondel* writ a very learned Treatiſe on the *Puritan Side*; but *Deodate* from *Geneva*, and *Amyraldus* from *France*, wiſhed an Accommodation, and (as *Plume* ſays) were for Epiſcopal Government. The Papiſts triumphed, and had raiſed Expectations from theſe Differences, as appears by a Letter of *T. White*, a Roman Catholick, to the Lord Viſcount *Gage* at *Dublin*, dated *Feb.* 12. 1639. in which are theſe Words; "We are in a fair Way to aſſwage Hereſy "and her Epiſcopacy; for EXETER's Book has done "more for the Catholicks, than they could have "done themſelves, he having written, that Epiſcopacy in Office and Juriſdiction is abſolutely JURE DIVINO, (which was the old Quarrel between our "Biſhops and King *Henry* VIII. during his Hereſy) "which Book does not a little trouble our Adverſaries, "who declare this Tenet of *Exeter*'s to be contrary "to the Laws of this Land — All is like to proſper "here, ſo I hope with you there." But 'tis certain, the Body of foreign Proteſtants were againſt the Biſhops for this Reaſon among others, becauſe they had diſowned *their Ordinations*; and could it be ſuppoſed, they ſhould compliment away the Validity of their Adminiſtrations to a Set of Men that had diſowned their Communion, and turned the *French* and *Dutch* Congregations out of the Land? No, they wiſhed they might be humbled by the Parliament. Lord *Clarendon* adds, "They were glad of an Occa"ſion to publiſh their Reſentments againſt the "Church, and to enter into the ſame Conſpiracy "againſt the Crown, without which they could have "done little hurt."

Foxes and Firebrands, Part 2d. p. 81.

Numbers of Hands to Petitions, for and againſt the Hierarchy.

But the Cauſe of the Hierarchy being to be decided at another Tribunal, no Applications were wanting on either Side to make Friends in the Parliament Houſe, and to get Hands to Petitions. The Induſtry of the ſeveral Parties on this Occaſion, is almoſt incredible; but it being the Faſhion of theſe Times to judge of the Senſe of the Nation this way, Meſſengers

gers were ſent all over *England* to promote the Work. Lord *Clarendon*, and after him Dr. *Nalſon*, and others of that Party, complain of great Diſingenuity on the Side of the *Puritans*: His Lordſhip ſays, "That "the Paper which contained the *Miniſters* Petition "was filled with a very few Hands, but that many "other Sheets were annexed, for the Reception of "Numbers that gave Credit to the Undertaking; "but that when their Names were ſubſcribed, the "Petition it ſelf was cut off, and a new one, of a "very different Nature, annexed to the long Liſt "of Names; and when ſome of the Miniſters "complained to the Reverend Mr. *Marſhall*, with "whom the Petition was lodged, that they never "ſaw the Petition to which their Hands were annex-"ed, but had ſigned another againſt the *Canons*, "Mr. *Marſhall* is ſaid to reply, that it was thought "fit by thoſe that underſtood Buſineſs better than "they; that the latter Petition ſhould be rather "preferr'd than the former." This is a Charge of a very high Nature, and ought to be well ſupported: If it had been true, why did they not complain to the Committee which the Houſe of Commons appointed to enquire into the irregular Methods of procuring Hands to Petitions? His Lordſhip anſwers, that *they were prevailed with to ſit ſtill and paſs it by*; for which we have only his Lordſhip's Word, nothing of this kind being to be found in *Ruſhworth*, *Whitlock*, or any diſintereſted Writer of thoſe Times.

King Charles I. 1640.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 204.

It cannot be denied, but there was a great deal of Art and Perſuaſion uſed to get Hands to Petitions on both Sides, and many ſubſcribed their Names that were not capable to judge of the Merits of the Cauſe. The Petitions againſt the Hierarchy were of two Sorts; ſome deſiring that the whole Fabrick might be deſtroyed; of theſe, the Chief was the ROOT AND BRANCH Petition, ſigned by the Hands of about fifteen Thouſand Citizens, and Inhabitants of *London*.

The Folly of it.

Others

King Charles I. 1640.

Others petitioned only for a Reformation of the Hierarchy; of theſe, the chief was the MINISTERS PETITION, ſigned with the Names of ſeven Hundred beneficed Clergymen, and followed by others with an incredible Number of Hands, from *Kent*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Nottingham*, and other Counties. The Petitions in favour of the preſent Eſtabliſhment were not leſs numerous, for within the Compaſs of this and the next Year, there were preſented to the King and Houſe of Lords, no leſs than nineteen, from the two Univerſities, from *Wales*, *Lancaſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and other Counties, ſubſcribed with about one hundred Thouſand Hands, whereof, according to Dr. *Walker*, ſix Thouſand were Nobility, Gentry, and dignified Clergy. One would think, by this Account, that the whole Nation had been with them; but can it be ſuppoſed, that the honeſt Freeholders of *Lancaſhire* and *Wales* could be proper Judges of ſuch Allegations in their Petitions as theſe?—That there can be no Church without Biſhops —— that no Ordination was ever performed without Biſhops;— that without Biſhops there can be no Preſbyters, and by Conſequence no Conſecration of the Lord's Supper —— that it has never been cuſtomary for Preſbyters to lay Hands upon Biſhops, from whence the Diſparity of their Function is evident —— that a Biſhop has a Character that cannot be communicated but by one of the ſame Diſtinction —— and, that the Church has been governed by Biſhops, without Interruption, for fifteen Hundred Years. Theſe are Topicks fit to be debated in a Synod of learned Divines, but the tacking a hundred Thouſand Names of Freeholders on either ſide, could prove no more, than that the honeſt Country Men acted too much by an implicit Faith in their Clergy. Loud Complaints being made to the Parliament of unfair Methods of getting Names to Petitions, the Houſe appointed a Committee to examine into the Matter; but there being great Faults

(as

(as I apprehend) on both Sides, the Affair was dropt. *King Charles I. 1640.*

The ROOT AND BRANCH Petition was preſented to the Houſe *Decemb.* 11. 1640. by Alderman *Pennington*, and others, in the Name of his Majeſty's Subjects in and about the City of *London*, and adjacent Counties. It was thought to be the Contrivance of the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who were become very popular at this Time. The Petition ſheweth, *Root and Branch Petition for taking away the whole Hierarchy.*

" That whereas the Government of Archbiſhops,
" and Lord Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, *&c.*
" with their Courts, and Miniſtrations in them,
" have proved prejudicial, and very dangerous to
" the Church and Commonwealth; *they themſelves*
" *having formerly held*, that they have their Juriſdi-
" ction or Power of human Authority, till of late
" they have claimed their Calling immediately from
" Chriſt, which is againſt the Laws of this King-
" dom, and derogatory to his Majeſty's State Royal.
" And whereas the ſaid Government is found, by wo-
" ful Experience, to be a main Cauſe and Occaſion
" of many foul Evils, Preſſures, and Grievances of a
" very high Nature, to his Majeſty's Subjects, in
" their Conſciences, Liberties, and Eſtates, as in a
" Schedule of Particulars hereunto annexed, may in
" part appear.

" We therefore moſt humbly pray and beſeech
" this honourable Aſſembly, the Premiſes conſider-
" ed, that the ſaid Government, with all its Depen-
" dancies, ROOTS AND BRANCHES, may be abo-
" liſhed, and all Laws in their behalf made void, and
" that the Government, according to God's Word,
" may be rightly placed among us; and we, your
" humble Supplicants, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever
" pray, *&c.*"

The Schedule annexed to the Petition contained twenty eight Grievances and Preſſures, the chief of which were, the Biſhops ſuſpending and depriving Miniſters

King Charles I. 1640.

ſters for Non-Conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies; their diſcountenancing preaching; their Claim of *Jure Divino*; their adminiſtring the Oath *ex Officio*; the exorbitant Power of the High Commiſſion, with the other Innovations already mentioned.

The Friends of the Eſtabliſhment oppoſed this Petition, with one of their own, in favour of the Hierarchy, in the following Words.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, &c, *the humble Petition of,* &c.

Humbly Sheweth,

Counter Petition for continuing the Hierarchy.

" THAT whereas of late, a Petition ſubſcribed by many, who pretend to be Inhabitants " of this City, hath been delivered, received, and " read in this honourable Houſe, againſt the ancient, preſent, and by Law eſtabliſhed, Govern- " ment of the Church; and that not ſo much for " the Reformation of Biſhops, as for the utter " Subverſion and Extirpation of Epiſcopacy it ſelf; " we whoſe Names are underwritten, to ſhew there " be many, and thoſe of the better Sort of the Inhabi- " tants of this City, otherwiſe, and better minded, " do humbly repreſent unto this honourable Houſe, " theſe Conſiderations following,

1. " That Epiſcopacy is as ancient as Chriſtianity " it ſelf in this Kingdom.

2. " That Biſhops were the chief Inſtruments in " the Reformation of the Church againſt Popery, " and afterwards the moſt eminent Martyrs for the " Proteſtant Religion, and ſince, the beſt and ableſt " Champions for the Defence of it.

3. " That ſince the Reformation the Times have " been very peaceable, happy and glorious, not- " withſtanding the Epiſcopal Government in the " Church, and therefore that this Government can " be no Cauſe of our Unhappineſs.

4. " We

4. " We conceive, that not only many learned, " but divers other godly Perſons, would be much " ſcandalized, and troubled in Conſcience, if the " Government of Epiſcopacy, conceived by them to " be an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, were altered; and " ſince there is ſo much Care taken, that no Man " ſhould be offended in the leaſt Ceremony, we hope " there will be ſome, that ſuch Men's Conſciences " may not be preſſed upon in a Matter of an higher " Nature and Conſequence, eſpecially conſidering, " that this Government by Epiſcopacy is not only " lawful, and convenient for Edification, but like- " wiſe ſuitable to, and agreeable with the civil Po- " licy and Government of this State. *King Charles I. 1640.*

5. " That this Government is lawful, it appears " by the immediate, univerſal, and conſtant Pra- " ctice of all the Chriſtian World, grounded upon " Scripture, from the Apoſtles Time to this laſt " Age, for above fifteen Hundred Years together, " it being utterly incredible, if not impoſſible, that " the whole Church for ſo long a Time, ſhould not " diſcover, by God's Word, this Government to " be unlawful, if it had been ſo; to which may be " added, that the moſt learned Proteſtants, even in " thoſe very Churches, which now are not govern'd " by Biſhops, do not only hold the Government by " Epiſcopacy to be lawful, but wiſh, that they " themſelves might enjoy it.

" Again, that the Government by Epiſcopacy is " not only lawful, but convenient for Edification, " or as much, or more conducing to Piety and De- " votion than any other, it appears, becauſe no mo- " deſt Man denies, that the Primitive Times were " moſt famous for Piety, Conſtancy, and Perſeve- " rance in the Faith, notwithſtanding more fre- " quent, and more cruel Perſecutions than ever " have been ſince, and yet it is confeſs'd, that the " Church in thoſe Times was governed by Biſhops.

" *Laſt-*

King Charles I. 1640.

" *Laſtly*, That the Government of the Church " by Epiſcopacy is moſt ſuitable to the Form and " Frame of the Civil Government here in this King- " dom, it appears by the happy and flouriſhing " Union of them both, for ſo long a Time toge- " ther; whereas no Man can give us an Aſſurance " how any Church Government beſides this (where- " of we have had ſo long Experience) will ſuit and " agree with the Civil Policy of this State. And " we conceive it may be of dangerous Conſequence " for Men of ſettled Fortunes, to hazard their " Eſtates, by making ſo great an Alteration, and " venturing upon a new Form of Government, " whereof neither we nor our Anceſtors have had " any Trial or Experience, eſpecially conſidering, " that thoſe who would have Epiſcopacy to be abo- " liſhed, have not yet agreed, nor (as we are verily " perſuaded) ever will or can agree upon any other " common Form of Government to ſucceed in the " room of it; as appears by the many different and " contrary Draughts and Platforms they have made " and publiſhed, according to the ſeveral Humours " and Sects of thoſe that made them; whereas, ſee- " ing every great Alteration in a Church or State " muſt needs be dangerous, it is juſt and reaſonable, " that whoſoever would introduce a new Form in- " ſtead of an old one, ſhould be obliged to demon- " ſtrate and make it evidently appear aforehand, " that the Government he would introduce is pro- " portionably ſo much better than that he would " aboliſh, as may recompenſe the Loſs we may " ſuſtain, and may be worthy of the Hazard we " muſt run in aboliſhing the one, and in intro- " ducing and ſettling of the other; but this we are " confident can never be done, in regard of this " Particular.

" And therefore our humble and earneſt Requeſt " to this Honourable Houſe is, that as well in this " Conſideration, as all the other aforeſaid, we may " ſtill

" ſtill enjoy that Government which moſt probably
" holds its Inſtitution from the Apoſtles, and moſt
" certainly, its Plantation with our Chriſtian Faith it
" ſelf in this Kingdom, where it hath ever ſince flou-
" riſh'd, and continued for many Ages without any
" Interruption or Alteration; whereby it plainly
" appears, that as it is the moſt excellent Govern-
" ment in it ſelf, ſo it is the moſt ſuitable, moſt
" agreeable, and every way moſt proportionable to
" the Civil Conſtitution and Temper of this State;
" and therefore we pray and hope, will always be
" continued and preſerv'd in it and by it, notwith-
" ſtanding the Abuſes and Corruptions which in ſo
" long a Tract of Time, through the Errors or
" Negligence of Men, have crept into it; which
" Abuſes and Corruptions being all of them (what,
" and how many ſoever they may be) but merely
" accidental to Epiſcopacy, we conceive and hope
" there may be a Reformation of the one, without
" a Deſtruction of the other;

King Charles I. 1640.

" *Which is the humble Suit*

" *of* &c. &c. &c."

A third Petition was preſented to the Houſe, *Jan.* 23. by ten or twelve Clergymen, in the Name of ſeven Hundred of their Brethren who had ſigned it, called the MINISTERS PETITION, praying for a Reformation of certain Grievances in the Hierarchy, but not an entire Subverſion of it; a Schedule of theſe Grievances was annexed, which being referr'd to the Committee, Mr. *Crew* reported the three following, as proper for the Debate of the Houſe; 1. *The ſecular Employments of the Clergy.* 2. *The ſole Power of the Biſhops in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and particularly in Ordinations and Church Cenſures.* 3. *The large Revenues of Deans and Chapters, with the Inconveniencies that attend the Application of them.*

Miniſters Petition for Reformation of the Hierarchy.

King Charles I. 1640.

The King interpoſes.

Two Days after the Delivery of this Petition [*Jan.* 25.] his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and very unadviſedly interrupted their Debates by the following Speech; "——— There are ſome Men that more "maliciouſly than ignorantly will put no Difference "between Reformation and Alteration of Govern-"ment: Hence it comes to paſs, that Divine Ser-"vice is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in "an ill Way given in, neither diſputed nor denied, "againſt the preſent eſtabliſhed Government, in the "Names of divers Counties, with Threatnings "againſt the Biſhops, that they will make them but "Cyphers. Now, I muſt tell you, that I make a "great Difference between Reformation and Alte-"ration of Government; though I am for the "firſt, I cannot give way to the latter. If ſome of "them have over-ſtretched their Power, and en-"croached too much on the Temporalty, I ſhall not "be unwilling that theſe Things ſhould be redreſſed "and reformed; nay further, if you can ſhew me, "that the Biſhops have ſome temporal Authority "inconvenient for the State, and not neceſſary for "the Government of the Church, and upholding "Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, I ſhall not be unwilling "to deſire them to lay it down; but this muſt not "be underſtood that I ſhall any ways conſent that "their Voices in Parliament ſhould be taken away, "for in all the Times of my Predeceſſors, ſince the "Conqueſt and before, they have enjoyed it, as "one of the fundamental Conſtitutions of the King-"dom." This unhappy Method, of the King's coming to the Houſe, and declaring his Reſolutions before-hand, was certainly unparliamentary, and did the Church no Service; nor was there any Occaſion for it at this Time, the Houſe being in no Diſpoſition, as yet, to order a Bill to be brought in for ſubverting the Hierarchy.

In the Months of *February* and *March* ſeveral Days were appointed for the Debate of theſe Petitions; and

and when the Bill for the utter extirpating the Epiſcopal Order, was brought into the Houſe in the Months of *May* and *June*, ſeveral warm Speeches were made on both Sides; I will ſet the chief of them before the Reader in one View, though they were ſpoken at different Times. *King* Charles I. 1640.

Among thoſe who were for Root and Branch, or the total extirpating of Epiſcopacy, were Sir *Henry Vane*, who ſtood up and argued, that "ſince the Houſe "had voted *Epiſcopal Government a great Impediment* "*to the Reformation and Growth of Religion*, it ought "to be taken away, for 'tis ſo corrupt in the Foun- "dation (ſays he) that if we pull it not down, it "will fall about the Ears of thoſe that endeavour it "within a few Years. This Government was "brought in by Antichriſt, and has let in all Kinds "of Superſtition into the Church — It has been the "Inſtrument of diſplacing the moſt godly and con- "ſcientious Miniſters, of vexing, puniſhing, and "baniſhing out of the Kingdom, the moſt religious "of all Sorts and Conditions, that would not com- "ply with their ſuperſtitious Inventions and Cere- "monies. In a Word, it has turned the Edge of "the Government againſt the very Life and Power "of Godlineſs, and the Favour and Protection of it, "towards all profane, ſcandalous, and ſuperſti- "tious Perſons, that would uphold their Party — "It has divided us from the foreign Proteſtant "Churches, and has done what it could to bind the "Nation in perpetual Slavery to themſelves and "their ſuperſtitious Inventions, by the late Canons. "— Further, this Government has been no leſs "prejudicial to the Civil Liberties of our Country, "as appears by the Biſhops preaching up the "Doctrine of arbitrary Power, by their encoura- "ging the late illegal Projects to raiſe Money "without Parliament, by their kindling a War be- "tween *England* and *Scotland*, and falling in with the "Plots and Combinations that have been enter'd in- *Speeches for* Root *and* Branch. *Sir* H. Vane's *Speech.* Nalſon, p. 276.

King Charles I. 1640.

" to againſt this preſent Parliament." Sir *Harry* concludes from theſe Premiſes, " that the Proteſtant " Religion muſt always be in danger, as long as it " is in the Hands of ſuch Governors; nor can there " be any Hopes of Reformation in the State, while " the Biſhops have Votes in Parliament; *that the* " *Fruit being ſo bad the Tree muſt be bad.* Let us not " then halt between two Opinions (ſays he) but " with one Heart and Voice give Glory to God, " by complying with his Providence, and with " the Safety and Peace of the Church and State, " which is by paſſing the *Root and Branch Bill.*

Serjeant Thomas's Nalſon, p. 211, &c.

Mr. Serjeant *Thomas* gave the Houſe a long Hiſtorical Narration of the Viciouſneſs and Miſbehaviour of the Biſhops, in the Times of Popery; of their treaſonable and rebellious Conduct towards their Sovereigns; of their Antipathy to the Laws and Liberties of their Country; of their Ignorance, Pride, and Addictedneſs to the Pomp of this World, to the apparent Neglect of their ſpiritual Functions; and of their Enmity to all Methods of Reformation to this Day.

Mr. *Bagſhaw* ſtood up to reply to the Objections made againſt aboliſhing the Order of Biſhops.

Mr. Bagſhaw's *Speech for the Root & Branch Bill.*

" 'Tis aſſerted, ſays he, *That it is of Divine Right,* " which is contrary to the Statute 37 of *Henry* VIII. " *cap.* 17. which ſays, they have their Epiſcopal " Authority, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction " whatſoever, *ſolely* and *only*, by and from, and un- " der the King.

" 'Tis argued, that *Epiſcopacy is inſeparable from* " *the Crown*, and therefore it is commonly ſaid, *No* " *Biſhop no King*; which is very ridiculous, becauſe " the Kings of *England* were long before Biſhops, " and may ſtill depoſe them.

" 'Tis ſaid, *That Epiſcopacy is a third State in Par-* " *liament*; but this I deny, for the three States are " the King, the Lords Temporal, and the Com- " mons. Kings of *England* have held ſeveral Parlia-

" ments without Biſhops; King *Edward* I. in the " 24th of his Reign, held a Parliament *excluſo Clero*; " and in the Parliament of the 7th *Richard* II. there " is mention made of the Conſent of the Lords " Temporal and the Commons, but not a Word of " the Clergy; ſince therefore the preſent Hierar- " chy was of mere human Inſtitution, and had been " found a very great Grievance to the Subject, he " enclined to the *Root and Branch Petition.*"

King Charles I. 1640.

Mr. *White* enter'd more fully into the Merits of the Cauſe, and conſidered the preſent Biſhops of the Church with regard to their *Baronies*, their *Temporalities*, and their *Spiritualities*.

And Mr. White's.

" The former (ſays he) are merely of the King's " Favour, and began in this Kingdom the 4th of " *William* the Conqueror, by virtue whereof they " have had Place in the Houſe of Peers in Parlia- " ment; but in the 7th *Henry* VIII. (1846. *Kel.*) it was " reſolved by all the Judges of *England*, that the " King may hold his Parliament by himſelf, his " temporal Lords and Commons, without any Bi- " ſhop, for a Biſhop has not any Place in Parlia- " ment by reaſon of his Spiritualities, but merely " by reaſon of his Barony, and accordingly Acts of " Parliament have been made without them, as " 2 *Richard* II. *cap.* 3. and at other Times; nor " were they ever called Spiritual Lords in our Sta- " tutes, till 16 *Richard* II. *cap.* 1.

" By the Biſhop's *Spiritualities* I mean thoſe ſpi- " ritual Powers which raiſe him above the Order " of a Preſbyter; and here I conſider, Firſt, His Au- " thority over Preſbyters, by the Oath of Canoni- " cal Obedience, by which he may command them " to collect Tenths granted in Convocation, accord- " ing to 20 *Henry* VI. *cap.* 13. Secondly, His Of- " fice, which is partly Judicial, and partly Miniſte- " rial; by the former, he judges in his Courts of all " Matters Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual within his " Dioceſe, and of the fitneſs of ſuch as are preſented

King Charles I. 1640.

" to him to be inſtituted into Benefices; by the latter he is to *ſacred* Places dedicated to Divine Service. 9 *Henry* VI. *cap.* 17. he is to provide for " the officiating of Cures in the Avoidance of " Churches, on neglect of the Patron's preſenting " thereunto. He is to certify Loyal Matrimony, " general Baſtardy, and Excommunication. He is " to execute Judgments given in *Quare impedit*, upon the Writ *ad admittendum Clericum*. He is to attend upon Trials for Life, to report the Sufficiency or Inſufficiency of ſuch as demand Clergy; and " laſtly, he is to ordain Deacons and Preſbyters.

" Now all theſe being given to theſe Biſhops " *jure humano*, ſays Mr. *White*, I conceive, may, " for juſt Reaſons, be taken away. He affirms, " that according to Scripture, a Biſhop and Preſbyter is one and the ſame Perſon; for, (1.) Their " Duties are mentioned as the ſame, the Biſhop being to teach and rule his Church, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 5. " and the Preſbyter being to do the very ſame, " 1 *Pet.* v. 2, 3. (2.) Preſbyters in Scripture are " ſaid to be Biſhops of the Holy Ghoſt, *Acts* xx. 28. " And St. *Paul* charges the Preſbyters of *Epheſus*, " to take heed to the Flock over which the Holy " Ghoſt had made them Biſhops, or Overſeers; " and other Biſhops the Holy Ghoſt never made. " (3.) Among the Enumeration of Church-Officers, " *Eph.* iv. 11. whereof the three former are extraordinary, and are ceaſed, there remains only the " Paſtor and Teacher, which is the very ſame with " the Preſbyter. The Biſhop, as he is more than " this, is no Officer given by God; and it is an Encroachment upon the kingly Office of Chriſt, to " admit other Officers into the Church than he himſelf has appointed.

" Seeing then Epiſcopacy may be taken away in " all, wherein it exceeds the Preſbyters Office, " which is certainly JURE DIVINO, we ought to reſtore the Preſbyters to their Rights which the Biſhops

" ſhops have taken from them, as particularly to " the Right of *Ordination*, *Excommunication*, and a " Liberty to preach the whole Counſel of God, " without Reſtraint from a Biſhop; they ſhould " have their Share in the Diſcipline and Govern- " ment of the Church; and, in a Word, all Superi- " ority of Order between Biſhops and Preſbyters " ſhould be taken away." Mr. *White* is further of Opinion, that the Biſhops ſhould be deprived of their Baronies, and all intermeddling with Civil Affairs: That Inſtitution and Induction, the Juriſdiction of Tithes, Cauſes Matrimonial and Teſtamentary, and other Uſurpations of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, ſhould be reſtored to the Civil Judicature, and be determined by the Laws of the Land. *King* Charles I. 1640.

In order to take off the Force of theſe Arguments, in favour of the *Root and Branch* Petition, the Friends of the Hierarchy ſaid, That the very beſt Things might be corrupted; that to take away the Order of Biſhops was to change the whole Conſtitution for they knew not what; they therefore urged the *Miniſters Petition for Reformation*, and declaimed with Vehemence againſt the Corruptions of the late Times. *Speeches for the Miniſters Petition.*

Lord *Falkland*, who in the Judgment of the noble Hiſtorian, was the moſt extraordinary Perſon of his Age, ſtood up and ſaid;

Mr. *Speaker*,

" HE is a great Stranger in our *Iſrael*, who " knows not, that this Kingdom has long la- " boured under many and great Oppreſſions, both " in Religion and Liberty; and that a principal " Cauſe of both has been ſome Biſhops and their " Adherents, who under Pretence of Uniformity " have brought in Superſtition and Scandal, under " the Title of Decency; who have defiled our " Churches by adorning them, and ſlacken'd the " Strictneſs of that Union that was between us and " thoſe *Ld.* Falkland's *Speech for Reformation of the Hierarchy* Ruſhw. Vol. IV. P. 184.

King Charles I. 1640.

" thoſe of our Religion beyond Sea; an Action both " unpolitick and ungodly.

" They have been leſs eager on thoſe who damn " our Church, than on thoſe who on weak Conſcience, " and, perhaps, as weak Reaſon, only abſtain from " it. Nay, it has been more dangerous for Men to " go to a neighbouring Pariſh, when they had no " Sermon in their own, than to be obſtinate and per- " petual Recuſants. While Maſs has been ſaid in " Security, a Conventicle has been a Crime; and " which is yet more, the conforming to Ceremonies " has been more exacted than the conforming to " Chriſtianity; and while Men, for Scruples, have " been undone, for Attempts upon *Sodomy* they have " only been admoniſhed.

" Mr. *Speaker*, They have reſembled the Dog in " the Fable, they have neither practiſed themſelves, " nor employed thoſe that ſhould, nor ſuffered thoſe " that would. They have brought in catechizing " only to thruſt out preaching; cried down Lectures " by the Name of Faction, either becauſe other " Men's Induſtry in that Duty appeared a Reproof " to their Neglect, or with *intent* to have brought " in darkneſs, that they might the eaſier ſow their " Tares while it was Night.

" In this they have abuſed his Majeſty as well as " his People, for when he had with great Wiſdom " ſilenced on both Parts thoſe Opinions, that will " always trouble the Schools, they made uſe of this " Declaration to tie up one ſide and let the other " looſe. The Truth is, Mr. *Speaker*, as ſome Mi- " niſters in our State firſt took away our Money, " and afterwards endeavoured to make our Money " not worth taking, by depraving it; ſo theſe Men, " firſt depreſs'd the Power of Preaching, and then " labour'd to make it ſuch, as the Harm had not " been much if it had been depreſs'd; the chief " Subjects of their Sermons being the *jus Divinum*

" of

" of Biſhops and Tithes; the Sacredneſs of the Cler- *King*
" gy; the Sacrilege of Impropriations; the Demo- Charles I.
" liſhing of Puritaniſm; the building up of the 1640.
" Prerogative, *&c.* In ſhort, their Work has been
" to try how much of the Papiſt might be brought
" in without Popery, and to deſtroy as much as
" they could of the Goſpel, without bringing them-
" ſelves in danger of being deſtroyed by the Law.

" Mr. *Speaker*, Theſe Men have been Betrayers
" of our Rights and Liberties, by encouraging ſuch
" Men as Dr. *Beal* and *Manwaring*; by appearing
" for Monopolies and Ship-Money; ſome of them
" have laboured to exclude all Perſons and Cauſes of
" the Clergy from the temporal Magiſtrate, and by
" hindering *Prohibitions*, to have taken away the
" only legal Bounds to their arbitrary Power; they
" have encouraged all the Clergy to Suits, and have
" brought all Suits to the Council Table, that
" having all Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, they
" might have an equal Power in Temporals; they
" have both kindled and blown the common Fire of
" both Nations, and have been the firſt and princi-
" pal Cauſe of the Breach ſince the Pacification at
" *Berwick.*

" Mr. *Speaker*, I have repreſented no ſmall Quan-
" tity, and no mean Degree of Guilt, but this
" Charge does not lie againſt Epiſcopacy, but againſt
" the Perſons who have abuſed that ſacred Fun-
" ction; for if we conſider, that the firſt Spreaders
" of Chriſtianity, the firſt Defenders of it, both
" with their Ink and Blood, as well as our late Re-
" formers, were all Biſhops; and even now, in this
" great Defection of the Order, there are ſome that
" have been neither proud nor ambitious; ſome that
" have been learned Oppoſers of Popery, and zea-
" lous Suppreſſers of Arminianiſm, between whom and
" their inferior Clergy there has been no Diſtinction
" in frequent preaching; whoſe Lives are untouched,
" not only by Guilt, but by Malice; I ſay, if we

" con-

King Charles I. 1640.

" conſider this, we ſhall conclude, that Biſhops " may be good Men, and let us but give good Men " good Rules, and we ſhall have good Government " and good Times.

" I am content to take away from them all thoſe " Things which may in any degree of Poſſibility oc- " caſion the like Miſchiefs with thoſe I have men- " tioned; I am ſure, neither their *Lordſhips*, their " *judging of Tithes*, *Wills*, and *Marriages*, no, nor " their *Voices in Parliament*, are *jure divino*. If their " Revenues are too great, let us leave them only " ſuch Proportion, as may ſerve in ſome good De- " gree, for the Support of the Dignity of Learning, " and the Encouragement of Students. If it be " found they will employ their Laws againſt their " weaker Brethren, let us take away thoſe Laws, " and let no Ceremonies which any Number count " unlawful, and no Man counts neceſſary, be im- " poſed upon them; but let us not aboliſh, upon a " few Days Debate, an Order that has laſted in " moſt Churches theſe ſixteen Hundred Years. I " do not believe the Order of Biſhops to be *jure di- " vino*, nor do I think them unlawful; but ſince all " great Changes in Government are dangerous, I " am for trying if we can't take away the Inconve- " niencies of Biſhops, and the Inconveniencies of no " Biſhops. Let us therefore go upon the Debate of " Grievances, and if the Grievances may be taken " away, and the Order ſtand, we ſhall not need to " commit the *London Petition* at all; but if it ſhall " appear, that the Abolition of the one can't be but " by the Deſtruction of the other, then let us not " commit the *London* Petition but grant it."

Lord *George Digby*, an eminent Royaliſt, ſpoke with great Warmth againſt the ROOT AND BRANCH Petition, and with no leſs Zeal for a Reformation of Grievances.

" If

" If the *London Petition* (ſays his Lordſhip) may " be conſidered only as an Index of Grievances, I " ſhould wink at the Faults of it, for no Man with- " in theſe Walls is more ſenſible of the heavy Grie- " vances of Church Government than my ſelf; nor " whoſe Affections are keener for the clipping thoſe " Wings of the Prelates, whereby they have mount- " ed to ſuch Inſolency; but having reaſon to believe, " that ſome aim at the total Extirpation of Biſhops, " I can't reſtrain my ſelf from labouring to di- " vert it.

King Charles I. 1640.

Ld. Digby's Speech on the ſame ſide. Ruſhw. p. 172.

" I look upon the *Petition* with Terror, as on a " Comet or Blazing Star, raiſed and kindled out of " the poiſonous Exhalations of a corrupted Hierar- " chy: Methoughts the Comet had a terrible Tail, " and pointed to the North, and I fear all the Pru- " dence of this Houſe will have a hard Work to hin- " der this Meteor from cauſing ſuch Diſtempers and " Combuſtions as it portends by its Appearance; " whatever the Event be, I ſhall diſcharge my Con- " ſcience freely, unbiaſs'd both from Popularity and " Court Reſpect."

His Lordſhip then goes on to argue the Unreaſonableneſs of aboliſhing a Thing, becauſe of ſome Abuſes that attend it; he complains of the Preſumption of the Petitioners, in deſiring the Repeal of ſo many Laws at once, and not applying in a more modeſt Manner for a Redreſs of Grievances, as the *Miniſters* have done. On the other hand, he allows the Behaviour of the *Prelates* had given too juſt an Occaſion for it: That no People had been ſo inſulted as the People of *England* had lately been, by the Inſolencies of the Prelates; " their Vengeance has " been ſo laid, as if it were meant, no Generation, " no Degree, no Complexion of Mankind, ſhould " eſcape it. Was there a Man of tender Conſcience " (ſays his Lordſhip) him they loaded with unne- " ceſſary Impoſitions; was there a Man of a le- " gal Conſcience, him they nettled with Innova-

King Charles I. 1640.

" tions, and freſh Introductions to Popery; was " there a Man of an humble Spirit, him they tramp- " led to Dirt in their Pride; was there a Man of a " proud Spirit, him they have bereft of Reaſon, " with Indignation at their ſuperlative Inſolence; " was there a Man faithfully attached to the Rights " of the Crown, how has he been galled by their " *new Oath*; was there a Man that durſt mutter " againſt their Inſolencies, he may enquire for his " Lugs. They have been within the Biſhops Viſi- " tation as if they would not only derive their Bran- " diſhment of the *Spiritual Sword* from St. *Peter*, " but of the *Material* one too, and the Right to cut " off Ears; for my part, I am ſo inflamed with " theſe Things, that I am ready to cry with the " loudeſt of the fifteen Thouſand, Down with them " to the Ground.

" But, Mr. *Speaker*, we muſt diveſt our ſelves of " Paſſion; we all agree a Reformation of Church " Government is neceſſary; but before I can ſtrike " at the ROOT, and agree to a total Extirpation of " Epiſcopacy, it muſt be made manifeſt to me, " (1.) That the Miſchiefs we have felt ariſe from " the Nature of Epiſcopacy, and not from its Abuſe. " (2.) Such a Form of Government muſt be ſet be- " fore us as is not liable to proportionable Inconve- " niencies. (3.) It muſt appear that the *Utopia* " is practicable. Let us therefore lay aſide the " Thoughts of extirpating Biſhops, but reduce them " to their primitive Standard; let us retrench their " Dioceſes; let them govern by Aſſemblies of their " Clergy; let us exclude them from intermeddling " in ſecular Affairs, and appoint a ſtanding Com- " mittee to collect all the Grievances of the Church, " and no Man's Votes ſhall be given with more " Zeal for redreſſing them than mine."

Remarks.] Surely the Biſhops muſt have behaved very ill in the late Times, that their very beſt Friends could load them with ſuch Reproaches! Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*,

yard, Surveyor of the Court of Wards; Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, with a great many others of unqueſtionable Duty and Loyalty to the King, ſpoke the ſame Language, and it deſerves to be remember'd (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) that in the midſt of theſe Complaints, the *King* was never mentioned but with great Honour; all the Grievances being laid at the Door of his Miniſters, and all Hopes of Redreſs being placed in his Majeſty alone. At the Cloſe of the Debate it was ordered, that the ROOT AND BRANCH Petition ſhould remain in the Hands of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, with Direction, that no Copy ſhould be delivered out; but after the throwing out of the Bill to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, it was revived, and a Bill brought in by Sir *Edward Deering* [*May* 20. 1641.] for the utter extirpating of the whole Order, as will be ſeen hereafter.

King Charles I. 1640.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 203.

It was in this Debate that ſome ſmart *Repartees* paſſed between the Members; Mr. *Grimſtone* argued thus, That Biſhops are *jure divino*, is a queſtion; that Archbiſhops are not *jure divino*, is out of queſtion; now that Biſhops, which are queſtioned whether *jure divino*, or Archbiſhops, which out of queſtion are not *jure divino*, ſhould ſuſpend Miniſters which are *jure divino*, I leave to you to be conſidered —— To which Mr. *Selden* anſwered, that the Convocation is *jure divino* is a queſtion; that Parliaments are not *jure divino* is out of queſtion; that Religion is *jure divino* is no queſtion; now that the Convocation, which is queſtionable, whether *jure divino*, and Parliaments, which out of queſtion are not *jure divino*, ſhould meddle with Religion, which queſtionleſs is *jure divino*, I leave to your Conſideration. In both which, I apprehend, there is more of a jingle of Words than ſtrength of Argument.

But the Houſe was unanimous for a *Reformation* of the Hierarchy, which was all that the Body of Puritans, as yet, wiſhed for or deſired. The *Miniſters Petition*

Reſolutions of the H. of Commons.

King Charles I. 1640.

Petition was therefore committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, and on *March* 9. they came to this Reſolution, "That the Legiſlative and "Judicial Power of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, "is a great Hindrance to the Diſcharge of their ſpi-"ritual Function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, "and fit to be taken away by Bill; and that a Bill "be drawn up to this purpoſe." *March* 11. it was reſolved farther, "That for Biſhops, or any other "Clergymen, to be in the Commiſſion of Peace, or "to have any judicial Power in the Star-Cham-"ber, or in any Civil Court, is a great Hindrance "to their ſpiritual Function, and fit to be taken "away by Bill." And not many Days after it was reſolved, That they ſhould not be Privy Counſellors, or in any temporal Offices.

Proceedings againſt Papiſts.

While the Houſe of Commons were thus preparing to clip the Wings of the Biſhops, they were not unmindful of the *Roman* Catholicks; theſe were Criminals of an higher Nature, and had a deep Share in the preſent Calamities; their Numbers were great, and their Pride and Inſolence inſufferable: They flocked in great Numbers about the Court, and inſulted the very Courts of Judicature; the Queen protected them, and the King and Archbiſhop countenanced them, as Friends of the Prerogative. *Andreas ab Harbernsfield*, the Queen of *Bohemia*'s Chaplain, adviſed his Grace of a Popiſh Confederacy againſt the King and the Church of *England*; but when the Names of *Montague*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, *Winter*, *Windebank* and *Porter*, all Papiſts, and Officers about the Court, were mentioned as Parties, the whole was diſcredited and ſtifled. When the Houſe of Commons petitioned the King to iſſue out a Proclamation, for putting the Laws in execution againſt Papiſts, it was done in ſo defective a manner, that the Committee reported it would avail nothing; for in the Clauſe which enjoins all Popiſh Recuſants to depart the City within fifteen Days, 'tis added, *without ſpecial Licenſe had there-*

thereunto; ſo that if they could obtain a Licenſe from his Majeſty, or from the Lords of the Council, the Biſhop, the Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, then they were not within the Penalty. Beſides, the diſarming of all Popiſh Recuſants was limited to *Recuſants convict*; ſo that if they were not *convicted* a Juſtice of Peace could not diſarm them. They obſerved further, that many Recuſants had *Letters of Grace* to protect their Perſons and Eſtates; that inſtead of departing from *London* there was a greater Reſort of Papiſts at preſent than heretofore; and that their Inſolence and threatning Language was inſufferable and dangerous. A Gentleman having given Information in open Court, to one of the Judges of the *King's Bench*, that in one Pariſh in the City of *Weſtminſter* there were above ſix Thouſand Recuſants, the Committee appointed Mr. *Heywood*, an active Juſtice of Peace, to collect and bring in a Liſt of the Names of all Recuſants within that City and Liberties; for which purpoſe all the Inhabitants were ſummoned to appear and take the Oaths in *Weſtminſter Hall:* But while the Juſtice was in the Execution of his Office, and preſſing one JAMES a Papiſt to take them, the Wretch drew out his Knife and ſtabb'd the Juſtice in open Court, telling him, *He gave him that for perſecuting poor Catholicks.* The old Gentleman ſunk down with the Wound, but by the Care of Surgeons was recovered, and the Criminal taken into Cuſtody. This Mr. *Heywood* was the very Perſon, who being commanded by King *James* I. to ſearch the Cellars under the Parliament Houſe, at the Time of the Gun-Powder Plot, took *Guy Vaux* with his dark Lanthorn in his Hand, which Lanthorn is preſerved among the Archives of *Oxford*, with Mr. *Heywood*'s Name upon it in Letters of Gold.

King Charles I. 1640.

The Parliament alarmed at this daring Attempt, ſent Orders to all the Juſtices of Peace of *Weſtminſter*, *London* and *Middleſex*, requiring them to command the Church-Wardens, to make a Return of the Names

The King favours them.

King Charles I. 1640.

Names of all Recuſants within their Pariſhes, in order to their being proceeded againſt according to Law; a few Days after the like Orders were ſent to the Juſtices in the remoter Counties. The Houſes petition'd his Majeſty to diſcharge all Popiſh Officers in Garriſons, or in the Army, that refuſed to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to fill up their Places with Proteſtants. *March* 16. they petition'd his Majeſty to remove all Papiſts from Court, and particularly Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *Toby Matthews*, Sir *John Winter*, and Mr. *Montague*, and that the whole Body of Roman Catholicks might be diſarmed; but all the Anſwer they received was, that his Majeſty would take Care that the Papiſts about the Court ſhould give no juſt Cauſe of Scandal; and as for diſarming them, he was content it ſhould be done according to Law. So that their Addreſſes had no other effect, than to exaſperate the Papiſts againſt themſelves, the King and Queen being determined to protect them as long as they were able.

Goodman a Prieſt reprieved by the King

There was at this Time one *Goodman*, a Seminary Prieſt, under Sentence of Condemnation in *Newgate*, but the King, inſtead of leaving him to the Law, repriev'd him in the Face of the Parliament; whereupon both Houſes agreed upon the following Remonſtrance.

Jan. 29. 1640. *Remonſtrance of the Parliament againſt it.*

" That conſidering the preſent Juncture, they " conceived the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt " Recuſants more neceſſary than formerly,

1. " Becauſe by divers Petitions from ſeveral " Parts of the Kingdom, Complaints are made of " the great Increaſe of Popery and Superſtition; " Prieſts and Jeſuits ſwarm in great Abundance in " this Kingdom, and appear as boldly as if there " were no Laws againſt them.

2. " It appears to the Houſe, that of late Years " many Prieſts and Jeſuits condemned for High " Treaſon have been diſcharged out of Priſon.

3. " That

3. " That at this Time the Pope has a Nuncio or " Agent in this City; and Papiſts go as publickly " to Maſs at *Denmark* Houſe, and to St. *James*'s, and " the Ambaſſadors Chapels, as others do to their " Pariſh Churches. *King* Charles I. 1640.

4. " That the putting the Laws in Execution " againſt Papiſts, is for the Preſervation and Ad- " vancement of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this " Kingdom; for the Safety of their Majeſties Per- " ſons, and the Security of the Government.

5. " 'Tis found that *Goodman* the Prieſt has been " twice formerly committed and diſcharged; that " his Reſidence now at *London* was in abſolute Con- " tempt of his Majeſty's Proclamation; that he was " formerly a Miniſter of the Church of *England*; and " therefore they humbly deſire he may be left to " the Juſtice of the Law."

To this Remonſtrance the King replied,

" That the Increaſe of Popery and Superſtition, *King's Anſwer.* " if any ſuch Thing had happen'd, was contrary to " his Inclination; but to take off all Occaſions of " Complaint he would order the Laws to be put in " Execution.

" That he would ſet forth a Proclamation, to " command Jeſuits and Prieſts to depart the King- " dom within a Month; and in caſe they either fail- " ed, or returned, they ſhould be proceeded againſt " according to Law.

" As touching the Pope's Nuncio *Roſetti*, his " Commiſſion reached only to keep up a Correſpon- " dence between the Queen and the Pope, in " Things relating to the Exerciſe of Religion; that " this Correſpondence came within the Compaſs of " the full Liberty of Conſcience, ſecured her by the " Articles of Marriage; however, ſince *Roſetti*'s " Character happen'd to be miſunderſtood, and gave " Offence, he had perſuaded the Queen to conſent " to his being recalled.

King Charles I. 1640.

" Further, his Majeſty promiſed to take care, to " reſtrain his Subjects from going to Maſs at *Den-* " *mark* Houſe, St. *James*'s, and the Chapels of the " Ambaſſadors.

" Laſtly, Touching *Goodman*, he was content to " remit him to the Pleaſure of the Houſe; but he " puts them in mind, that *neither Queen* Elizabeth, " *nor King* James, *ever put any to Death merely for* " *Religion*; and deſired them to conſider the Incon- " veniencies that ſuch a Conduct might draw upon his " Subjects, and other Proteſtants in foreign Coun- " tries."

Remarks. How ſtrange is this Aſſertion! Let the Reader recollect the many Executions of *Papiſts* for denying the Supremacy; the burning the *Dutch Anabaptiſts*, for whom Mr. *Fox* the Martyrologiſt interceded in vain; and the hanging of *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Penry*, &c. in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; let him alſo remember, the burning of *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edward Wightman*, for the *Arian* Hereſy, by King *James* I. (of all which, and ſome others, the Commons, in their Reply, put his Majeſty in mind;) and then judge of the Truth of this part of his Declaration. Nor did the Jeſuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew they had a Friend in the King's Boſom that would protect them, and therefore inſtead of removing out of the Land, they lay concealed within the Verge of the Court. Even *Goodman* himſelf was not executed, though the King promiſed to leave him to the Law, and tho' he himſelf petitioned, like *Jonah* the Prophet, to be thrown overboard to allay the Tempeſt between the King and his Subjects. Such was his Majeſty's Attachment to *this People*! to the apparent Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion and the Peace of his Kingdoms; and to the ſacrificing all good Correſpondence between himſelf and his Parliament!

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

From the Impeachment of the Earl of STRAFFORD, *to the Receſs of the Parliament upon the* KING's *Progreſs into* Scotland.

THIS impoſſible to account for the prodigious Changes of this, and the following Years, without taking a ſhort View of ſome Civil Occurrences that led to them. In purſuance of *the Deſign of bringing corrupt Miniſters to Juſtice*, the Parliament began with *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, an able Stateſman, but a moſt dangerous Enemy of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, whom they impeached of High Treaſon, *November* 11. 1640. and brought to his Trial the 22d of *March* following. The grand Article of his Impeachment was, *For endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of* England *and* Ireland, *and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government.* This was ſubdivided into ſeveral Branches, and proved by a multiplicity of Facts, none of which were directly Treaſon by Law, but being put together, were conſtrued to be ſuch *by Accumulation.* The Earl's Reply to the Facts conſiſted partly in Excuſes and Evaſions; with an humble Acknowledgment, that in ſome Things he had been miſtaken; but his principal Defence reſted upon a Point of Law, *Whether an Endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental Form of Government, and the Laws of the Land, was High Treaſon at Common Law, or by any Statute in force.* Mr. *Lane*, the Counſel for the Priſoner maintained, (1.) That all Treaſons were to be reduced to the Particulars ſpecified in the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2. (2.) That nothing elſe was or could be Treaſon; and that it was ſo enacted by the 1ſt *Henry* IV. *cap.* 10. (3.) That there had been no Precedent to the contrary ſince that Time. And, (4.) That by 1 *Mary*, *cap.* 12. an Endeavour to ſubvert the

King Charles I. 1641.

Impeachment and Trial of the Earl of Strafford.

King Charles I 1641.

fundamental Laws of the Land is declared to be no more than *Felony*.

The Commons felt the Weight of theſe Arguments; but not being willing to enter into Debate with a private Counſellor, they changed their Impeachment into a *Bill of Attainder*, which they had a Right to do by virtue of a Clauſe in the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 12. which refers the Deciſion of what is Treaſon in all doubtful Caſes, to the King and Parliament. The Attainder paſt the Commons *April* 19. Yeas 204, Noes 59. but 'tis thought would have been loſt in the Houſe of Lords, had it not been for the following Accident, which put it out of the Power of the Earl's Friends to ſave him.

Plot to bring the Army to London. Claren. Vol. I. p. 248.

The King being weary of his Parliament, and deſirous to preſerve his *Servant*, conſented to a Project of ſome Perſons in greateſt Truſt about the Court, to bring the Army that was raiſed againſt the *Scots* up to *London*, in order to awe the two Houſes, to reſcue the Earl, and to take Poſſeſſion of the City of *London*. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the laſt Motion was rejected with Abhorrence, and that the Gentleman that made it was the Perſon that diſcovered the whole Plot. The Conſpirators met in the *Queen's Lodgings* at *Whitehall*, where a Petition was drawn for the Officers of the Army to ſign, and to preſent to his Majeſty; with a Tender of their Readineſs to wait upon him in defence of his Prerogative, againſt the turbulent Spirits of the Houſe of Commons; the Draught was ſhown to the King, and ſigned in Teſtimony of his Majeſty's Approbation, *C. R.* but the Plot being diſcovered to the Earl of *Bedford*, to the Lords *Say* and *Kimbolton*, and to Mr. *Pym*, with the Names of the Conſpirators; all of them abſconded, and ſome fled immediately into *France*.

Rapin, p. 120.

Mr. *Pym* open'd the Conſpiracy to the Houſe of Commons, *May* 2. and acquainted them, that among other Branches of the Plot, one was to ſeize the *Tower*, to put the Earl of *Strafford* at the Head of

of the *Iriſh* Army of Papiſts, who were to be tranſported into *England*, and to ſecure the important Town of *Portſmouth*, in order to receive Succours from *France*; Sir *William Balfour*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, confeſſed, that the King had ſent him expreſs Orders, to receive a hundred Men into that Garriſon, under the Command of Captain *Billingſly*, to favour the Earl's Eſcape; and that the *Earl* himſelf offered him twenty Thouſand Pounds in Money, and to advance his Son in Marriage to one of the beſt Fortunes in the Kingdom. Lord *Clarendon* has uſed all his Rhetorick to colour over this Conſpiracy, and make Poſterity believe it was little more than the idle Chat of ſome Officers at a Tavern; but they who will compare the Depoſitions in *Ruſhworth*, with his Lordſhip's Account of that Matter (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) will find, that there is a great deal more in the one than the other is willing to believe. Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes, that the Plot was not wholly without a Foundation. The Court would have diſowned it, but their keeping the Conſpirators in their Places, made the Parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was yet diſcovered; they therefore ſent Orders immediately to ſecure the Town and Haven of *Portſmouth*, and to diſband the *Iriſh* Army; they voted that all Papiſts ſhould be removed from about the Court; and directed Letters to Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, to induce the Army to a dutiful Behaviour, and to aſſure them of their full Pay.

King Charles I. 1641.

Ruſhw. p. 291. May's *Hiſt.* p. 98.

The Conſequences of this Plot were infinitely prejudicial to the King's Affairs; the Court loſt its Reputation; the Reverence due to the King and Queen was leſſen'd; and the Houſe of Commons began to be eſteemed the only Barrier of the Peoples Liberties; for which purpoſe they enter'd into a ſolemn *Proteſtation* to ſtand by each other with their Lives and Fortunes; the *Scots Army* was continued for their Security; a Bill for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament was brought in, and urged with great Ad-

Miſchievous Conſequences of it.

King Charles I. 1641.

vantage; and laſt of all, by the Diſcovery of this Plot, the Fate of the Earl of *Strafford* was determined; great Numbers of People crouded in a tumultuous Manner to *Weſtminſter*, crying *Juſtice! Juſtice!* and threatning Violence to thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons that had voted againſt his Attainder. In this Situation of Affairs, and in the Abſence of the Bench of Biſhops (as being a Caſe of Blood) the Bill paſt with the Diſſent only of eleven Peers. The King had ſome Scruples about giving it the Royal Aſſent, becauſe, though he was convinced the Earl had been guilty of *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, he did not apprehend, that an *Endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental Form of Government, and to introduce an arbitrary Power was High Treaſon*; his Majeſty conſulted his *Biſhops* and *Judges*, but was not ſatisfied, till he received a Letter from the Earl himſelf, beſeeching his Majeſty to ſign the Bill, in order to make way for an happy Agreement between him and his Subjects. Mr. *Whitlock* inſinuates, that this Letter was but a Feint of the Earl's; for when Secretary *Carlton* acquainted him with what the King had done, and with the *Motive*, which was *his own Conſent*, he roſe up in a great Surprize, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, ſaid, *Put not your Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation.* Two Days after this [*May* 12.] he was executed upon *Tower Hill*, and ſubmitted to the Ax with a *Roman* Bravery and Courage; but at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. his Attainder was reverſed, and the Article of *Accumulative Treaſon* declared null, becauſe what is not Treaſon in the ſeveral Parts cannot amount to Treaſon in the whole.

Nalſon, p. 203.

Character of the Earl of Strafford.

This was the unhappy End of *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, once a great Patriot, and Defender of the Liberties of his Country, but after he was called to Court, the moſt arbitrary Miniſter of State that this Nation has produced. He was certainly a Gentleman of great Abilities, as appears by the incomparable

comparable Defence he made for his Life, which gained him more Reputation and Eſteem with the People, than all the later Actions of his Life put together; but ſtill he was a publick Enemy of his Country, and had as great a Share in thoſe fatal Counſels that brought on the Civil War as any Man living. "The Earl (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) was of a "ſevere Countenance, inſufferably proud and haughty, having a ſovereign Contempt of the People, "whom he never ſtudied to gratify in any Thing; "the ancient Nobility look'd upon his ſudden Riſe, "and univerſal Influence in publick Affairs, with "Envy; ſo that he had but few Friends, and a "great many Enemies." *King* Charles I. 1641.

Lord *Digby*, in his famous Speech againſt the Bill of Attainder, wherein he waſhes his Hands of the Blood of the *Earl of Strafford*, has nevertheleſs theſe Expreſſions; "I confidently believe him the moſt "dangerous Miniſter, and the moſt inſupportable "to free Subjects that can be charactered. I believe his Practices in themſelves have been as high "and tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured upon; "and the Malignity of them are greatly aggravated "by theſe Abilities of his, whereof God has given "him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In "a Word, I believe him ſtill that *grand Apoſtate to* "*the Commonwealth*, who muſt not expect to be "pardoned in this World, till he be diſpatched to "the other."

Lord *Falkland* ſays, "That he committed ſo "many mighty, and ſo manifeſt Enormities and "Oppreſſions in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, that the "like have not been committed by any Governor, in any Government, ſince *Verres* left *Sicily*; "and after his Lordſhip was called over from being "Deputy of *Ireland*, to be in a manner Deputy of "*England*, he and the *Junctillo* gave ſuch Counſels, and "purſued ſuch Courſes, as 'tis hard to ſay, whether

King Charles I. 1641.

"they were more unwiſe, more unjuſt, or more unfortunate."

Vol. I. p. 250.

Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "That he had been compell'd, for Reaſons of State, to exerciſe many "Acts of Power, and had indulged *ſome* to his own "Appetite and Paſſion, as in the Caſe of the Lord "Chancellor of *Ireland*, and the Lord *Mount Norris*, the former of which was *ſatis pro Imperio*, but "the latter, the moſt extravagant Piece of Sovereignty that in a Time of Peace had been executed "by any Subject." From whence the Reader may conclude, that whatever Encomiums the *Earl* might deſerve as a Gentleman and a Soldier, yet as a *Stateſman* he deſerved the Fate he underwent.

The King's late Miniſters terrified.

The Execution of this great Perſon ſtruck Terror into all the King's late Miniſters; ſome of them laid down their Places, and others retired into *France*; among the latter was the Lord Keeper *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank*. Six of the Judges were impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, for *interpreting away the Laws of their Country*; but the Parliament had too much Buſineſs upon their Hands to attend their Proſecution at preſent. Thus the unhappy King was depriv'd of thoſe Counſellors who were in his own arbitrary Sentiments, and left as in a manner to himſelf, and the powerful Influences of his bigotted Queen and her Cabal of Papiſts; for the new *Miniſters* that ſucceeded, were ſuch in whom the King would place no Confidence. So that moſt Men expected that theſe vigorous Proceedings would oblige the King to put a ſpeedy end to the Seſſion.

Reaſons for not diſſolving the Parliament.

But that which hinder'd it was the want of Money to pay off the Armies in the North; his Majeſty preſſed the Houſes to diſpatch this Affair, and relieve the Country from the Burden of Contribution; but the *Commons* look'd upon the *Scots* as their Security, and that if they were ſent home, they ſhould again be at the Mercy of the

the Prerogative, ſupported by a ſtanding Army. However, they began to borrow Money of the City of *London* towards the Expence; but when the *Plot* to diſſolve the Parliament broke out, the Citizens declared, they would lend nothing upon Parliamentary Security, becauſe their ſitting was ſo precarious. This gave Riſe to a Motion *for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves*, which was preſently turned into a ſhort Bill, and paſt both Houſes with very little Oppoſition, as the only Expedient that could be thought of to ſupport the publick Credit: It enacts, "*That this preſent Parliament ſhall not be adjourned, pro-rogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent:*" And was ſigned by Commiſſion with the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*.

King Charles I. 1641.

Act for its Continuance.

All Men ſtood amazed at the King's great Weakneſs in this Affair, for by this haſty and unadviſed Action he changed the whole Conſtitution, giving the two Houſes a co-ordinate Power in the Legiſlature with himſelf, for as long Time as they pleaſed: If his Majeſty had fix'd their Continuance to a limited Time, it might have ſatisfied the People and have ſaved the Prerogative; but by making them perpetual he parted with the Scepter out of his own Hands, and put it into the Hands of the Parliament. "This (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) has made ſome "Writers doubt, whether thoſe who afterwards took "up Arms againſt the King could be legally term-"ed REBELS? For by paſſing this Act his Maje-"ſty made the two Houſes ſo far independent upon "himſelf, that they immediately acquired an un-"common Authority, and a ſort of natural Right "to inſpect and cenſure his Actions, and to provide "for the Safety of the Kingdom."

Remarks.

While the *Commons* were alarmed with the Diſcovery of the Plot, and the Flight of the Conſpirators, Mr. *Pym* moved, That both Houſes might join in ſome Band of Defence, for the Security of their Liberties,

King Charles I. 1641.

berties, and of the Proteſtant Religion; accordingly the following Proteſtation was drawn up, and ſubſcribed the very next Day by the whole Houſe, [*May* 3.]

Solemn Vow and Proteſtation taken by both Houſes. Claren. Vol. I. p. 251, &c.

"I *A. B.* do in the Preſence of Almighty God vow "and proteſt, to maintain and defend, as far as "lawfully I may, with my Life, Power and Eſtate, "the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed "in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt "all Popery and Popiſh Innovations in this Realm, "contrary to the ſaid Doctrine; and according to "the Duty of my Allegiance, I will maintain and "defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour and "Eſtate; alſo the Power and Privilege of Parlia-"ment, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the "Subject, and of every Perſon who ſhall make "this *Proteſtation* in whatſoever he ſhall do, in the "lawful purſuance of the ſame. And to my Power, "as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all "good Ways and Means, endeavour to bring to "condign Puniſhment all ſuch, who ſhall by Force, "Practice, Counſel, Plot, Conſpiracy, or other-"wiſe, do any Thing to the contrary in this Prote-"ſtation contained. And further, that I ſhall in all "juſt and honourable Ways endeavour to preſerve "the Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms "of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and neither for "hope, fear, or any other reſpect, ſhall relinquiſh "this Promiſe, Vow and Proteſtation."

May 4. This *Proteſtation* was taken by all the Peers preſent in Parliament, except the Earl of *Southampton* and Lord *Roberts*; even by the Biſhops themſelves, though (as Lord *Clarendon* obſerves) it comes but little ſhort of the *Scots Covenant*. Their Lordſhips, indeed, would have interpreted thoſe Words, *The true reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſs'd in the* DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, to have

Vol. I. p. 253.

included the *Government* or *Hierarchy* of the Church; but both Houſes declared, that by thoſe Words was and is meant, *only the publick Doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to Popery and Popiſh Innovations; and that the ſaid Words are not to extend to the Maintenance of any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline or Government, nor of Rites and Ceremonies.* Within two Days the *Proteſtation* was taken by eighty Temporal Lords, ſeventeen Biſhops, nine Judges, and four Hundred and thirty eight of the Houſe of Commons. Next Day it was printed, and ſent to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, to be taken by the whole Nation, with the following Directions.

King Charles I. 1641.

Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 250.

— "That it be taken in the Afternoon of ſome "Lord's Day after Sermon, before the Congrega- "tion be diſmiſſed, by all Maſters of Families, their "Sons that are of a proper Age, and Men Servants, "in the Manner following. *Firſt*, That Notice be "given to the Miniſter by the Church-Wardens of "the Intention. — *Secondly*, That the Miniſter "acquaint the People in his Sermon of the Nature "of the *Proteſtation*. — *Thirdly*, That the Miniſter "firſt take it himſelf, reading it diſtinctly with an "audible Voice, that all preſent may hear it; then "the Aſſembly ſhall take the Writing in their "Hands, ſaying with a diſtinct and audible Voice, "*I* A. B. *do in the Preſence of Almighty God vow and* "*proteſt the ſame, which the leading Perſon that reads it* "*did, naming the Perſon.* *Fourthly*, The Names of "all that take it ſhall be ſubſcribed in a Regiſter; "and the Names of thoſe that refuſe ſhall be en- "ter'd."

Ordered to be taken all over England.

The Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* obſerved theſe Directions, but the remoter Counties were complain'd of for neglect; upon which the Houſe of *Commons* paſt a Bill, to oblige all Perſons to take it throughout the Kingdom; but it was loſt in the Houſe of Lords, the whole Bench of Biſhops oppoſing

But prevented by the Biſhops.

King Charles I. 1641.

ſing it; whereupon the *Commons* came to this Reſolution, that *whoſoever would not take the Proteſtation, was unfit to bear Offices in the Church or Commonwealth.*

Remarks. This was carrying Matters to a very great length; there had been a Parliamentary Aſſociation in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which her Majeſty confirmed, and a ſolemn League and Covenant in *Scotland*, which the King complied with; but the enforcing a *Proteſtation* or *Vow* upon his Majeſty's Subjects, without his Conſent, was aſſuming a Power, which nothing but the dangerous Criſis of Affairs, and the uncommon Authority with which this Parliament was inveſted by the late Act of *Continuance*, can ſupport or countenance. The Odium of putting a Stop to the *Proteſtation*, fell upon the *Bench of Biſhops*, who were already ſinking under their own Weight; and his Majeſty's not interpoſing in this Affair at all, was afterwards made uſe of as a Preſident for impoſing the ſolemn League and Covenant upon the whole Nation without his Conſent.

Bill againſt the Bps. Votes in Parliament.

The PURITANS had always objected to the lordly Titles and Dignities of the Biſhops, but their Votes in the Houſe of Peers were now found a very great Grievance, and an effectual Bar to the Proceedings of Parliament. It was remember'd, that they had been always averſe to Reformation; that they had voted unanimouſly againſt the *Supremacy* in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign; and againſt the *Act of Uniformity* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s. It was now obſerved, that they were the *Creatures of the Court*, and a *dead Weight* againſt all Reformation in Church or State; twenty ſix Votes being ſufficient at any Time to turn the Scale in that Houſe, whoſe full Number was not above an Hundred; it was therefore moved, that a Bill might be brought in to take away their Seats in Parliament, which was readily agreed to. The Bill (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) was drawn up with great Deliberation, and was entitled, an Act for *reſtraining Biſhops, and others of the Clergy in Holy Orders, from intermeddling*

Vol. I. P. 234, 246.

termeddling in ſecular Affairs. It conſiſted of ſeveral Branches, as, that *no Biſhop ſhould have a Vote in Parliament, nor any judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, nor be a Privy-Counſellor, nor a Judge in any temporal Courts; nor ſhould any Clergyman be in the Commiſſion of Peace.* To make way for the paſſing of this Bill, it was ſaid, that if this was granted the *Commons* would be ſatisfied, and little or nothing further attempted to the Prejudice of the Church. It therefore paſs'd the Houſe of Commons without Oppoſition, and was ſent up to the Lords *May* 1. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, that Lord *Kimbolton* would have perſuaded the Biſhops to reſign their Votes in Parliament, adding, that then the Temporal Lords would be obliged in Honour to preſerve their Juriſdiction and Revenues. The Earl of *Eſſex* alſo employed ſome body to deal privately with the Biſhops on the ſame Head; but they rejected all Methods of Accommodation, reſolving to make their utmoſt Efforts, and to keep Poſſeſſion of their *Seats* till a ſuperior Strength ſhould turn them out; accordingly the Bill met with a vigorous Oppoſition in their Houſe, and after a ſecond reading was thrown out, without ſo much as being committed; (a Countenance frequently given to Bills they never intend to paſs) but the whole Bench of Biſhops voting for themſelves, 'tis no wonder it was loſt by a conſiderable Majority. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, it would have been thrown out if the Biſhops had not voted at all; for though the Temporal Lords were content to exclude them from all ſecular Offices and Employments in the State, they were in no Diſpoſition to take away their Suffrages in the Houſe of Peers.

King Charles I. 1641.

B. XI. p. 183.

Many learned Speeches were made in both Houſes upon this Occaſion; the Reaſons of the Commons for paſſing the Bill were theſe, (1.) Becauſe their Attendance on ſecular Affairs, not relating to the Church, is a great Hindrance to their ſpiritual Function. *No Man that warreth* (ſaith St. *Paul* to *Timothy*) *entangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life.*

Arguments for the Bill. Ruſhw. p. 281. Nalſon, p. 260.

(2.)

King Charles I. 1641.

(2.) Becauſe 'tis contrary to their Ordination Vow; for when they enter into holy Orders they promiſe to give themſelves WHOLLY to that Vocation. (3.) Becauſe Councils and Canons in ſeveral Ages have forbid their meddling in ſecular Affairs. (4.) Becauſe the twenty four Biſhops depend on the two Archbiſhops, and take an Oath of Canonical Obedience to them. (5.) Becauſe their Peerage is not of the ſame Nature with the Temporal Lords, being but for Life. (6.) Becauſe they depend on the Crown for Tranſlation to greater Biſhopricks. (7.) Becauſe 'tis not fit that twenty ſix of them ſhould ſet as Judges upon Complaints brought againſt themſelves, and their Order.

Biſhop *Williams* publiſhed an Anſwer to theſe Reaſons, intitled the *Abſtract*, to which there preſently came out a Reply. The chief Speakers on behalf of the Biſhops, in the Houſe of Peers, were the Lord Viſcount *Newark*, afterwards Earl of *Kingſton*, Dr. *Williams*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Bath*, and *Briſtol*. But inſtead of tranſcribing their Speeches, I will give the Reader a Summary of their Arguments, and of their Adverſaries Reply.

Arguments in favour of the Bps. with the Replies. Nalſon, p. 251, &c.

Firſt, It was argued, that *the Biſhops had voted in Parliament almoſt ever ſince the Conqueſt, according to* Mathew Paris, *Sir* Henry Spelman, *and others.* To which it was replied, that Time and Uſage ought to be of no Weight with Law Makers, on the behalf of Things which are allowed to be inconvenient: *Abbots* had voted as antiently in Parliament as Biſhops, and yet their Votes were taken away.

Secondly, It was ſaid, that *the Biſhops voting was no conſiderable Hindrance to their ſpiritual Function; for Parliaments were to ſit but once in three Years, and then but for a Month or two together; that though no Clergyman ſhould entangle himſelf with the Affairs of this Life, the*

the Apoſtle does not exclude him from intermeddling. To which it was anſwer'd, that the Epiſcopal Function, if well diſcharged, was enough for all their Time and Thoughts; and that their Dioceſes were large enough to employ all their Labours, in Viſitation, Confirmation, Preaching, *&c.* The Deſign of the Apoſtle *Paul* was certainly to exhort *Timothy* to withdraw himſelf as much as poſſible from the Affairs of this Life, that his Thoughts might be more entire for his Evangelical Work; and therefore in another Place he exhorts him *to give himſelf* WHOLLY *to theſe Things.*

Thirdly, It was ſaid, that *Clergymen had always been in the Commiſſion of the Peace, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity, and that they were beſt qualified for it.* To which it was anſwer'd, That they were moſt unfit for this Employment, becauſe it had a direct Tendency to hinder their Uſefulneſs in their Pulpits; and to the Fact it was replied, that the firſt Clergymen that were made Juſtices of the Peace, or had Power in temporal Juriſdiction, were the Biſhops of *Durham* and *York*, 34 *Edw.* III. That before the Act of Conformity, 1 *Edw.* VI. the Clergy were not put in Commiſſion for the Peace; and that the Reaſon of their being then admitted was, that they might perſuade the People to Conformity; but if in Conſcience they held it not conſiſtent with their ſpiritual Calling, they might *refuſe.*

It was further ſaid, that *the taking away one whole Bench out of the Houſe of Peers was an ill Precedent, and might encourage the Commons one Time or other to cut off the Barons, or ſome other Degree of the Nobility.* To which it was replied, that the Peerage of the Biſhops did not ſtand upon the ſame Foot with the reſt of the Nobility, becauſe their *Honour* does not deſcend to their Poſterity, and becauſe they have no right to vote in Caſes of Blood; if they had the ſame Right of Peerage with the Temporal Lords, no *Canon* of the Church could deprive them of it; for it was never known,

King Charles I. 1641.

known, that the Canons of the Church pretended to deprive the *Barons* of *England* of any part of their inherent Juriſdiction.

It was argued further, that *if the Bench of Biſhops were deprived of their Votes, they would be left under very great Diſadvantages; for whereas the meaneſt Commoner is repreſented in the lower Houſe, the Biſhops will be thrown out of this common Benefit; and if they have no Share in conſenting to the Laws, neither in their Perſons nor Repreſentatives, what Juſtice can oblige them to keep thoſe Laws?* To which it was replied, that they have the ſame Share in the Legiſlature with the reſt of the Freeholders of *England*; nor is there any more Reaſon that the Biſhops, as Biſhops, ſhould be a part of the Legiſlature, than the *Judges*, as ſuch, or the *Lawyers*, or any other incorporated Profeſſion of learned Men.

Whether Biſhops are one of the 3 Eſtates in Parliament.

But the principal Argument that was urged in favour of the Biſhops was, that *they were one of the three States in Parliament; that as ſuch they were the Repreſentatives of the whole Body of the Clergy, and therefore to turn them out would be to alter the Conſtitution, and to take away one whole Branch of the Legiſlature: The Parliament would not then be the compleat Repreſentative Body of the Nation, nor would the Laws which were enacted in their Abſence be valid.* To ſupport this Aſſertion it was ſaid, (1.) That the Clergy in all other Chriſtian Kingdoms of theſe northern Parts, make up a third *Eſtate*, as in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*; and therefore, why not in *England?* (2.) When King *Henry* V. was buried, 'tis ſaid, the three Eſtates aſſembled, and declared his Son *Henry* VI. his Succeſſor. The Petition to *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, to accept the Crown, runs in the Name of the three *Eſtates*; and in his Parliament 'tis ſaid expreſly, that at the Requeſt of the three *Eſtates*, *i. e.* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, he was declared undoubted King of theſe Realms; to which may

be added, the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 3. where the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, are ſaid to repreſent the three Eſtates of this Realm. *King* Charles I. 1641.

It was replied to this, that the Biſhops did not ſit in the Houſe as a *third State*, nor as *Biſhops*, but only in right of their Baronies annexed to their Biſhopricks, 5 *Will.* I. All the Biſhops have Baronies except the Biſhop of *Man*, who is as much a Biſhop, to all Intents and Purpoſes of Juriſdiction and Ordination, as the others, but has no Place in Parliament, becauſe he does not hold *per integram Baroniam*. It muſt be admitted, that in ancient Times the Lords Spiritual are ſometimes mentioned as a *third State* of the Realm; but it could not be intended by this, that the Clergy, much leſs the Biſhops, were an eſſential Part of the Legiſlature; for if ſo, it would then follow, that no Act of Parliament could be valid without their Conſent; whereas divers Acts are now in force, from which the whole Bench of Biſhops have diſſented, as the *Act of Conformity*, 1 *Edw.* VI. and the *Act of Supremacy*, 1 *Eliz.* If the major Part of the Barons agree, and the Houſe of Commons concur, any Bill may paſs into an Act with the Conſent of the King, though all the Biſhops diſſent, becauſe their Votes are over-ruled by the major Part of the Peers. In the Parliament of *Northampton* under *Henry* II. when the Biſhops challenged their Peerage, they ſaid, *Non ſedemus hic Epiſcopi ſed Barones*, We ſit not here as Biſhops, but as Barons; *We are Barons, and you are Barons here, therefore we are Peers.* Nor did King *Charles* himſelf apprehend the Biſhops to be one of the three States, for in his Declaration of *June* 16. 1642. he calls *himſelf* one, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, the other two. In ancient Time the Prelates were ſometimes excluded the Parliament, as in 25 King *Edw.* I. when they would not agree to grant an Aid to his Majeſty in the Parliament at *Carliſle*; and before that Time ſeveral Acts had paſt

Nalſon, p. 502, &c.

Fuller's *Appeal.*

King Charles I. 1641.

againſt the Oppreſſions of the Clergy, in which the Entry in the Records ſtands thus, the King having conſulted with the *Earls*, *Barons*, *and other the Nobles*; or by the Aſſent of the *Earls*, *Barons*, *and other Lay People*; which ſhews the Biſhops did not conſent, for if they had, they would have been firſt named, the Order of the Nobility in all ancient Records being, *Prelates*, *Earls*, and *Barons*. When the Convocation had cited Dr. *Standiſh* before them, for ſpeaking Words againſt their Power and Privilege, in the 7th of King *Henry* VIII. it was determined by all the Judges of the Land, in Preſence of the King, that his Majeſty might hold his Parliament without calling the Biſhops at all. It appears therefore from hence, that the Biſhops never were accounted a *third State* of the Realm, in ſuch a Senſe as to make them an eſſential Branch of the Legiſlature; nor are they the Repreſentatives of the Clergy, becauſe then the Clergy would be twice repreſented, for as many of them as are *Freeholders* are repreſented with their Fellow-Subjects in the Houſe of Commons; and as *Clergymen* they are repreſented in Convocation, the Writ of Election to Convocation being, to ſend two Clerks *ad conſentiendum*, &c. Beſides, none can properly be called Repreſentatives of others, but ſuch as are choſen by them; the Biſhops therefore not being choſen for this purpoſe, cannot properly be the Repreſentatives of the Clergy in Parliament; they ſit there not in their Spiritual Character, but by virtue of the Baronies annexed to their Biſhopricks; and if the King, with conſent of Parliament, ſhould annex *Baronies* to the Courts of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, or to the ſupreme Magiſtracy of the City of *London*, the Judges and the Lord Mayor, for the Time being, would have the ſame Right of Peerage. But none of theſe Arguments were of ſufficient Weight with the Lords to vote them out of the Houſe.

Rushw. p. 396.

The

The Loſs of this Bill, with the reſolute Behaviour of the Biſhops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in poſſeſſion of, inflamed the *Commons*, and made them conclude, that there was no hopes of Reformation while they were a *Branch of the Legiſlature*. It was obſerved, that the Biſhops were unuſually diligent in giving their Attendance upon the Houſe at this Time, and always voted with the Court. Some of the leading Members therefore, in the Warmth of their Reſentments, brought in a Bill in purſuance of the *Root and Branch* Petition, which had been laid aſide for ſome Time, for *the utter Extirpation of all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chantors, with all Chancellors, Officials, and Officers belonging to them; and for the diſpoſing of their Lands, Manors, &c. as the Parliament ſhall appoint.* A raſh and inconſiderate Attempt! For could they expect, that the Biſhops ſhould aboliſh themſelves? Or, that the Temporal Lords ſhould conſent to the utter extirpating an *Order of Churchmen*, when they would not ſo much as give up one Branch of their Privilege? The Bill being drawn up by Mr. *St. John*, was delivered to the Speaker by Sir *Edward Deering*, with a ſhort Speech, in which he took Notice of the Moderation of the Houſe in the late Bill, hoping, that by pruning and taking off a few unneceſſary Branches from the Biſhops, the Tree might proſper the better; but that this ſoft Method having proved ineffectual, by reaſon of their incorrigible Obſtinacy, it was now neceſſary to put the *Ax to the Root of the Tree.* "I never was for Ruin "(ſays he) as long as there was any Hopes of re-"forming; and I now profeſs, that if thoſe Hopes "revive and proſper, I will divide my Senſe upon "this Bill, and yield my Shoulders to underprop "the primitive, lawful and juſt Epiſcopacy." He concluded with a Sentence in *Ovid*;

Cuncta prius tentanda, ſed immedicabile vulnus
Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.

King Charles I. 1641.

Bill for the Extirpation of Bps. Deans and Chapters, and Prebendaries, brought in by Sir Edward Deering. Nalſon, p. 248, 295, 300.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 237. Nalſon, p. 248.

King Charles I. 1641.

The reading this Bill was very much oppoſed, becauſe it was brought in contrary to Cuſtom, without firſt aſking leave; however, it was once read, and then laid aſide for almoſt two Months; a little before the King went to *Scotland* it was carried by a Majority of thirty one Voices to read it a ſecond Time, and commit it to a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which Mr. *Hyde* [Lord *Clarendon*] was Chairman, who made uſe of ſo much Art and Induſtry to embarraſs the Affair, that after twenty Days the Bill was dropt.

His Speech in the Committee. Nalſon, p. 295, &c.

Sir *Edward Deering*'s Speech in the Committee will give Light into the Sentiments of the Puritans of theſe Times; "The Ambition of ſome Prelates "(ſays he) will not let them ſee how inconſiſtent "two contrary Functions are in one and the ſame "Perſon, and therefore there is left neither *Root* "nor *Branch* of that ſo good and neceſſary a Bill "which we lately ſent up, and conſequently no "hope of ſuch a Reformation as we all aim at; "what hopes then can we have, that this Bill, which "ſtrikes at *Root* and *Branch*, both of their Seats of "Juſtice, and of their Epiſcopal Chairs in the "Church, will paſs as it is, and without a Tender "of ſome other Government in lieu of this, ſince "the Voices are ſtill the ſame which threw out your "former Bill——" Sir *Edward* therefore propoſed another Form of Government, if the Houſe ſhould think fit to aboliſh the preſent, which was in a manner the ſame with Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s, hereafter mentioned, "As, *Firſt*, That every Shire ſhould "be a diſtinct Dioceſe or Church. *Secondly*, That "in every Shire or Church twelve or more able Di"vines ſhould be appointed, in the Nature of an "old Primitive, conſtant Preſbytery. *Thirdly*, That "over every Preſbytery there ſhould be a Preſident, "let him be called *Biſhop*, or *Overſeer*, or *Moderator*, or *Superintendant*, or by what other Name "you pleaſe, provided there be one in every Shire, "for the Government and Direction of the Preſby-

"tery,

" tery, in the Nature of the Speaker in the Houſe " of Commons, or Chairman of a Committee." Accordingly it was reſolved, *July* 10. " *That Ec-* " *cleſiaſtical Power for the Government of the Church* " *be exerciſed by Commiſſioners.*" *July* 31. reſolved, " *That the Members for every County bring in the Names* " *of nine Perſons to be Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, on* " *whom the Power of Church Government ſhall be de-* " *volved; but that no Clergyman be of the Commiſſion.*" This was to be only a temporary Proviſion, but ſhews, that the *Puritans* of theſe Times did not intend the Preſbyterian Government, but only a Reduction of Epiſcopacy to what they apprehended a more primitive Standard; and if the Biſhops would have yielded up ſome part of their Juriſdiction, the Miſchiefs that befel them afterwards might have been prevented; however, for the preſent, the Proſecution of it was laid aſide.

King Charles I. 1641.

But the Houſe went more readily into the Debate *for aboliſhing Deans and Chapters*, and applying their Revenues to better Purpoſes. This alarmed the Cathedral Men, and put them upon conſulting how to ward off the Danger that threaten'd them; for this Purpoſe one Divine was deputed from every Cathedral in *England* to ſolicit their Friends in the Houſes on behalf of their ſeveral Foundations; and it muſt be owned, they did all that Men could do, leaving no Stone unturned that might be for their Advantage. Addreſſes were preſented from both Univerſities in their Favour: The Addreſs from *Oxford* prays " for the Continuance of the preſent Form of " Church Government, as the moſt ancient and " apoſtolical; and for the Continuance of Cathedral " Churches, with their Lands and Revenues, as de- " dicated to the Service of God, ſoon after the firſt " Plantation of Chriſtianity here; as Foundations " thought fit to be preſerved, when the Nurſeries of " Superſtition were demoliſhed at the Reformation;

Debates about Deans and Chapters. Fuller, B. XI. p. 176.

Nalſon, p. 305.

King Charles I. 1641.

" as confirmed by the Laws of the Land; as Nurſeries of Students and learned Men in Divinity; " as the Upholders of divers Schools, Hoſpitals, " Highways, Bridges, and other pious Works; as " beneficial to thoſe Cities where they are ſituate, " by Hoſpitality, by Relief of the Poor, and by " occaſioning the Reſort of many Strangers, to the " Benefit of the Tradeſmen and Inhabitants of the " Places where they are built; as the chief Support " of many Thouſand Families of the Laity, who en- " joy Eſtates from them in a free way, and as yield- " ing an ample Revenue to the Crown, and a Main- " tenance to many learned Profeſſors in the Univer- " ſity." The Addreſs from the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was to the ſame Purpoſe, and therefore prays, " That the Religious Bounty of their Anceſtors, for " the Advancement of Learning, and of learned " Men, may be preſerv'd from Ruin and Aliena- " tion; but withal, to take order, that they may " be reduced to the due Obſervation of their Statutes, " and that all Innovations and Abuſes may be reform- " ed." The Deputies from the ſeveral Cathedrals drew up a Petition to the Lords and Commons for *Council*; but being informed, that the Houſe would not allow them that Benefit, but that if they had any Thing to offer they ſhould appear and plead their own Cauſe; they made Choice of Dr. *John Hackett*, *Prebendary of* Paul's, *and Archdeacon of* Bedford for their Counſel, who being admitted to the Bar of the Houſe, *May* 12. after the Petitions from the two Univerſities had been read, made a laboured Speech in their behalf, inſiſting chiefly on the Topicks of the *Oxford* Addreſs.

Dr. Hackett's Def. of Deans and Chapters. Fuller, B. XI. p. 177.

He recommended Cathedrals, *as fit to ſupply the Defects of private Prayer*; the publick Performance whereof ſhould be in ſome Place of Diſtinction. And whereas the Exquiſiteneſs of the Muſick gave Offence to ſome Ears, as hindring their Devotion, he requeſted, in the Name of his Brethren, that it might

might be moderated to Edification, and reduced to the Form that *Athanaſius* recommends, *Ut legentibus ſint quam cantantibus ſimiliores.* *King* Charles I. 1641.

He alleged, that *at the Reformation, Preaching began in Cathedrals*; and whereas ſome have ſaid, that Lecture Preachers were an upſtart Corporation; the Dr. obſerved, that the local Statutes of all the Cathedrals required Lectures on the week Days; and he requeſted, in the Name of his Brethren, that the godly and profitable Performance of Preaching might be more exacted.

He urged, *that Cathedrals were ſerviceable for the Advancement of Learning, and training up Perſons for the Defence of the Church*; and that, the taking them away would differve the Cauſe of Religion, and be a Pleaſure to their Adverſaries.

He added, that *the ancient and genuine Uſe of Deans and Chapters was as* SENATUS EPISCOPI, to aſſiſt the Biſhop in his Juriſdiction; and whereas ſome of his Reverend Brethren had complained, that Biſhops had for many Years uſurped the ſole Government to themſelves and their Conſiſtories; the continuing of *Chapters* rightly uſed would bring it to a Plurality of Aſſiſtants.

He then put them in mind of *the Antiquity of the Structures, and the Number of Perſons maintained by them*, amounting to many Thouſands; he inſtanced in their *Tenants*, who by their Leaſes enjoyed ſix Parts in ſeven pure Gain, and had therefore petitioned for their Landlords; and ſhewed, that the Cities in which *Cathedrals* were built, were inriched by the Hoſpitality of the Clergy, and the Reſort of Strangers.

He enlarged further, *upon their Endowments, as Encouragements to Induſtry and Virtue*; that ſeveral famous Proteſtants of foreign Parts had been maintained by being inſtalled *Prebendaries*, as *Caſaubon*, *Saravia*, Dr. *Peter Du Moulin*, *Voſſius*, and others; that the Crown had great Benefit from theſe Foundations, paying greater Sums into the *Exchequer* for firſt Fruits

King Charles I. 1641.

and Tenths, according to Proportion, than other Corporations.

And laſtly, he put them in mind, that *theſe Structures and Eſtates were conſecrated to Divine Service, and barred all Alienation with the moſt dreadful Imprecations.*

Dr. Burges's *Speech againſt them.*

In the Afternoon Dr. *Cornelius Burges* appeared on the other Side of the Queſtion, and made a long Speech concerning the Unprofitableneſs of thoſe Corporations; he complained of the *Debauchery of ſinging Men*, and of their vicious Converſation; he ſpoke againſt *Muſick in Churches* as uſeleſs and hurtful. He made a large Anſwer to the Particulars of Dr. *Hacket*'s Speech; and in Concluſion ſaid, "Though he "apprehended it neceſſary to apply theſe Foundations to better Purpoſes, it was by no means lawful to alienate them from publick and pious Uſes, "or to convert them to any private Perſon's "Profit."

Ruſhw. p. 285. Nalſon, p. 282.

The further Debate of this Bill was adjourned for a Week, and then committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, when the two following remarkable Speeches were made againſt theſe Foundations.

Serjeant Thomas's *Speech againſt Deans and Chapters.*

Original of Deans, &c.

The firſt by Mr. Serjeant *Thomas*, who admits, "That there were *Deans* in St. *Auſtin*'s Time, but "that they were not Officers of the Church 'till ſome "Centuries after. St. *Auſtin* gives this Account of "their Original; that the Monks, for their more "convenient Retirement and Contemplation, appointed Officers, whom they called DEANS, *Eo "quod Denis ſunt præpoſiti*; becauſe every *Dean* had "the Care of ten *Monks*, and was to provide them "with all Neceſſaries of Life, that their Devotions "might not be interrupted with worldly Cares. In "the following Ages of Darkneſs and Superſtition, "Princes, and others, beſtowed large Revenues "upon theſe *Monks*, from the Opinion they had of "the Auſterity and Sanctity of their Lives; and as "the Monks grew rich, the Office of the Dean,

"who

" who was the *Præpoſitus* or *Steward*, grew more " conſiderable, till in St. *Bernard*'s Time it was or- " dained, that none but a Preſbyter ſhould be a " Dean: *Ne ſit Decanus niſi Preſbyter.* At the Re- " formation of Religion, when many other religious " Foundations were broke up, theſe were preſerved, " and in the Conſtitutions of King *Henry* VIII. and " *Edward* VI. 'tis ordained, that all Deans ſhould be " *Preſbyters*, Men of Gravity, Learning and Pru- " dence, that they ſhould govern the Cathedral " Churches according to their ſeveral Statutes; " that they ſhould preſerve Diſcipline, and ſee that " the holy Rites be performed in a grave and decent " Manner; that they be Aſſiſtants to the Biſhops " within their ſeveral Cathedrals, as the Archdea- " cons are abroad, for which Reaſon they ſhould not " be abſent from their Cathedrals without the moſt " urgent Neceſſity, to be allowed by the Biſhop, " but one or other of them is to preach in their Ca- " thedrals every Lord's Day." The *Serjeant* then obſerved, how unlike our preſent Deans were to their Anceſtors; how little they obſerved the Statutes of their Inſtitution, and gave it as his Opinion, That it was not reaſonable that ſuch vaſt Revenues ſhould be allowed to Perſons who were of ſo little Uſe to the Church or Commonwealth.

King Charles I. 1641.

Mr. *Pury*, Alderman of *Glouceſter*, purſued the ſame Argument; he produced a Copy of the Statutes of the Dean and Chapter of *Glouceſter*, with their original Grant about the Time of the Reformation, " *We have erected* (ſays the King) *Cathedrals* " *and Colleges in the Place of Monaſteries, that where* " *Ignorance and Superſtition reigned, the ſincere Wor-* " *ſhip of God might flouriſh, and the Goſpel of Chriſt Je-* " *ſus be purely preached; and further, that the Encreaſe* " *of the Chriſtian Faith and Piety, the Inſtruction of* " *Youth in good Learning, and the Suſtentation of the* " *Poor may be for ever kept, maintained, and conti-* " *nued.*" He then produced the *Statutes*, which ordained,

Ald. Pury's *Speech againſt them.* Nalſon, p. 289.

King Charles I. 1641.

dained, " That the ſaid Deans, Prebends, and Ca-
" nons, ſhall always reſide and dwell in the Houſes
" of the ſaid Cathedrals, and there keep a Family,
" with good Hoſpitality to feed the Poor, and to
" diſtribute Alms. That they ſhould preach the
" Word in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, eſpecially in
" the Cathedral Church, and have Youth profitably
" taught there. To this end they are to have a
" common Table in the common Hall of the Cathe-
" dral, where the Canons, Scholars, Choriſters,
" and under Officers, are to eat together. The ſaid
" *Dean* and *Chapter* are to give yearly 20*l.* to the
" Poor, beſides what is given to their own poor *Alms-*
" *Men*, and 20*l.* more to the repairing Bridges and
" Highways thereabouts. For the Performance of
" the ſaid Statutes and Premiſes, the *Deans*, *Pre-*
" *bendaries*, *Canons*, *and other Miniſters of the Cathedral*,
" are obliged to take an Oath, and every one of
" them doth ſwear, that to the utmoſt of his Power,
" he will obſerve them inviolably."

The *Alderman* obſerves from hence, " That not
" one of the abovementioned Statutes are, or have
" been kept, or the Matters in any of them contain-
" ed, performed by any of the *Deans or Prebendaries* of
" the ſaid Cathedral in his Memory. That they come
" once a Year to receive the Rents and Profits of the
" Lands, but do not diſtribute to the Poor their Pro-
" portion; nor do they mend the Highways and
" Bridges; nor do they keep any common Table;
" and inſtead of preaching in *Seaſon and out of Seaſon*,
" they neither practiſe it themſelves, nor encourage
" it in others. Infinite are the Preſſures that many
" Cities near unto Deans and Chapters, have endu-
" red by them, and their Procurement; ſo far
" have they been from a common Benefit. Since
" then the ſaid Deans and Chapters are but Truſtees,
" and the Profits of the ſaid Lands have been ſo ill
" employed, contrary to the Truſt in them repoſed,
" the *Alderman* was of Opinion, that by a legiſlative
" Power

" Power in Parliament it was fit to take them away, " and to put them into the Hands of *Feoffees*, to be " diſpoſed of, to ſuch pious and charitable Uſes as " they were firſt intended for; by which means the " preaching of the Goſpel might be effectually en- " couraged, ſmaller Livings augmented, and the " Neceſſities of the Poor better ſupplied." *King Charles I. 1641.*

Theſe Speeches made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Houſe, that after a long Debate they came to theſe Reſolutions, *That all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chaunters, Canons, and Petty Canons, and their Officers, ſhall be utterly aboliſhed and taken away out of the Church; and that all the Lands taken by this Bill from Deans and Chapters, ſhall be put into the Hands of Feoffees, to be employed for the Support of a fit Number of preaching Miniſters for the Service of every Church, and for the Reparation of the ſaid Churches, Proviſion being made, that his Majeſty be no loſer in his Rents, firſt Fruits, and other Duties; and that a competent Maintenance ſhall be made to the ſeveral Perſons concern'd, if they appear not Delinquents to this Houſe.* But none of theſe Votes paſſed into a Law; nor was there the leaſt Proſpect of their being received by the *Lords*, as long as the Biſhops were in that Houſe, who ſtood together like a Wall againſt every Attempt of the Commons for Alterations in the Church, till, by an unexpected Providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own Ruin. *Reſolutions of the Houſe, but the Bill loſt.*

The Firmneſs of the Biſhops againſt all Abatements or Relaxations in favour of the *Puritans*, exaſperated the People, and put an end to all Proſpects of Agreement. A COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION had been appointed by the Houſe of Lords, *March* 12. to conſider of ſuch Innovations in Religion as were proper to be taken away, which by the *Plot* of the Court to bring up the Army, and the Loſs of the late Bills for Reformation of the Hierarchy, was now broken up. It conſiſted of *Committee of Accommodation.*

King Charles I. 1641.

of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons. "This "Committee, ſays Archbiſhop *Laud* in his Diary, "will meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremony, "and will call ſome Divines to them to conſider of "the Buſineſs, as appears by a Letter hereunto an-"nexed, ſent by the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln* to ſome "Divines to attend this Service. Upon the whole, "I believe this Committee will prove the National "Synod of *England*, to the great Diſhonour of the "Church, and what elſe may follow upon it, God "knows." At their firſt Meeting they appointed a Sub-Committee of Biſhops, and Divines of different Perſuaſions, to prepare Matters for their Debate; the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was Chairman of both, and was ordered to call together the Sub-Committee with all convenient Speed; which he did, by a Letter directed to each of them, in the following Words:

The Sub-Committee

"I Am commanded by the Lords of the *Com-*
"*mittee for Innovations in Matters of Religion*,
"to let you know, that their ſaid Lordſhips have
"aſſigned and appointed you to attend them, as
"Aſſiſtants in that Committee; and to let you
"know in general, that their Lordſhips intend to
"examine all Innovations in Doctrine and Diſci-
"pline introduced into the Church, without Law,
"ſince the Reformation; and (if their Lordſhips
"ſhall find it behoveful for the good of the Church
"and State) to examine after that, the Degrees and
"Perfection of the Reformation it ſelf, which I am
"directed to intimate to you, that you may pre-
"pare your Thoughts, Studies, and Meditations,
"accordingly, expecting their Lordſhips Pleaſure
"for the particular Points, as they ſhall ariſe.
"Dated *March* 12. 1640-1."

Their

King Charles I. 1641.

Their Names were theſe:

Their Names.

Dr. *Williams*, Bp. of *Lincoln*,
Dr. *Uſher*, Abp. of *Armagh*,
Dr. *Morton*, Bp. of *Durham*,
Dr. *Hall*, Bp. of *Exeter*,
Dr. *Samuel Ward*,
Dr. *John Prideaux*,
Dr. *Sanderſon*,
Dr. *Featly*,
Dr. *Brownrigge*,
Dr. *Holdſworth*,
Dr. *Hacket*,
Dr. *Twiſſe*,
Dr. *Burges*,
Mr. *White*,
Mr. *Marſhall*,
Mr. *Calamy*,
Mr. *Hill*.

Some others were named, but theſe were all that appeared; they conſulted together ſix ſeveral Days in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, the Dean entertaining them all the while at his Table. The Reſult of their Conferences was drawn up for the Debate of the COMMITTEE, in certain Propoſitions and *Queries*, under the following Heads:

I. *Innovations in* DOCTRINE.

Their Propoſitions and Queries.

1. "QUÆRE, Whether in the 20th Article theſe "Words are not inſerted, *The Church hath Authority* "*in Controverſies of Faith?*

2. "Several falſe Doctrines have been preached, "even all the Doctrines of the Council of *Trent*, abating only ſuch Points of State Popery againſt the "*King's Supremacy*, as were made Treaſon by the "Statute; for Example, ſome have preach'd Juſtification by Works; others, that Works of Penance are ſatisfactory before God; that private "Confeſſion is neceſſary to Salvation, *neceſſitate medii*; that Abſolution of a Prieſt is more than Declaratory; that the Lord's Supper is a true and "proper Sacrifice. Some have defended Prayer "for the Dead, and the Lawfulneſs of Monaſtic

King Charles I. 1641.

" Vows; ſome have denied the Morality of the Sabbath; ſome have preached, that Subjects are " bound to pay Taxes, contrary to the Laws of the " Realm; Some have defended the whole Subſtance " of *Arminianiſm*; and others have given juſt Occaſion of being ſuſpected of *Socinianiſm*.

3. " Several dangerous and reproveable Books " have been printed," which are mentioned in the Copy of their Proceedings, now before me.

II. *Innovations in* DISCIPLINE.

As, 1. " Turning the holy Table into an Altar.

2. " Bowing towards it, or to the Eaſt many " Times, with three Congees, at Acceſs or Receſs " in the Church.

3. " Placing Candleſticks on Altars in Parochial " Churches in the Day Time, and making Canopies " over them, with Curtains, in imitation of the Vail " of the Temple; advancing Crucifixes and Images upon the *Parafront* or Altar-Cloth, and compelling all Communicants to come up before the " Rails.

4. " Reading the Litany in the Body of the " Church, and ſome part of the Morning Prayer at " the Altar, when there is no Communion; and " the Miniſter's turning his Face to the Eaſt when " he pronounces the Creed, or reads Prayers.

5. " Offering Bread and Wine by the Hands of " the Church-Wardens, or others, before the Conſecration of the Elements. Having a *Credentia* or " Side-Table for the Lord's Supper. Introducing " an *Offertory* before the Communion, beſides the " giving Alms to the Poor afterwards.

6. Prohibiting Miniſters to expound the Catechiſm; ſuppreſſing Lectures on the Week Day, " and Sermons on Sunday Afternoon. Prohibiting " a direct Prayer before Sermons and *Bidding* of " Prayer.

7. " Sing-

7. " Singing *Te Deum* in proſe in Pariſh Churches. *King* " Standing up at the Hymns of the Church; and al- Charles I. " ways at *Gloria Patri*. Carrying Children from 1642. " Baptiſm to the Altar, to offer them to God; and " prohibiting the building Galleries in Churches, " where the Pariſhes are very populous.

8. " Introducing *Latin Service* in the Communion " at *Oxford*; and into Morning and Evening Prayer " in *Cambridge*.

9. " Pretending for their Innovations the Injun- " ctions and Advertiſements of Queen *Elizabeth*, " which are not in force, but appertain to the Li- " turgy, printed in the 2d and 3d of *Edw.* VI. " which the Parliament hath reformed and laid " aſide."

Memorandum for Reformation.

1. " That in all Cathedral and Collegiate " Churches two Sermons be preached every Sunday, " and likewiſe every Holiday; and one Lecture at " leaſt on working Days every Week in the Year.

2. " That the Muſick uſed in Cathedral and Col- " legiate Churches be framed with leſs Curioſity; " and that no Hymns or Anthems be uſed where " *Ditties* are framed by private Men, but ſuch as are " contained in the holy Scriptures, or in our Liturgy " or Prayers, or have publick Allowance.

3. " That the Reading Deſk be placed in the " Church, where Divine Service may be beſt heard " of the People."

III. *Conſiderations upon the Book of Common Prayer.*

1. " Whether the Names of ſome *departed Saints* " ſhould not be ſtruck out of the Calendar?

2. " Whether the *Rubrick* ſhould not be mended, " where all thoſe Veſtments are commanded which " were uſed in the 2d Year of *Edw.* VI?

King Charles I. 1641.

3. " Whether Leſſons of Canonical Scripture " ſhould not be inſerted into the Calendar inſtead of " *Apocrypha?*

4. " In the *Rubrick* for the Lord's Supper, whe- " ther it ſhould not be inſerted, that ſuch as intend " to communicate ſhall ſignify their Names to the " Curate over Night, or in the Morning before " Prayers?

5. " The next *Rubrick* to be explained, how far " a Miniſter may repulſe a ſcandalous and notorious " Sinner from the Communion?

6. " Whether it be not fit to inſert a *Rubrick*, " touching kneeling at the Communion, that it is " to comply in all Humility with the Prayer which " the Miniſter makes, when he delivers the Ele- " ments?

7. " Whether there ſhould not be a Rubrick to " take away all Offence from the *Croſs in Baptiſm*? " Or, whether it be more expedient that it be whol- " ly diſuſed? And, whether this Reaſon ſhall be " publiſhed, that in ancient Liturgies *no Croſs* was " ſigned upon the Party but where *Oil* alſo was uſed, " and therefore *Oil* being now omitted, ſo may that " which was concomitant with it, the Sign of the " Croſs?

8. " Whether the *Catechiſm* may not receive a " little more Enlargement?

9. " Whether the Times prohibited for Mar- " riage are quite to be taken away? Whether " thoſe Words in the Office, *With my Body I thee* " *worſhip*, ſhould not be thus altered, *I give thee* " *Power over my Body?* And, whether that part of " the *Rubrick*, which obliges the new married Per- " ſons to receive the *Communion* the ſame Day of " their Marriage, might not be changed for the " next Sunday, when the Communion is celebra- " ted?

10. " Whether in the *Abſolution* for the Sick it " were not better to ſay, *I pronounce thee abſolved?*

" And

" And in the Office for the Dead, inſtead of thoſe " Words, *In ſure and certain Hope of the Reſurrection* " *to Eternal Life*, whether it were not better to ſay, " *Knowing aſſuredly, that the Dead ſhall riſe again?*" *King* Charles I. 1641.

Some other Amendments of ſmaller Moment were propoſed, but theſe were the chief. No mention was made of a Reformation of Epiſcopacy, becauſe their Chairman, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had undertaken that Province, and accordingly preſented the Houſe of Lords with a reconciling Scheme, which was dropt after the firſt Reading. It conſiſted of ten Articles.

1. " That every Biſhop, being within his Dio- " ceſe, and not diſabled by ill Health, ſhall preach " once every Lord's Day, or pay five Pounds to " the Poor, to be levied by the next Juſtice of " Peace. *Bp.* Williams's *Scheme of Church Diſcipline.*

2. " That no Biſhop ſhall be a Juſtice of Peace, " except the Dean of *Weſtminſter* in *Weſtminſter* and " St. *Martin*'s. [This ſeems to be a Proviſo for " himſelf.]

3. " That every Biſhop ſhall have twelve Aſ- " ſiſtants beſides the Dean and Chapter; four to be " choſen by the King, four by the Lords, and four " by the Commons, for Juriſdiction and Ordina- " tion.

4. " That in all Vacancies, theſe Aſſiſtants, with " the Dean and Chapter, ſhall preſent to the King, " three of the ableſt Divines in the Dioceſe, who " ſhall chooſe one to be Biſhop.

5. " That Deans and Prebendaries ſhall not be " Non-Reſidents at their Cathedrals above ſixty " Days.

6. " That Sermons ſhall be preached in the Ca- " thedrals twice every Lord's Day, once every " Holiday, and a Lecture on *Wedneſdays*, with a " Salary of one Hundred Marks *per Annum*.

King Charles I. 1641.

7. "That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Collegiate "Churches, *&c.* ſhall be obliged to give a fourth "Part of their Fines, and improved Rents, to buy "in Impropriations.

8. "That all double beneficed Men ſhall pay the "Value of half their Living to the Curate.

9. "No Appeal ſhall be made to the Court of "Arches, or Court of Audience.

10. "It is propoſed, that Canons and Eccleſiaſti-"cal Conſtitutions ſhall be drawn up, and ſuited to "the Laws of the Realm, by ſixteen learned Per-"ſons, ſix to be nominated by the King, five by the "Lords, and five by the Commons.

Archbiſhop Uſher's *Reduction of Epiſcopacy to Synodical Government.*

Archbiſhop *Uſher* offered another Scheme, *for the Reduction of Epiſcopacy into the Form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church*; in which his *Grace* ſuppoſes, that of the many Elders that ruled the Church of *Epheſus*, there was one *ſtated Preſident* whom our Saviour calls the ANGEL; and whom *Ignatius*, in one of his Epiſtles, calls the BISHOP, to whom, in Conjunction with the Elders or Preſbyters, the whole Government of the Church, both as to Doctrine and Diſcipline, was committed. He therefore propoſes, that theſe be continued; and for a Regulation of their Juriſdiction, that *Suffragans* ſhould be appointed to hold *monthly Synods of Preſbyters*, from whom there ſhould be an Appeal to Dioceſan, Provincial, and National ones; and more particularly,

1. "That the Rector of every Pariſh, with the "Church-Wardens ſhould admoniſh and reprove "ſuch as live ſcandalouſly, according to the Qua-"lity of their Offence; and if by this means they "are not reclaimed, to preſent them to the next "*monthly Synod*, and in the mean Time debar them "the Lord's Table.

2. "Where-

2. " Whereas by a Statute of 26th *Henry* VIII. " *Suffragans* are appointed to be erected in twenty " ſix ſeveral Places of this Kingdom, the Number " of them may be conformed to the Number of the " ſeveral Rural Deanries, into which every Dioceſe " is ſubdivided; which being done, the *Suffragan* " may *every Month* aſſemble a Synod of the ſeveral " Rectors or Incumbent Paſtors within the Precinct, " and according to the major Part of their Votes " conclude all Matters that ſhould be brought into " Debate before them. *King Charles I. 1641.*

3. " A *Dioceſan Synod* might be held once or twice " a Year, wherein all the Suffragans, and the reſt of " the Rectors and Incumbent Paſtors, or a certain " ſelect Number out of every Deanry, within that " Dioceſe, might meet, with whoſe Conſent all " Things might be concluded by the Biſhop or Su- " perintendent; or in his *Abſence* by one of his *Suf-* " *fragans*, whom he ſhould appoint as Moderator " in his room; and here the Tranſactions of the " monthly Synods may be reviſed and reformed.

4. " The *Provincial* Synod may conſiſt of all the " Biſhops and Suffragans, and ſuch of the Clergy as " ſhould be elected out of every Dioceſe within the " Province: The Primate of either Province might " be Moderator, or in his room, one of the Biſhops " appointed by him. This Synod might be held " every third Year, and if the Parliament be ſit- " ting, both the Primates and Provincial Synods " might join together, and make up one National " Synod, wherein all Appeals from inferior Synods " might be received, all their Acts examined, and " all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs relating to the State of " the Church in general, eſtabliſh'd."

Several other Propoſals were made to the Houſe of Commons by thoſe *Puritans*, who were for altering ſome Things in the Church, but not for ROOT AND BRANCH; as, that his Majeſty ſhould be moved to call *Other reconciling Schemes.* Nalſon, p. 293.

King Charles I. 1641.

call a National Synod, or a ſelect Number of Divines of the three Nations under his Majeſty's Government; with an Intimation to all the reformed Churches to ſend their Deputies, to ſettle an uniform Model of Government for the Church of *England*, to be confirmed by Parliament, leaving to other Nations a Chriſtian Liberty in thoſe Forms of Diſcipline which are moſt agreeable to their Civil Government.

Others propoſed, "That the preſent Liturgy "might be continued, but that the Apocryphal "Leſſons be entirely omitted; that all Sentences "of Holy Scripture be according to the laſt Tranſlation; that the Word *Miniſter* be uſed inſtead "of *Prieſt*; with ſome other Amendments —— "That, with regard to Epiſcopal Government, Biſhops be obliged to conſtant Preaching in their "Metropolitan or Parochial Churches; —— that "they never ordain without Conſent of three or four "Preſbyters at leaſt; —— that they do not ſuſpend "by their ſole Authority, but with Conſent of "Preſbyters, and that for weighty Cauſes;—— that "none may be excommunicated but by the Biſhop "himſelf, with Conſent of the Paſtor in whoſe Pariſh the Delinquent dwells; and that for heinous "and very ſcandalous Crimes only. —— That the "Fees of Eccleſiaſtical Courts be regulated, and "that Biſhops Chancellors, and their Officials, may "be ſubject to the Cenſure of Provincial Synods "and Convocations."

The Committee of Accommodation breaks up.

But all theſe Attempts for Accommodation were blaſted, by the Stiffneſs of the Biſhops againſt all Relaxations, and by the Diſcovery of the Plot to bring the Army to *London* to diſſolve the Parliament; this put the Nation into a Ferment, and widened the Diſtance between the King and the two Houſes, upon which the *Committee* broke up about the middle of *May*, without bringing any Thing to Perfection. Mr. *Fuller* has obſerved very juſtly, "That the Mo-

"deration

" deration and mutual Compliance of theſe Divines, " might have ſaved the Body of Epiſcopacy, and " prevented the Civil War; but the *Court Biſhops* " expected no good from them, ſuſpecting the Do- " ctrinal Puritans (as they nick-named thoſe Bi- " ſhops and Epiſcopal Divines) joined with the Diſ- " ciplinary Puritans, would betray the Church be- " tween them. Some hot Spirits would abate no- " thing of Epiſcopal Power or Profit, but main- " tained, that the yielding any Thing was granting " the Day to the oppoſite Party." 'Tis the Ob- ſervation of another learned Writer, upon the Com- mittee's agreeing to have the Pſalms in the Liturgy printed according to the new Tranſlation; to ex- punge all Apocryphal Leſſons; to alter certain Paſ- ſages in the Book of Common Prayer; and ſome other Things, with which divers of the Preſbyte- rians ſaid they were ſatisfied, " That if the Epiſco- " pal Men had made theſe Conceſſions when they " were in full Power, they had prevented the Miſ- " chiefs that were coming upon them; but as " Things were at preſent, neither Side appeared very " well ſatisfied."

King Charles I. 1641.

Biſhop Kennet.

There were deep Reſentments in the Breaſts of both Parties; the Biſhops were incenſed at the bold Attacks of the Houſe of Commons upon their Peer- age and Spiritual Juriſdiction; and the *Puritans* had a quick Senſe of their former Sufferings, which made them reſtleſs till they had clipt their Wings. 'Tis very remarkable, and looks like an Appearance of the Divine Diſpleaſure againſt the *Spirit of theſe Times*, that Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Scheme, for the *Reduction of Epiſcopacy*, which would have ſatisfied the chief Body of the Puritans, could not be obtained at this Time from the King and the Biſhops; that afterwards, when the King offered this very Scheme at the Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, the Parliament and Puritan Divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their *Scots* Brethren. Again, when the *Preſbyterian Miniſters*,

Remarks.

King Charles I. 1641.

at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. preſented it to his Majeſty as a *Model* with which they were ſatisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole Body, both the King and Biſhops rejected it with Contempt, and would not ſuffer it to be debated.

Remarks upon Mr. Rapin.

It may not be improper in this Place, to make a few Remarks upon this Part of Mr. RAPIN's *Accurate and judicious Hiſtory of* England, who in his Account of theſe Times ſeems to repreſent the Body of the *Puritans* to be *Preſbyterians*, and as having formed a Conſpiracy againſt the whole Fabrick of the Church, from the very beginning of the Parliament; whereas the State of the Controverſy was now changed: In the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. the Puritans were for the moſt part Preſbyterians, though even then there were many *Epiſcopalians* among them; but from the Time that Arminianiſm prevailed in the Church, and the whole Body of the Calviniſts came to be diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Doctrinal Puritans*, both Parties ſeemed to unite in a *moderate Epiſcopacy*, for there was little or no mention of the old *Book of Diſcipline* for twenty Years before the beginning of the Civil War, all the Controverſy being upon *Points of Calviniſm*; upon a *Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the Biſhops*; and upon *Innovations* (as they were called) and *Ceremonies*. There were few either among the Clergy or Laity, that had a Zeal for *Preſbytery*, or deſired any more than to be rid of their Oppreſſions. But Mr. *Rapin* is of Opinion, that *among the Members of Parliament there were real Preſbyterians, who thought, no doubt, of altering the whole Government of the Church. Theſe are repreſented as deep Politicians, as working under Ground, and making uſe of all kinds of Artifices to accompliſh their Deſigns, which they took care not to diſcover.* He owns, indeed, that *the Preſbyterians were not very numerous in the Houſe, but that they were ſupported by a pretty great Party in the Kingdom, and particularly*

Vol. XI. p. 63, 65, 360.

ticularly by the Scots. All which ſeems to me to require ſtronger Evidence than he has been able to produce. I have ſhewn from Lord *Clarendon*, that both Houſes of Parliament at their firſt ſitting down, were almoſt to a Man for the Conſtitution of the Church; that they aimed at no more than a Redreſs of Grievances; and that there were not above two or three in both Houſes that were for *Root and Branch*. That all the Members received the Communion according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, at their firſt ſitting down, and brought a Certificate of their having ſo done. That the Petition of the *Puritan Miniſters* was not for ſetting up *Preſbytery*, but only for reforming the Grievances of the Hierarchy; the Controverſy between Biſhop *Hall* and the *Smectymnuan* Divines, proceeded on the ſame foot, as did the *Committee of Accommodation*. In ſhort, when the Parliament was obliged to fly to the *Scots* for their Aſſiſtance in the War, and to receive their *Covenant*; and when afterwards they found it neceſſary to pay the utmoſt Deference to their Advices, leſt they ſhould withdraw their Army, and leave them to the Mercy of an enraged King; they could never, in the worſt of Times, be induced to eſtabliſh *their Diſcipline* in the Church of *England*, without a Reſerve of the Eccleſiaſtical Power to themſelves. And as to the Miniſters that made up the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, though in a Courſe of Time they carried Things very high, yet I am of Opinion with Mr. *Fuller*, that at firſt *they rather favoured the Preſbyterian Diſcipline, or were brought over to embrace it by the* Scots, than that they came thither poſſeſſed with Sentiments of its *Divine Authority*. However 'tis certain, that at the *Reſtoration* theſe very Divines offer'd to give it up for Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Model of Primitive Epiſcopacy.

King Charles I. 1641.

B. IX. P. 198.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſoon after the beginning of the Parliament there were many among the common People that were for ROOT and BRANCH,

King Charles I. 1641.

being ſupported by the *Scots Commiſſioners*, who had conceived an implacable Antipathy againſt the Order of Biſhops, which they had voted *contrary to the Word of God.* But this was not the Caſe of the Puritan Clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the Tyranny of the Biſhops, and were willing to leave the Parliament to model the Government of the Church as they pleaſed. But as the Influence of the *Scots* over the two Houſes encreaſed, *Preſbytery* prevailed; and when the Parliament were at their Mercy, and forced to ſubmit to what Conditions they would impoſe upon them for their Aſſiſtance, the *Kirk Diſcipline* was in its Aſcendant, and at length advanced into a *Divine Right* in the Aſſembly of Divines; but the Parliament would never come into it, and when the *Scots* were gone home it dwindled by degrees, till it was almoſt totally eclipſed by the riſing Greatneſs of the *Independants.*

It appears therefore to me, that there was no formed Deſign as yet, either in the Houſe of Commons, or among the Puritan Clergy, to ſubvert the *Hierarchy*, and erect the Preſbyterian Government upon its Ruins; there were no conſiderable Number of Preſbyterian Miniſters in the Nation; and the leading Members in both Houſes were known to be of another Stamp. "We are confident (ſays the King, in his Letter to the Council of *Scotland*, *Aug.* 26.) "that the moſt conſiderable Perſons in "both Houſes of Parliament, and thoſe who make "the faireſt Pretenſions to you of Uniformity in "Church Government, will no ſooner embrace a "*Preſbyterial* than you an *Epiſcopal.*" And Biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks the ſame Language. So that what was done in the Houſe of Commons afterwards, was the Reſult of the Situation of their Affairs, and not of any formed Deſign: As *that* changed, ſo did their Councils and Meaſures. The contrary to this ought not to be ſuppoſed, but proved by inconteſtable Matters of Fact, which neither Mr. *Rapin*, nor

Ham. Mem. B. IV. p. 197.

any other Hiſtorian that I have read, has yet done. And I will venture to ſay, that if there were ſuch inviſible Preſbyterians behind the Curtain, that deſigned the Subverſion of the Hierarchy, and blew it up as it were without Hands, they muſt have been abler Stateſmen, and Maſters of much more worldly Politicks, than their Poſterity have ever been remarkable for. *King* Charles I. 1641.

To return to the Parliament; there were two Bills that affected the Prerogative now ready for the Royal Aſſent; one *to aboliſh the Court of High Commiſſion, and regulate the Privy Council*; the other, *to take away the Star Chamber.* To induce the King to paſs them more readily, the Commons ſent up a *Money Bill* with them; but when the King came to the Houſe [*July* 3.] he paſſed the Money Bill, but told the Houſes, he muſt take ſome Time to conſider of the others; which diſguſted the Commons ſo much, that they returned to their Houſe and immediately adjourned. At their next Meeting they fell into new Heats, which his Majeſty being informed of, came to the Houſe of Peers, and having ſent for the Commons reprimanded them for their Jealouſies, and then paſſed the Bills; he alſo put them in mind what he had done this Seſſion; "That he had yielded, that the Judges ſhould "hold their Places *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; that "he had given away his Right to *Ship Money*; "granted a Law for Triennial Parliaments, and for "ſecuring the Money borrowed for diſbanding the "Armies; in a Word, that he had hitherto given "way to every Thing, and therefore *they ſhould not* "*wonder, if in ſome Things he began now to refuſe.*" Lord *Clarendon* inſinuates, that the King paſſed theſe Bills with Reluctance; from whence another ingenious Writer concludes, that if ever the Miniſtry could regain their Power, 'twas likely they would adviſe his Majeſty to declare them void, as being extorted from him by force and violence.

King's Conduct at paſſing the Bills for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion and Star Chamber.

Nalſon, p. 327.

The

King Charles I. 1641.

Act for aboliſhing the Court of High Commiſſion

The Act for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion Court repeals that Branch of the Statute, 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. upon which this Court was founded, and then enacts, "That no Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Vicars "General, Chancellor, or Official, nor Commiſſa- "ry of any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Vicar General, "or any other Spiritual, or Eccleſiaſtical Officer, "ſhall by any Grant, Licenſe or Commiſſion from "the King, his Heirs or Succeſſors, after the 1ſt of "*Auguſt*, 1641. award, impoſe, or inflict any "Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amercement, Impriſon- "ment, or other Corporal Puniſhment, upon any "of the King's Subjects, for any Contempt, Miſ- "demeanor, Crime, Matter or Thing whatſoever, "belonging to Spiritual, or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdi- "ction, or ſhall *ex Officio* tender or adminiſter to any "Perſon, any corporal Oath, to make any Pre- "ſentment of any Crime, or to confeſs or accuſe "himſelf of any Crime, Offence, Delinquency, or "Miſdemeanor, whereby he or ſhe may be liable "to any Puniſhment whatſoever, under Penalty of "treble Charges, and one hundred Pounds to him "or them who ſhall firſt demand or ſue for the "ſame. And it is further enacted, that after the "ſaid firſt of *Auguſt*, 1641. no new Court ſhall be "erected, or deemed, or appointed, that ſhall "have the like Power, Juriſdiction, or Authority, "as the *High Commiſſion Court* had, or pretended to "have, but all ſuch Commiſſions, Letters Patents, "*&c.* from the King, or his Succeſſors; and all "Acts, Sentences and Decrees, made by virtue "thereof, ſhall be utterly void."

Remarks. By the paſſing this Bill all coercive Power of Church Conſiſtories was taken away, and the Spiritual Sword, that had done ſuch terrible Execution in the Hands of ſome Biſhops, was put into the Scabbard. It was very extraordinary that the Biſhops, who were then in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould ſo ſupinely ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized out of their Power.

Power. Some were ready to obſerve a Hand of Juſtice, (ſays Mr. *Fuller*) that ſeeing many ſimple Souls, by captious Interrogatories, had been circumvented by the High Commiſſion Court into a ſelf-Accuſation, an unſuſpected Clauſe in this Statute ſhould aboliſh all their lawful Authority; for there is no Proviſo in the Act to confine it only to the *High Commiſſion*, but it extends to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Officers in any of their Courts. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that the King was apprehenſive that the Body of the Bill exceeded the Title, and therefore made a Pauſe in conſenting to it, but that ſome Biſhops prevailed with his Majeſty to ſign it, to take off the Odium from that *Bench*, of their being Enemies to all Reformation; for it was inſinuated (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) that ſince they oppoſed a due Regulation of their Power, there would be no way but to cut them off *Root and Branch*.

King Charles I. 1641.

Book XI. p. 181.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 284.

The Act for taking away the *Star Chamber*, and regulating the Privy Council, diſſolves the ſaid Court from the firſt of *Aug.* 1641. "and repeals all "thoſe Acts, or Clauſes of Acts of Parliament, by "which any Juriſdiction, Power, or Authority, is "given to the ſaid Court, or to any of the Officers "or Miniſters thereof. And it ordains further, "that neither his Majeſty, nor his Privy Council, "have, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, "or Authority, by *Engliſh* Bill, Petition, Articles, "Libel, or other arbitrary Way, to examine or "draw in queſtion, determine, or diſpoſe of the "Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or "Chattles, of any of the Subjects of this Kingdom."

Star Chamber aboliſhed.

Thus fell the two chief Engines of the late arbitrary Proceedings in Church and State, which had the Liberties and Eſtates of many religious and pious Families to anſwer for. By the *Proviſo* in the Act for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion, that *no new Court ſhall be*

King Charles I. 1641.

be erected with like Powers for the future: It appears how odious their Proceedings were in the Eyes of the Nation. Lord *Clarendon* admits, that the taking away the Star Chamber at this Time was very popular; but is of Opinion, that it would be no leſs politick in the Crown to revive it when the preſent Diſtempers are expired; but I ſhould hope an *Engliſh* Parliament would never conſent to it.

Vol. I. p. 285.

Manifeſto in favour of the Palatine Family.

When the King had ſigned the two Bills, he deſired the Advice of his Parliament, concerning a *Manifeſto* which he intended to ſend to the Diet of *Ratiſbon* in favour of the *Palatine Family*, in which he declares, that he will not abandon the Intereſts of his Siſter and Nephews, but will employ all his Force and Power in their behalf unleſs they are reſtored. This was highly acceptable to the Puritans, who had always the Intereſts of that Houſe at Heart. The Manifeſto was read *July* 7. when the Commons declared their Approbation of it, and reſolved, to give his Majeſty ſuch Aſſiſtance therein, as ſhall ſtand with the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Intereſt and Affections of his Kingdom, if the preſent Treaty does not ſucceed. The *Peers* concurred in the ſame Vote, and both Houſes deſired the King to recommend it to the Parliament of *Scotland*; which his Majeſty promiſed. Many warm Speeches were made on this Occaſion in favour of the Queen of *Bohemia*, by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*. " The reſtoring the Prince " to his Electorate (ſays Sir *Benjamin*) will reſtore " the Proteſtant Religion there; it will ſtrengthen " and increaſe it in *Germany*, which is of great and " vaſt Conſequence. It will likewiſe refreſh and " comfort the needful Heart of that moſt noble, vir- " tuous, and magnanimouſly ſuffering Queen of " *Bohemia* his Majeſty's Siſter, and his Highneſs's " Mother, who is ever to be highly and tenderly re- " garded by this Houſe, and by this Kingdom —" Mr. *Denzil Hollis* ſaid, " The Houſe of Commons " looks

Ruſhw. p. 310.

Nalſon, p. 368, 378.

" looks upon thoſe diſtreſſed Princes of ſo glorious " an Extraction, with an Eye of Tenderneſs, wiſh- " ing every drop of that princely Blood may ever be " illuſtrated with Honour and Happineſs — To " hear that theſe Princes ſhould have their Patrimo- " ny taken from them, and ſuffer Things ſo unwor- " thy of their Birth and Relation, is a Thing that " makes our Ears to tingle, and our Hearts to riſe " within us — But there is another Motive which " has an irreſiſtible Operation with us, which is the " Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion — The " Proteſtant Religion and this Kingdom muſt live " and die together; and 'tis Madneſs to ſuppoſe the " Proteſtant Religion can continue here, if we ſuf- " fer it to be deſtroyed and eradicated out of the " Neighbour Countries — Religion is the Heart of " *England*, and *England* is the Heart of the Proteſtant " Religion in all the other Parts of Chriſtendom; " let us therefore, like wiſe Men, that foreſee the " Evil afar off, rather meet it at a Diſtance, than " ſtay till the *Auſtrian* Ambition, and Popiſh Power " comes to our Door." Theſe were the Sentiments of the *Puritans* in this Parliament, with reſpect to the Anceſtors of his preſent Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Religion. The Queen of *Bohemia* was ſo ſenſible of their particular Regards for her Family, that ſhe ſent them her Thanks; but the *Manifeſto* came to nothing.

King Charles I. 1641.

Ruſhw. P. 316.

Ib. p. 357.

The Commons not being able to come at their intended Alterations in the Church, while the Bench of Biſhops remained entire in the Houſe of Peers, formed ſeveral Schemes to divide them: It was firſt propoſed to ſet large Fines upon both Houſes of Convocation for compiling the late Canons, and a Bill was brought in for that purpoſe; but upon better Conſideration it was thought more effectual for the preſent, to make Examples of thoſe Biſhops only, that were the principal Movers in that Affair; agreeably to this Reſolution a Committee was appointed,

Further Attacks upon the Biſhops.

King Charles I. 1641.

pointed, *July* 31. to draw up an Impeachment againſt one half of the Bench (*viz.*) Dr. *Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Curle* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Wright* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Dr. *Goodman* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *Hall* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Owen* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Dr. *Pierſe* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Roberts* Biſhop of *Bangor*, Dr. *Skinner* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Warner* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Towers* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Owen* Biſhop of *Landaff*.

Thirteen Biſhops impeached for compiling the Canons. Ruſhw. p. 359.

The Impeachment was of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, "*For making and publiſhing the late Canons, "contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws of the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, and to the Property and Liberty of the Subject; "and containing Matters tending to Sedition, and of "dangerous Conſequence*; and *for granting a Benevolence or Contribution to his Majeſty, to be paid by the "Clergy of that Province, contrary to Law.*" It was carried up to the Lords *Auguſt* 4. by Serjeant *Wild*, who demanded, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, that the Biſhops might be forthwith put to anſwer the Crimes and Miſdemeanors abovementioned, *in the Preſence of the Houſe of Commons*; and that ſuch further Proceedings might be had againſt them as to Law and Juſtice appertained. The Commons were in hopes, that the Biſhops would have quitted their Votes in Parliament to be diſcharged of the *Præmunire*; but they reſolved to abide by their Right, and therefore only deſired Time to prepare their Anſwer, and Council for their Aſſiſtance; accordingly they were allowed three Months Time to put in their Anſwer, and Council of their own Nomination, (*viz.*) Serjeant *Jermin*, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Herne*, and Mr. *Hales*.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 183.

They fall into Neglect.

But from this Time the Biſhops fell under a general Diſregard; the Cry of the Populace was againſt them, as the chief Impediments of all Reformation in Church and State; and even the Temporal Peers treated

treated them with Neglect, expreſſing their Diſlike at the Biſhop of *London*'s being ſtiled *Right Honourable*. Beſides, *the Lords Spiritual* were not diſtinctly mentioned in the Bills that paſt this Seſſion, according to ancient Uſage; the Clerk of the Parliament, in reading the Bills to the Houſe, turned his Back upon the Bench of Biſhops; and when the Houſes went in a Body to Church on a Faſt Day, the Temporal Barons gave themſelves Precedency of the Biſhops. Theſe were the Preludes to their Downfal, which happen'd about ſix Months forward, though from this Time they were little better than Cyphers in the Houſe. *King* Charles I. 1641.

The King reſolves upon a Progreſs into Scotland *to diſunite that Nation from the Parliament.*

Theſe reſolute Proceedings againſt the Biſhops put the Court upon forming new Projects to break up the Parliament. It was obſerved, that the Strength and Courage of the Houſe of Commons roſe from their Confederacy with the *Scots*, whoſe Army in the North was entirely in their Intereſt; it was therefore reſolved in Council, to diſunite that Nation (if poſſible) from the Parliament, and to bring them over to the King, by yielding every Thing they ſhould deſire; for this purpoſe his Majeſty declared his Reſolution to the two Houſes, to viſit his native Country in Perſon within fourteen Days, and deſired them to finiſh the Bills that were before them by that Time. The *Commons* being aware of the Deſign, and apprehenſive of Danger, if the King ſhould put himſelf at the Head of the *Engliſh* Army in the North, ſent away the Earl of *Holland* immediately with Money to pay them off, which was done without Mutiny or Diſturbance; but the Buſineſs of the Houſes being very urgent, and the Time ſhort, they voted, that in this Caſe of great Neceſſity, concerning the Peace of the Kingdom, they would ſit the next Day, being *Sunday*, by ſix a Clock in the Morning; which they did, and having heard a Sermon, returned to the Houſe about nine, and ſat all Day long on the

King Charles I. 1641.

Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday [*Auguſt* 8. 1641.] But leſt this might be miſconſtrued as a Profanation, or be drawn into Example, they publiſhed the following Declaration;

Ruſhw. p. 362. Nalſon, p. 436.

"WHereas both Houſes of Parliament found it "fit to ſit in Parliament upon the 8th of "*Auguſt*, being Lord's Day, for many urgent Oc- "caſions, being ſtraiten'd in Time, by his Maje- "ſty's Reſolution to go within a Day or two to "*Scotland*, they think fit to declare, that they would "not have done this but upon inevitable Neceſſity; "the Peace and Safety of both Church and State "being ſo deeply concerned, which they do hereby "declare, to this end, that neither any other infe- "rior Court or Council, or any other Perſon, may "draw this into Example, or make uſe of it for "their Encouragement, in neglecting the due Ob- "ſervation of the Lord's Day."

The ſame Vote paſſed the Houſe of Lords *Nemine Contradicente*, and was ordered to be printed.

Auguſt 10. his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and gave his Aſſent to a Bill concerning *Knighthood*; againſt the Oppreſſions of the *Stannary* Courts; for regulating the *Clerks of Markets*; and for confirming and ratifying the *Peace* [or Pacification] *with the Scots*. This laſt being an Affair of great Conſequence, I ſhall give the Reader an Abſtract of the Treaty, which had been depending ever ſince *Nov.* 23. 1640. between the Commiſſioners of both Nations, who agreed to the following Concluſions [*Aug.* 7.] which the King ratified and confirmed, the very Day he ſet out for *Scotland*.

Abſtract of the Pacification with Scotland.

"That the Acts of Parliament held at *Edin- "burgh*, *June* 2. be publiſhed by his Majeſty's "Authority, and have in all Time to come the full "Strength of Laws.

"That

" That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and other Forts of *Scotland*, ſhould be furniſhed and uſed for the Defence of the Kingdom, with the Advice of the States of Parliament. *King* Charles I. 1641.

" That all thoſe who in *England* or *Ireland* have been impriſoned, or otherwiſe cenſured for *ſubſcribing the Covenant*, and for refuſing to take the Oath contrary to the ſame, ſhall be releaſed and freed from ſuch Cenſures; and for the Time to come, the Subjects of *Scotland* living in *Scotland*, ſhall not be obliged to any Oaths contrary to the Laws or Religion of that Kingdom; but if they come to reſide in *England* or *Ireland*, they ſhall be ſubject to the Laws, as others are.

" That all his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice ſhall be free and open againſt all evil Counſellors and Delinquents; that the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhall have liberty to proceed againſt ſuch; and that his Majeſty will not employ any Perſon, in any Office or Place, who ſhall be judged incapable by Sentence of Parliament; nor make uſe of their Service, nor grant them Acceſs to his Royal Perſon, without Conſent of Parliament.

" That all Ships and Goods on both Sides be reſtored, and that three hundred Thouſand Pounds be given to the *Scots* by the *Engliſh*, for their friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief.

" That all Declarations, Proclamations, *&c.* that have been publiſhed againſt the Loyalty and Dutifulneſs of his Majeſty's Subjects of *Scotland* be recalled and ſuppreſſed; and that at the Cloſe of the Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majeſty's ſaid Subjects ſhall be made known at the Time of publick Thankſgiving in all Places, and particularly in all Pariſh Churches of his Majeſty's Dominions.

King Charles I. 1641.

" That the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* be " removed, and all Things be reduced to the State " they were in before the late Troubles.

" Whereas Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in " Church Government has been deſired by the *Scots*, " as a ſpecial Means for preſerving the Peace be- " tween both Kingdoms, *his Majeſty, with the Ad-* " *vice of both Houſes of Parliament, doth approve of the* " *Affection of his Subjects of* Scotland, *in their Deſire of* " *having a Conformity of Church Government between* " *the two Nations.* And as the Parliament hath al- " ready taken into Conſideration the Reformation of " Church Government, ſo they will proceed therein " in due Time, as ſhall beſt conduce to the Glory of " God, the Peace of the Church, and of both King- " doms.

" That the *Prince of Wales* ſhall be permitted to " repair into *Scotland*, and reſide there, as there ſhall " be Occaſion.

" That his Majeſty will give ear to the Informa- " tions of Parliament, and when that is not ſitting, " to the Council and College of Juſtice, ſo far as to " make Choice of *ſome one* of ſuch, as they, by " common Conſent, ſhall recommend to Places of " Truſt in the Council, the Seſſion, and other Ju- " dicatures. Or if his Majeſty ſhall think any other " Perſon fit, he ſhall acquaint his Parliament, to the " intent, that if by their Information any juſt Excep- " tion ſhall be made to the ſaid Perſon, his Majeſty " may nominate another.

" That ſome Noblemen, *&c.* of the *Scots* Nation, " ſhall be placed about the King; and that his Ma- " jeſty will endeavour to give juſt Satisfaction to his " People, with regard to his placing none but Per- " ſons of the Reformed Religion about his own and " the Prince's Perſon."

Then follows an Act of Oblivion, with Excep- tion to the *Scots* Prelates, and four others; and

in

in the Cloſe the Ratification of the whole, in theſe Words; *King* Charles I. 1641.

" Be it enacted by his Majeſty, with the Aſſent of " the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament " aſſembled, that the ſaid Treaty, and all the Arti- " cles thereof, be, and ſtand for ever ratified and " eſtabliſhed, and have the Force, Vigor, Strength " and Authority of a Law, Statute, and Act of " Parliament —— And his Majeſty, for himſelf " and his Succeſſors, promiſes in *verbo principis*, ne- " ver to come in the Contrair of this Statute and " Sanction, nor any Thing therein contained, but " to hold the ſame in all Points firm and ſtable, " and cauſe it to be truly obſerved, according to the " Tenor and Intent thereof, now and for ever ——. " And the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpective- " ly give full Aſſurance, and make publick Faith, " for the true and faithful Obſervation of this Trea- " ty, *&c. hinc inde*, in all Times to come."

Biſhop *Burnet* very juſtly obſerves a Colluſion in the King's approving the deſire of his *Scots* Subjects for *Uniformity of Church Government*; his Majeſty wiſhed it as much as they, but with a very different View; the King was for bringing them to the *Engliſh* Standard, whereas the *Scots* intended to bring the *Engliſh* to theirs; but, as has been obſerved, his Majeſty was reſolved to contradict them in nothing, that he might break the Confederacy between the two Nations; for Lord *Saville* had now informed him of the Correſpondence of ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility with the *Scots*, which encouraged them to raiſe an Army and march to the Borders; he had ſhown him a Copy of the Letter, with the forged Names of *Eſſex*, *Bedford*, *Mandeville*, and others, exciting them to aſſert the Liberties of their Church and Nation, and promiſing all the Aſſiſtance they could give with Safety to themſelves. His Majeſty therefore reſolved to gain over the *Scots*, that he might be at liberty to proſecute

King Charles I. 1641.

the *Inviters*, and recover his Prerogative in *England*, which he knew he could accompliſh by the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*, if the *Engliſh* Puritans were but left to themſelves. The Parliament were aware of the Deſign, and therefore appointed one Lord and two Commoners to follow his Majeſty to *Scotland*, in order to keep up a good Correſpondence with the Parliament of that Nation, and to exhort them, ſince they had gained their own Liberties by the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Parliament, not to deſert them till the *Engliſh* alſo had recovered theirs.

King's Progreſs into Scotland.

The King ſet out Poſt *Auguſt* 10. and arrived at *Edinburgh* in three or four Days; the Parliament met *Auguſt* 19. when his Majeſty acquainted them in a moſt gracious Speech, That the End of his Coming into his native Country, was to quiet the Diſtractions of the Kingdom, "and this I mind (ſays his "Majeſty) fully and chearfully to perform, for I "aſſure you, I can do nothing with more cheerfulneſs, than to give my People a general Satisfaction; wherefore not offering to endear my ſelf to "you in Words, which is not my way, I deſire in "the firſt Place to ſettle that which concerns Religion, and the juſt Liberties of this my native "Country, before I proceed to any other Act."

Ruſhw. p. 382.

His Conceſſions.

Accordingly his Majeſty allowed of their late Proceedings in oppoſing the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and erecting Tables in defence of their Liberties; he confirmed the Acts of their Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, which declared, that *the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops was contrary to the Word of God, and was therefore aboliſhed.* The Reverend Mr. *Henderſon* waited on the King as his Chaplain, and was appointed to provide Preachers for him while he was in that Country, his Majeſty having declared, that he would conform to their Manner of Worſhip while he was among them. Mr. *Henderſon* had the Rent of the Royal Chapel; Mr. *Gilleſpie* had a Penſion, and the Profeſſors of the ſeveral Univerſities had their Proviſions aug-

augmented, by the Revenues formerly belonging to the Biſhops. His Majeſty conferred Titles of Honour upon many of their Gentry; and all Parties were ſo well pleaſed, that it was ſaid, when his Majeſty left the Kingdom, That he departed a contented King from a contented People. *King Charles I. 1641.*

No ſooner was the King returned home but the *Engliſh* Biſhops reproached his Majeſty with his Conceſſions, eſpecially for admitting *the* Engliſh *Hierarchy to be contrary to the Word of God.* They told him, he had unravell'd that Web which his Father and himſelf had been weaving in that Country for above forty Years, and inſtead of making the *Scots* his Friends, that he had only created a new Thirſt in the *Engliſh* Parliament to follow their Example. Theſe Remonſtrances had ſuch an Influence upon the unhappy King, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. *Saunderſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, when he was in the Iſle of *Wight*, that two Errors did much afflict him, *his conſenting to the Earl of* Strafford's *Death, and his aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in* Scotland; and that if God ſhould ever reſtore him to the peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Crown, he would demonſtrate his Repentance by a publick Confeſſion, and a voluntary Penance (I think, ſays the Dr.) by going bare Foot from the *Tower* of *London*, or *Whitehall*, to St. *Paul*'s, and deſiring the People to intercede with God for him. This ſhews, how much Superſtition ſtill remained in his Majeſty's Make and Conſtitution, when he could imagine, the going bare Foot through the Streets could atone for his Miſtakes; and how little Dependance was to be had upon his Promiſes and Declarations, that even in the Year 1648. when the Neceſſity of his Affairs obliged him to conſent to an Uniformity of *Preſbyterian Government* in both Nations, he could declare in private to his Chaplain, that if *he was ever reſtored to his Throne, he would do publick Penance for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in* Scotland. Upon the whole, the King's *Upon his Return to* England *he repents of them.*

King Charles I. 1641.

Journey into his native Country did him no Service; for though the *Scots* were pleaſed with his Majeſty's Conceſſions, they durſt not depend upon them as long as he was under the Direction of the *Queen* and the *Engliſh Biſhops*, but thought themſelves obliged, from Gratitude, Affection, and Intereſt, to cultivate a good Underſtanding with the *Engliſh* Parliament, and aſſiſt them in recovering their Religion and Liberties.

Thankſgiving for the Pacification. Nalſon, p. 477.

Upon the Day of Thankſgiving for the *Pacification* between the two Nations [*September* 7.] Biſhop *Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, without any Direction from his Superiors, compoſed a *Form of Prayer* for the Service of the Day, with which the Houſe of Commons were offended, and came to this Reſolution, "That the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had no Power to "ſet forth any Prayer to be read on the publick "Thankſgiving; and that no Miniſter is obliged to "read the ſaid Prayer; and the Houſe is of Opi-"nion, and doth order, that the ſaid Prayer be "not read in the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, or elſe-"where." Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Marſhall* preached before the Commons, and read the following Order, appointed by both Houſes to be publiſhed in all the Churches throughout *England*, with his Majeſty's Conſent.

Scots declared to be the King's faithful Subjects.

"WHereas according to the Act of this preſent Parliament, for Confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification, it was deſired by the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, that the Loyalty and Faithfulneſs of his Majeſty's Subjects [of *Scotland*] might be made known at the Time of Thankſgiving, in all Places, and particularly in all Pariſh Churches of his Majeſty's Dominions; *which Requeſt was graciouſly condeſcended to by his Majeſty, and confirmed by the ſaid Act*: It is now ordered and commanded by both Houſes of Parliament, that the ſame be effectually done in all Pariſh Churches "through-

" throughout this Kingdom, on *Tueſday*, *Sept.* 7. at " the Time of the publick Thankſgiving, by the re- " ſpective Miniſters of each Pariſh, or their Curates, " who are hereby required to read this preſent Or- " der in the Church."

King Charles I. 1641.

The Order being read, the Miniſters declared, that notwithſtanding all that had paſt in the late Commotions, the *Scots* Nation were ſtill his Majeſty's faithful and loyal Subjects. Thus as the calling and continuance of an *Engliſh* Parliament, after twelve Years interval, was owing to the marching of the *Scots* Army into the North of *England*, it was by the powerful Support and Aſſiſtance of that Parliament, and the Expence of a Million of Money, that the *Scots* obtained the preſent *Pacification*, with the full Recovery of their Kirk Diſcipline and Civil Liberties.

Unſettled State of Religion.

In the midſt of this Ferment of the Spirits of Men, the Workings of oppoſite Councils, and the taking the Sword out of the Hands of the Spiritual Courts, it is not to be wonder'd that the State of Religion was unſettled, and that Men began to practiſe with ſome Latitude in Points of Ceremony and Forms of Worſhip. It has been obſerved, that in the beginning of the Year the Houſe of Commons had ordered Commiſſions to be ſent into all the Counties of *England*, for removing the late Innovations; *June* 28. It was further ordered, " That nei- " ther Univerſity ſhould do Reverence to the Com- " munion Table." And *Aug.* 31. " That the " Church Wardens of the ſeveral Pariſhes ſhall " forthwith remove the Communion Table from the " eaſt End of the Churches where they ſtand Altar- " wiſe, and take away the Rails, and level the Chan- " cels, as before the late Innovations." Upon complaint of the want of Sermons, and that the Incumbents, in many Places, would not admit Preachers into their Pulpits, though the Pariſh maintained them,

Votes of the Houſe of Commons concerning the Communion Table.

Nalſon, p. 288, 383.

King Charles I. 1641.

For Encouragement of Preaching.

them, it was order'd, *June* 14. "That the Deans "and Chapters of all *Cathedrals* be required, and "enjoined, to ſuffer the Inhabitants to have free Li- "berty to have a Sermon preached in their Cathe- "drals every Sunday in the Afternoon." *July* 12. ordered, "That in all *Parochial Churches* where "there is no Preaching in the Afternoon, if the Pa- "riſhioners will not maintain a conformable Lectu- "rer at their own Charge, the Parſon or Vicar ſhall "give way to it, unleſs he will preach himſelf." *Sept.* 6. order'd, "That it be lawful for the Pariſhi- "oners of any Pariſh to ſet up a *Lecture*, and to "maintain an *orthodox Miniſter* at their own Charge, "to preach every Lord's Day where there is no "Preaching, and to preach one Day every Week "where there is no weekly Lecture." But not- withſtanding theſe Votes, ſome Biſhops inhibited Preaching on Sundays in the Afternoon; and in par- ticular Dr. *Montague*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, upon which the Commons voted, "That his Lordſhip's "Inhibition of the Reverend Mr. *Carter* to preach "in his own Pariſh Church, was void; and that "*every Miniſter may preach in his own Pariſh Church* "*as often as he pleaſes.*"

Committee for preaching Miniſters. Claren. Vol. I. p. 295.

Many Petitions being ſent from divers Counties for preaching Miniſters, a Committee of forty Mem- bers of the Houſe, called the COMMITTEE FOR PREACHING MINISTERS, was appointed to ſend Mi- niſters where there were Vacancies, and to provide for their Maintenance. Theſe Gentlemen recom- mended many of the late ſilenced Miniſters, as the Reverend Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Marſhal*, *Sedgwick*, *Bur- roughs*, whom ſome of the Vicars refuſed to admit into their Pulpits, or at leaſt diſſuaded their Pari- ſhioners from hearing them, for which ſome of them were required to attend the Committee; and becauſe great Complaints were made to the Houſe, of the Idleneſs and Viciouſneſs of the Country Clergy, ano- ther Committee was appointed to examine into ſuch

And for ſcandalous Miniſters.

Complaints, and was called the COMMITTEE FOR SCANDALOUS MINISTERS.

King Charles I. 1641.

The Day before the Receſs of the Parliament, [*Sept.* 8.] it was reſolved by the Commons, "That "the *Lord's Day* ſhould be duly obſerved and ſanctified; that all Dancing, or other Sports either before or after Divine Service, be forborn and reſtrained; and that the preaching of God's Word "be promoted in the Afternoon, in the ſeveral "Churches and Chapels of this Kingdom; and that "Miniſters and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. "The Chancellors of the two Univerſities, the "Heads of Colleges, all Patrons, Vicars, and "Church Wardens, are to make certificate of the "Performance of theſe Orders; and all Defaulters "to be returned to Parliament before the 30th of "*October* next — Order'd further, That all Crucifixes, "ſcandalous Pictures of any one or more Perſons of "the Trinity; and all Images of the *Virgin Mary* ſhall "be taken away and aboliſhed; and that all Tapers, "Candleſticks, and Baſins, be removed from the "Communion Table. — That all corporal Reverences at the Name of JESUS, or towards the Eaſt End "of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, or towards the "Communion Table, be forborn." Theſe Orders to be obſerved in all Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, in the two Univerſities, by the reſpective Officers and Miniſters of theſe Places, and by the Readers and Benchers of the Inns of Court.

Votes for the ſtrict Obſervation of the Lord's Day. Nalſon, p. 482.

Ruſhw. p. 386.

The Houſe of *Lords* conſented to ſome of theſe Reſolutions, but not to others; they agreed in their Committee, "That no Rails ſhould be placed about "the Communion Table, where there were none "already, but not to the pulling down of all that "were ſet up; that all Chancels raiſed within fifteen "Years paſt ſhould be levell'd; that Images of the "Trinity ſhould be aboliſhed, without Limitation "of Time; and all Images of the Virgin *Mary* "erected within twenty Years paſt." But as for bowing

Houſe of Lords diſagree with the Commons. Nalſon, p. 481, 482, 483.

King Charles I. 1641.

bowing at the Name of JESUS, they inſiſted that it ſhould be left indifferent. So that when the Queſtion was put, to agree or not agree with the Reſolutions of the Commons, it paſſed in the Negative, eleven againſt nine. The Commons therefore publiſhed their *Reſolutions* apart, and deſired the People to wait patiently for the intended Reformation, without any Diſturbance of the Worſhip of God, and of the Peace of the Kingdom. Upon which the Lords in a Heat appointed their Order of *Jan.* 16. 1640-1. already mentioned, to be reprinted, "That "Divine Service ſhould be performed as it is ap- "pointed by Act of Parliament; and that all that "diſturb that wholeſome Order ſhall be ſeverely "puniſhed according to Law. That all Parſons, "Vicars, and Curates, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, "do forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremo- "nies that may give Offence, otherwiſe than thoſe "that are eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land." This was voted by twelve of the Lords preſent, the other ſix entering their Proteſt; after which both Houſes adjourned for ſix Weeks. Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, That there ſeems no Neceſſity for the Lords to renew this Order; but that it was done out of Spleen and Revenge, becauſe the Commons had made a Declaration againſt *Innovations*, and it was not doubted but the Biſhops were the chief Authors of it.

Rushw. p. 387. Claren. Vol. I. p. 293. Nalſon, p. 485. Vol. XI. p. 183.

Their Votes put in Execution.

Lord *Clarendon* repreſents the putting theſe Orders of the Houſe of Commons in execution, as a tranſcendent Preſumption, and a Breach of Privilege of the Houſe of Lords; and tho' in one place his Lordſhip acknowledged, that little or nothing of Moment was done in purſuance of the Orders of the two Houſes, yet upon this Occaſion he ſays, "That ſedi- "tious and factious Perſons cauſed the Windows "to be broken down in Churches; tore away the "Rails, removed the Communion Tables, and "committed many inſolent and ſcandalous Diſorders, "and that if any oppoſed them they were ſent for "be-

Claren. Vol. II. p. 290, 295.

" before the Committee." But the faireſt Account of this Matter may be gathered from Mr. *Pym*'s Report to the Houſe at their firſt Meeting after the Receſs. " The Committee of Religion (ſays he) have " ſent down divers of your Declarations into the " Country, and have found, that in ſome Places " where there were good Miniſters they were re- " tained, and in other Places neglected —— We " cannot ſay there have been any great Tumults, " though the Execution of the Orders of the Houſe " has occaſioned ſomething tending that way — In " ſome Pariſhes they came to Blows, and in others " they would have done the like, if care had not " been taken to prevent it. At St. *Giles*'s *Cripple-* " *gate*, the Pariſhioners were almoſt at Daggers " drawing about the Rails of the Communion Ta- " ble, which they would not ſuffer to be removed — " The like Oppoſition was made to the Orders of " the Houſe at St. *George Southwark*, St. *Mary* " *Woolnoth*, St. *Botolph Alderſgate*, and a few other " Places; but in moſt Places they were quiet."

King Charles I. 1641.

If the Innovations complain'd of were *according to Law*, neither Lords nor Commons had Authority to remove them, for in a Time of publick Peace and Tranquillity a Vote of Parliament cannot ſuſpend or ſet aſide a Law; but if they were apparently *contrary to Law*, I don't ſee but either Houſe of Parliament, or even the Pariſhioners themſelves, by a Vote of their Veſtry, might order them to be taken away. Remarkable are the Words of Sir *Edward Deering* to this purpoſe; " The Orders of the Houſe " (ſays he) are, doubtleſs, powerful, *if grounded up-* " *on the Laws of the Land*; upon this Warrant we " may, by an Order, enforce any Thing that is un- " doubtedly ſo grounded; and by the ſame Rule we " may abrogate whatſoever is introduced *contrary to* " *the undoubted Foundation of your Laws*; but we may " not rule and govern by arbitrary and diſputable " Orders, eſpecially in Matters of Religion."

Remarks.

Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 392.

The

King Charles I. 1641.

The Commons diſallowed of the tumultuous Attempts of private Perſons, and puniſhed them ſeverely. Complaint being made by the Inhabitants of St. *Saviour's Southwark*, of certain Perſons who had pulled down the Rails of the Communion Table in an inſolent and riotous Manner, they were ſent for into Cuſtody, and having been heard by their Counſel at the Bar of the Houſe, the Church Wardens of the Pariſh were ordered to ſet up new Rails, at the Coſts and Charges of the Offenders, in the manner they had ſtood for fifty Years before, but not according to the Model of the four or five laſt Years. The *Rioters* alſo were enjoin'd to make a publick Confeſſion of their Fault in the Body of the Church on a Sabbath Day, when the Congregation ſhould be preſent, and to ſtand committed to the *Fleet*, during the Pleaſure of the Houſe. Upon another Complaint of the Pariſhioners of St. *Olave's Southwark*, againſt others that had made a Tumult in their Church, and uſed irreverent Speeches during the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament; the Delinquents were ſent for into Cuſtody, and after Hearing they were committed to the *King's Bench* for ſix Months, without Bail or Mainprize; and ordered to ſtand upon an high Stool in *Cheapſide* and in *Southwark*, for two Hours on a Market Day, and to acknowledge their Fault publickly: They were alſo fined twenty Pounds, and to find Sureties for their good Behaviour; but when they had been impriſoned about a Month, upon their humble Petition, and Acknowledgment of their Miſdemeanors, they were releaſed.

Rioters puniſhed.

Nalſon, p. 271.

Ib. p. 291.

Ib. p. 395.

Sad Repreſentation of the State of Religion by the Royaliſts.

If we may give Credit to the Petition from *Canterbury*, Things were every where in great Confuſion; for it ſays, "That the Religion and Government by "Law eſtabliſhed, has been of late moſt miſerably "diſtracted by ill affected Perſons, by whoſe Means "the Houſes of God are profaned, and in part de-"faced; the Miniſters of Chriſt are contemned and "deſpiſed; the Ornaments, and many Utenſils of "the

" the Church are abuſed; the Liturgy and Book of " Common Prayer depraved and neglected; that " abſolute Model of Prayer, the *Lord's Prayer*, vi- " lified; the Sacraments of the Goſpel, in ſome " Places, rudely adminiſter'd, in other Places omit- " ted; ſolemn Days of Faſting obſerved, and ap- " pointed by private Perſons; Marriages illegally " ſolemnized; Burials uncharitably performed, and " the very Fundamentals of Religion ſubverted by " the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the " Abrogation of the Moral Law; many offenſive " Sermons are preached, and many impious Pam- " phlets printed" — Lord *Clarendon* ſays, " That " the Pulpits were ſupplied with ſeditious and ſchiſ- " matical Preachers. That in order to poiſon the " Hearts of the King's Subjects, care was taken to " place ſuch Miniſters and Lecturers in the moſt po- " pular Towns and Pariſhes, as abhorred the pre- " ſent Government and Temperature of the Church " and State; and then adds, *I am confident there was* " *not from the beginning of this Parliament, one orthodox* " *or learned Man recommended by them to any Church in* " England." Strange! when ſcarce one was re- commended but had been educated in our own Univerſities, and had ſubſcribed all the Doctri- nal Articles of the Church! But his Majeſty's Lan- guage is more ſevere in his Declaration of *Aug.* 12. 1642. — " Under pretence of encouraging Preaching " (ſays he) they have erected *Lectures* in ſeveral " Pariſhes, and commended ſuch *Lecturers* as were " Men of no Learning nor Conſcience, but furious " Promoters of the moſt dangerous Innovations; " many having taken no Orders, yet were recom- " mended by Members of either Houſe to Pa- " riſhes; and when mechanick Perſons have been " brought before them for preaching in Churches, " and have confeſſed the ſame, they have been diſ- " miſſed without Puniſhment, and hardly with Re- " prehenſion. All Perſons of Learning, and Emi- " nency

King Charles I. 1641.

Vol. I. p. 295.

And by the King.

King Charles I. 1641.

" nency in Preaching, and of ſober and virtuous " Converſation; of great Examples in their Lives, " and even ſuch as among theſe Men had been of " greateſt Eſtimation, and ſuffered ſomewhat for " them, were diſcountenanced, and ſuch Men che- " riſhed, who boldly preached againſt the Govern- " ment of the Church, againſt the Book of Com- " mon Prayer, againſt our kingly, lawful Power, " and againſt our Perſon — Further, a Licenſe " even to *Treaſon* is admitted in Pulpits, and Perſons " ignorant in Learning and Underſtanding, turbu- " lent and ſeditious in Diſpoſition, ſcandalous in " Life, and unconformable in Opinion to the Laws " of the Land, are impoſed upon Pariſhes, to infect " and poiſon the Minds of our People "——

Reply of the Commons. Nalſon, p. 265, 270.

What Character the Parliament Divines had for Learning, for Orthodoxy of Doctrine, and Sobriety of Manners, will appear hereafter. The Commons, in their Reply to his Majeſty's Declaration, denied the whole of this Charge, and averr'd, " That they " were careful in their Enquiries into the Learning " and Morality of thoſe whom they recommended; " that they were not for encouraging Faction and " Schiſm, but for preferring thoſe who were for a " Parliamentary Reformation in Church and State. " That they had ſhown their Reſentments againſt " Mobs and Tumults, and againſt the Preaching " of Laymen;" for when they were informed, that Mr. *Robinſon*, *Spencer*, *Banks*, *Durant*, and *Green*, being meer Laymen, had preſumed to preach publickly, they ſent for them [*June* 7.] and reprimanded them by their Speaker, in theſe Words; *The Houſe has a great Diſtaſte of your Proceedings; and if you offend at any Time in the like kind again, this Houſe will take care you ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.*

Diſadvantages of the Parliament with reſpect to Miniſters.

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious Preachers of theſe Times; though it will appear hereafter, that the Complaints of the *Royaliſts* are very much exaggerated; but it was certainly a great

great Diſadvantage to the Parliament's Cauſe, that they could not get a Supply of learned and able Preachers, becauſe the Keys of Admiſſion into *Holy Orders* were in the Hands of the Biſhops, who were very ſtrict at this Time, in their Examination into the political Principles of thoſe whom they ordained; this reduced the Committee to the Neceſſity of admitting ſome few that came well recommended from *New England* or *Scotland*, and had been only ordained by *Preſbyters*, or ſuch young Students, who producing their Teſtimonials from the Univerſities, were allowed to preach for ſome Time as *Candidates*. They were under the like Diſadvantage as to *Preſentations* or Inductions, moſt of which were in the Hands of the King and the Biſhops. *King* Charles I. 1641.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* continued to ordain Clergymen of his own Principles in the *Tower*; upon which the Houſe of Lords ordered [*Oct.* 28.] that his Juriſdiction ſhould be ſequeſter'd, and adminiſter'd by his inferior Officers, till he ſhould be acquitted of the Charge of High Treaſon that was againſt him. His *Grace* often admitted ſuch Clergymen to Livings as were obnoxious to the two Houſes, inſomuch that the Lords found it neceſſary to enjoin him to acquaint their Houſe with the Names of ſuch Perſons as he nominated to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, Promotion or Dignity within his Diſpoſal, to be approved of firſt by the Houſe, before they were collated or inſtituted. On the other hand, when a Miniſter was choſen by the Pariſhioners, and recommended to his *Grace* for Admiſſion, if he did not like his Principles and Character, he would either except againſt him, or ſuffer the Living to lapſe to the Crown. This created him new Enemies, and kept alive the Reſentments of the Commons. At length the Archbiſhop acquainted the King with his Caſe, who ſent him a peremptory Letter, requiring him, "That as "often as any Benefice, or other ſpiritual Pro- "motion, *Archbiſhop* Laud *ſuſpended from his Juriſdiction.*

King Charles I. 1641.

" motion, ſhould become void within his Gift, to " diſpoſe of it only to ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty " ſhould nominate; and that if either, or both " Houſes, ſhould command him otherwiſe, he ſhould " then let it fall in lapſe to the Crown." As ſoon as the Houſes were acquainted with this, they publiſhed an Order of their own, requiring the Archbiſhop to diſpoſe of no Benefice or Spiritual Promotion that ſhould become void at any Time before his Trial, but with the Leave and Order of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. Such was the Conteſt between the King and Parliament for the Pulpits! It being thought of great Conſequence on both ſides to fill them with Men of their own Principles, who would be zealous in the Cauſes in which they were ſeverally engaged.

Biſhop of Lincoln's viſitation.

All the Biſhops were under a Cloud, and in no degree of Favour either with the Parliament or People, except the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who having been ſome Years in Priſon, had no ſhare in the late Innovations. This Prelate, in the Receſs of Parliament, viſited his Dioceſe; and exhorted the People in his Sermons to keep to their lawful Miniſter, and not go after *Tub Preachers in Conventicles*. He acquainted them with the Laws, and told them, that no Power could protect them from the Penalty of Statutes unrepealed. " Look back (ſays his Lord- " ſhip) from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*. " Can the Goſpel ſtand better againſt the Church of " *Rome* than it has done under the Biſhops, Liturgy, " and Canons? Therefore don't abandon the good " old Way, for another which you do not know " how much Evil may be in it." But his Rhetorick had very little Effect; nor did the Parliament approve of his Conduct, at a Time when his Majeſty was out of the Kingdom, and when it was reſolved to attempt ſome conſiderable Alterations in the Hierarchy of the Church.

Diſtracted State of the Nation.

The Diſtractions in the *State* were no leſs threatening than thoſe of the *Church*; for the Plague was in the

the City of *London*, which diſperſed the Members, ſo that they could hardly make a Houſe. The diſbanding the Army infeſted the Roads with Highway Men, inſomuch, that it was hardly ſafe to travel from one Town to another. The Officers (many of whom were Papiſts) crouded to *London*, and took Lodgings about *Covent Garden* and *Whitehall*, under pretence of receiving the Remainder of their Pay; theſe behaved with unuſual Inſolence, and ſtruck Terror into the Minds of the common People. The Mob was frequently up in one part of the Town or another; one while they threaten'd the Pope's Nuncio, and another while the Queen Mother, upon which they retired out of the Kingdom; but the *Queen* her ſelf ſtood by her Friends: She had a Convent of *Capuchins* in her Court, and protected great Numbers of the King's Subjects, and others, from the Force of the Laws. The Lord Mayor was commanded to bring in a Liſt of Popiſh Recuſants about *London*; and all the Papiſts in the ſeveral Counties were ordered to be diſarmed; "which, though it had little or no "Effect (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) ſerved to keep up "Fears and Apprehenſions in the People of Dan- "gers and Deſigns;" that will appear preſently not to have been groundleſs. This was the melancholy State of the Nation, when on a ſudden it was Thunder-ſtruck with the ſurprizing News of one of the moſt barbarous Maſſacres of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, that the Records of any Age or Nation can produce.

King Charles I. 1641.

Vol. I. P. 290.

Lord *Clarendon* is of Opinion, that the Parliament, inſtead of adjourning, ſhould now have broken up and returned home, ſince the principal Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed, and the Conſtitution ſecured, by the Act for *Triennial Parliaments*. But not to trouble the Reader with Affairs of State: What Religious Grievances were redreſſed? Except the ſhortening the Power of the *Spiritual Courts*, by the Acts for aboliſhing the Court of *High Commiſſion*

Remarks.

King Charles I. 1641.

miſſion and *Star Chamber?* Not one of the late Innovations were aboliſhed by Law; nor was there any Alteration in the Liturgy, or Form of Church Government. The ſole Power of the Biſhops in *Ordination* and *Juriſdiction* was not regulated; nor was there any Reformation of Deans and Chapters, all which the Puritans expected and hoped for. In ſhort, the whole Government of the Church remained ſtill entire, notwithſtanding the fierce Attacks of the Commons againſt it. The Act for *Triennial Parliaments* will not appear to be a ſufficient Security for the *Conſtitution*, if we conſider how many Acts of Parliament the King and his arbitrary Miniſters had broke through the laſt fifteen Years; that his Majeſty had ſtill the ſame Principles, and was like to be in the ſame Hands upon the breaking up of the Parliament. Beſides, it was ſaid, that theſe Laws were extorted from him by force, and therefore not binding. And if a Parliament ſhould be called after three Years, that it was diſſolvable at Pleaſure; ſo that in all probability Things would have returned to the old Channel if the Parliament had now diſſolved themſelves. Suppoſing therefore, but not admitting, that the principal Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed, I leave it with the Reader, whether in the preſent Situation of Affairs, a meer Redreſs of paſt Grievances was a ſufficient Security againſt the Return of the like, in Time to come.

Death and Character of Biſhop Davenant.

Among the remarkable Divines that died about this Time was Dr. *John Davenant* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, born in *London*, and educated a Fellow-Commoner in *Queen's College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was afterwards Maſter, and Lady *Margaret* Profeſſor in the ſame Univerſity. He was a celebrated *Calviniſt*, and was one of thoſe Divines appointed by King *James* to repreſent the Church of *England* at the Synod of *Dort*, where he behaved with great Prudence and Moderation; and upon his return to *Eng-*

England was preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*; but in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* he became obnoxious to the Court, for venturing to preach on the Doctrine of *Predeſtination*, contrary to his Majeſty's Declaration, and was forced to make his Submiſſion before the Privy Council. He was a quiet and peaceable Prelate, humble and charitable, a ſtrict Obſerver of the Sabbath, an Enemy to the Pomp and Luxury of the Clergy, and one that lamented the high Proceedings of the Court. He had a great Reputation in foreign Parts for profound Learning, and an unblemiſh'd Life; and after he had enjoyed his Biſhoprick about twenty Years, he ended his Days in Peace and Honour, *April* 20. 1641. a little before the beginning of the Troubles that afterwards came upon the Church and Kingdom. He died of a Conſumption, and a few Hours before his Death prayed pathetically for a Quarter of an Hour; *bleſſing God for his fatherly Correction, foraſmuch as his whole Life having been full of Mercy, he had been ready to doubt, whether he was a true Child of God till this laſt Sickneſs.*

King Charles I. 1641.

Fuller's *Worthies*, B. II. p. 207.

Dr. *Richard Montague* Biſhop of *Norwich*, was a Divine of a different Character; he was born in *Weſtminſter*, educated in *Eaton College*, and afterwards Fellow of *King's College*. Mr. *Fuller* ſays he was a celebrated *Grecian*, and Church Antiquary, well read in the Fathers, but a ſuperſtitious Admirer of Church Ceremonies. He was a thorough *Arminian*, a Creature of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s, and an ill Inſtrument between the King and Parliament in the late Times, who voted him unfit for any Church Preferment; but when the King reſolved to govern without Parliaments, his Majeſty preferr'd him firſt to the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, and then to *Norwich*, where he ſhewed his Zeal for the Church, by a vigorous and illegal Proſecution of the *Puritans*. He was accuſed by the preſent Parliament, for ſuperſtitious Innovations; and would, no doubt,

And of Biſhop Montague.

King Charles I. 1641.

have felt their Reſentments, if he had not gone (as Mr. *Fuller* expreſſes it) a more compendious way, to anſwer for all his Proceedings in the high Court of Heaven. He died *April* 12. 1641.

B. XI. p. 194.

And of Mr. Eaton. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. p. 12.

The Reverend Mr. *John Eaton*, M. A. and Vicar of *Wickam Market*, was born in *Kent*, 1575. and educated in *Trinity College*, *Oxford*. He was a Divine of a peculiar Mould (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) very paradoxical in his Opinions, and reckon'd a great *Antinomian*, and one of the Founders of that Sect, for which he more than once ſuffer'd Impriſonment. His chief Performance was a Book, entituled, *The Honey Comb of free Juſtification by Chriſt alone*; for which he was impriſon'd in the *Gate-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*. Mr. *Eachard* admits, that by means of his Zeal, his exemplary Patience and Piety, he was exceedingly admired in the Neighbourhood where he lived, and ſtrangely valued for many Years after his Death. In truth, though he committed ſome Miſtakes in his Aſſertions about the Doctrines of Grace, he was, nevertheleſs (ſays Mr. Archdeacon) a Pattern of Faith, Holineſs, and Chearfulneſs in his Sufferings, to ſucceeding Generations. He died in the 67th Year of his Age.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the Re-aſſembling of the Parliament, to the KING's *leaving his Palace of* WHITEHALL, *Jan.* 10. 1641-2.

BEfore his Majeſty left *Scotland* Advice came to *London* [*Nov.* 1.] of a general Inſurrection of the Papiſts in *Ireland*, and of a moſt cruel and bloody Maſſacre of the Proteſtants of that Kingdom. The Project of an Inſurrection was formed in the Months of *March* and *April*, 1641. not without the Privity of the *Engliſh* Court, and executed *Oct.* 23. following; no Information of it having been given to the Proteſtants till the very Night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the Effects of it in the Country, and almoſt to ſave the City of *Dublin* it ſelf. When the Expreſs that brought the News was read in the Houſe, it produced a general Silence for a Time, all Men being ſtruck with Horror. When it was told without Doors it flew like Flaſhes of Lightning, and ſpread univerſal Terror over the whole Kingdom. Every Day, and almoſt every Hour, produced new Meſſengers of Miſery, who brought further Intelligence of the mercileſs Cruelty of the Papiſts towards the poor Proteſtants, whoſe very Name they threaten'd to extirpate out of the Kingdom.

King Charles I. 1641.

Iriſh *Inſurrection and Maſſacre.*

On the Day appointed, between twenty and thirty Thouſand of the *native Iriſh* appeared in Arms in the Northern Counties, and having ſecured the principal Gentlemen, and ſeized their Effects, they murdered the common People in cold Blood, forcing many Thouſands to fly from their Houſes and Settlements, naked into the Bogs and Woods, where they periſhed with Hunger and Cold. No

King Charles I. 1641.

Ties of Friendſhip, Neighbourhood or Conſanguinity, were capable of ſoftning their obdurate Hearts, in a Cauſe which they called *the Cauſe of Loyalty and Religion*. Some they whip'd to Death; others they ſtript naked and expoſed to Shame, and then drove them like Herds of Swine to periſh in the Mountains; many Hundreds were drowned in Rivers; ſome had their Throats cut; others were diſmember'd. With ſome the *execrable Villains* made themſelves ſport, trying who could hack deepeſt into an *Engliſh* Man's Fleſh. Huſbands were cut to pieces in the Preſence of their Wives; Wives and young Virgins abuſed in the ſight of their neareſt Relations; nay, they taught their Children to ſtrip and kill the Children of the *Engliſh*, and daſh out their Brains againſt the Stones. Forty or fifty Thouſand were maſſacred after this Manner in a few Days, without diſtinction of Age, Sex, or Quality, before they ſuſpected their Danger, or had Time to provide for their Defence. In a few Weeks the Inſurrection was ſo general, that they took Poſſeſſion of whole Counties, murdering the Inhabitants, plundering their Houſes, and killing or driving away their Cattle. Multitudes of poor diſtreſſed Creatures and Families fled naked and half ſtarved firſt to *Dublin*, and from thence to *England*, with Death and Deſpair in their Countenances. At length the *Iriſh* Army having ravaged all the Northern Counties blocked up the City of *Dublin* it ſelf, with all the poor diſtreſſed Proteſtants that had taken Sanctuary in it; but not being Maſters of the Sea, the City was relieved, and part of the Country ſecured, till the Parliament was at leiſure to pour out all their Vengeance upon the Heads of the Murderers, by the Hands of the Victorious and Terrible OLIVER CROMWELL.

Spreads Terror over England.

The frequent Expreſſes which came over to *England*, with the Multitudes of diſtreſſed Creatures that got Paſſage into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, filled

the Hearts of all true Proteſtants with infinite Conjectures, and prodigious Imaginations of treaſonable Deſigns againſt this, as well as the neighbouring Kingdom: They were afraid, and not without Reaſon, that a ſecond Part of this Tragedy might be acted on themſelves; the Parliament therefore ordered themſelves a Guard of Train Bands, and enter'd immediately into Meaſures to ſecure the Nation from the impending Storm. *King* Charles I. 1641.

But before we diſmiſs the *Iriſh* Inſurrection and Maſſacre, it will not be improper to trace it from its Original, and enquire into the Authors, and the ſeveral Parties concerned in it. The Earl of *Antrim*, and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who were at the Head of the *Iriſh* Catholicks, having acquainted the Pope's Nuncio, and ſome of the Prieſts about the Queen, how eaſily they could aſſume the Government of *Ireland*, and aſſiſt the King againſt the *Engliſh Puritans*, Letters were writ in the Queen's Name, and, perhaps, in the King's, authorizing them to take up Arms and ſeize the Government. The *Iriſh* received the Orders with Pleaſure; but concluded further among themſelves, that it was neceſſary at the ſame Time to extirpate the Proteſtants out of that Kingdom before they could with Safety tranſport their Army into *England*. That this was their Deſign, appears from their Remonſtrance publiſhed upon the very Day of the Inſurrection, in which they ſay, "That having ſome Liberty of Religion granted "them by the King, they perceived the Parliament "was wreſting his Majeſty's Prerogative from him, "in order to extinguiſh their Religion; therefore "to ſupport his Majeſty's Prerogative, and to "confirm his Royal and ever happy Love to "them, they had taken up Arms; and according-"ly bound themſelves to one another by the follow-"ing Oath. *Authors of it.* Prynne's *Introd.* p. 220, *to* 252. Burnet's *Hiſt. Life and Times.* Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 398, &c.

King Charles I. 1641.

" *THAT they would maintain the* Roman *Catholick* " *Religion; that they would bear true Faith and* " *Allegiance to the King and his Heirs, and defend him* " *and them with their Lives and Eſtates, againſt all* " *Perſons that ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs the Prerogative, or do any Acts contrary to Regal Government,* " *to the Power and Privilege of Parliaments, and to* " *the Rights and Privileges of the Subject.*"

Concern of the Engliſh *Court in it.*

They call'd themſelves the QUEEN'S ARMY, and publiſhed a Proclamation from their Camp at *Newry*, declaring, that they acted by the King's Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, dated at *Edinburgh*, *October* 1. and by Letters under his Sign manual of the ſame Date with the Commiſſion; which I believe, with Lord *Clarendon*, was a Forgery; though 'tis a little unaccountable, that his Majeſty ſhould never, by any publick Act or Declaration of his own, clear himſelf of ſo vile a Calumny. But though the King gave out no *Commiſſion*, there is too much reaſon to believe, that the QUEEN and her Popiſh Council, and even the *King* himſelf, was not unacquainted with the Deſign of an Inſurrection before it took place; and that her Majeſty gave it all the Countenance ſhe could with ſafety: But when theſe bloody Butchers over-acted their Part to ſuch a Degree, as to maſſacre near two hundred Thouſand Proteſtants in cold Blood, to make way for their Empire, it was Time for all Parties to diſown them.

Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, " That in the firſt Deſign " of an Inſurrection there was no thought of a *Maſ-* " *ſacre*; this came into their Heads as they were " contriving Methods of executing it; and as the " People were governed by the Prieſts, theſe were " the Men that ſet on the *Iriſh* to all the Blood and " Cruel-

"Cruelty that followed." There was a Conſultation at the Abbey of *Multifernan*, in the County of *Weſt Meath*, where it was debated, what Courſe ſhould be taken with the Proteſtants; ſome were for expelling them, as the King of *Spain* did the *Moors*; others preſs'd to have them univerſally cut off; but not coming to a Concluſion, they left the Army to act at Diſcretion. How far the Pope's Nuncio and the Queen's Council might be conſulted about the Maſſacre, is a Secret; but if we diſtinguiſh between the *Inſurrection*, in order to aſſume the Government into the Hands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and the *Maſſacre* which attended it, we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, that the *Engliſh* Court admitted of the former, though they might waſh their Hands of the latter. *King Charles I. 1641.* Nalſon, p. 633.

The Parliament, in their Declaration of *March* 9. ſay, that the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed and contrived in *England*, and that they had taken ſeveral Depoſitions, proving, that the *Engliſh Papiſts* were to riſe about the ſame Time; that the Rebels ſaid they acted by the King's Authority; that they called themſelves the *Queen's Army*, and declared, that *their Purpoſe was to come to* England *after they had done in* Ireland, *to recover the Royal Prerogative, wreſted from him by the Puritan Faction in the Houſe of Commons*. Mr. *Pym* declared in the Parliament Houſe, that ſeveral diſbanded Officers and Soldiers of the King's Army went over to *Ireland*, and liſted among the Rebels by the King's expreſs Warrant, which his Majeſty denied; but when the Matter was examined, it appeared that his Authority had been abuſed by ſome very near his Perſon. Rapin, p. 337.

The Concern of the Court in this dark Affair is further evident, from the Relation of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who told Biſhop *Burnet*, "That he had ta-"ken all the Pains he could to enquire into the Ori-"ginal of the *Iriſh* MASSACRE, but could not ſee "rea- *Earl of Eſſex's Account.*

King Charles I. 1641.

" reaſon to believe the King was Acceſſary to it; " but he did believe that the *Queen* did hearken to " the Propoſitions made by the *Iriſh*, who under- " took to take the Government of *Ireland* into their " Hands, which they thought they could eaſily " perform, and then they promiſed to aſſiſt the " King againſt the hot Spirits at *Weſtminſter*. With " this the Inſurrection began, and all the *Iriſh* be- " lieved the Queen encouraged it."

And the Marquis of Antrim's.

There was a farther Diſcovery of this Fact at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. when the Marquis of *Antrim*, who had been at the Head of the Rebellion, and whoſe Eſtate had been confiſcated, finding himſelf like to be excluded the Act of Indemnity, came to *London* to petition his Majeſty to examine the Warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a Committee of Council was appointed, and the Marquis produced ſome Letters from the King, which did not amount to a full Proof; but in one of them the King writ, that he was not then at leiſure, but *referred himſelf to the Queen's Letter, and ſaid, that was all one as if he writ himſelf.* Upon this Foundation the Marquis produced a Series of Letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which *he gave her an Account of every one of thoſe Particulars that were laid to his Charge, and ſhewed the Grounds he went upon, and deſired her Majeſty's Direction to every one of theſe*; and he had Anſwers ordering him to do as he did. This Affair (ſays the Biſhop) the *Queen* her ſelf, who was then at Court, eſpouſed with great Zeal, and ſaid, ſhe was bound to ſave him. So a Report was drawn up by the Committee, declaring, That he had fully juſtified himſelf in every Thing; but the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was Chairman, refuſed to ſet his Hand to it, ſaying, *He was ſorry the Marquis had produced ſuch Warrants; but he did not think that they ought to ſerve his turn, for he did not believe*

Burnet's Hiſt. Life and Times.

lieve that any Warrant from the King or Queen could ju- *King* Charles I. 1641.
ſtify ſo much Bloodſhed, in ſo many black Inſtances as were laid againſt him. Upon the Earl's refuſing to ſign the Report the reſt of the Committee declined it, and ſo it was dropt; but the King himſelf writ over to the Duke of *Ormond*, that he had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt get him included in the Act of Indemnity; but the Lord *Mazarine* and others not being ſatisfied to give their Vote in favour of ſuch a Criminal, notwithſtanding the Inſtructions they had from *England*, the *Marquis* was obliged in his own Defence to produce in the Houſe of Commons *a Letter from King* Charles I. *writ with his own Hand, giving him expreſs Orders to take up Arms*; upon which he was pardoned, and his Eſtate reſtored. Bennet's *Mem.* p. 197.

In the Letter of King *Charles* II. to the Duke of *Ormond* abovementioned, writ with his Majeſty's own Hand, and enter'd in the Signet Office, *July* 13. 1663. there is this remarkable Paſſage, "That the Referrees who had examined the Mar- "quis [of *Antrim*'s] Caſe, had declared to him, "that they had ſeen *ſeveral Letters, all of them of the* "*Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the ſaid Mar-* "*quis*, and ſeveral Inſtructions concerning his treat- "ing with the *Iriſh* in order to the King's Service, "by reducing them to their Obedience, and by "drawing ſome Forces from them for the Service "of *Scotland*. That beſides Letters and Orders un- "der his Majeſty's own Hand, there was ſufficient "Evidence and Teſtimony of ſeveral Meſſages and "Directions ſent from our Royal Father and our "Royal Mother, with the Privity and Direction of "the King our Father, by which it appears, that "*whatever Correſpondence, or Actings the ſaid Marquis* "*had with the Confederate* Iriſh *Catholicks, was direct-* "*ed and allowed by the ſaid Letters and Inſtructions*; "and that the King himſelf was well pleaſed with "what *K.* Charles *the* IId's *Letter.* Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 353.

King Charles I. 1641.

" what the Marquis did after he had done it, and " approved of the ſame."

I have been more particular in accounting for this Inſurrection, becauſe whoever were the Authors of it, are, in the Judgment of Lord *Clarendon*, anſwerable for all the Calamities of the Civil War. " It was *Ireland* (ſays his Lordſhip) that drew the " firſt Blood. If they had not at that Time rebel- " led, and in that manner, 'tis very probable all " the Miſeries which afterwards befel the King and " his Dominions, had been prevented." At whoſe Door then the Guilt of all this Blood muſt be laid, I freely leave with the Reader.

Vol. I. p. 299.

Proceedings of Parliament upon the Inſurrection.

Upon the firſt News of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre the Houſe of Commons turned themſelves into a Committee, and came to the following Reſolutions, " That all *Roman* Catholicks of Quality in the ſeveral " Counties of *England* be ſecured, and that all Pa- " piſts depart from *London* to their reſpective Places " of Abode in the Country; that the Houſe of " Lords be deſired to join with the Commons in a " Petition for diſſolving the Convent of *Capuchins*, " and ſending them out of the Kingdom; that the " foreign Ambaſſadors be deſired to deliver up ſuch " Prieſts of the King's Subjects as are in their Hou- " ſes; that a Liſt be brought in of the Queen's Ser- " vants; and that a Proclamation be iſſued out for " all Strangers that are not Proteſtants, to give an " Account of their Names and Places of Abode, or " depart the Kingdom." They alſo diſpatched a Meſſenger to the King, beſeeching him to concur with them in ſecuring the Nation againſt any further Attempts of the Papiſts; and not to employ any in his Councils who were Favourers of Popery, Superſtition, or Innovation in Religion. They voted two hundred Thouſand Pounds to be borrowed immediately

diately for the Service of *Ireland*, and appointed the Train Bands of *Weſtminſter* to guard them from the Inſolence and Affronts of vagrant Soldiers about the Court; and to ſecure them from other Deſigns which they had reaſon to ſuſpect. The Lords ordered all *Romiſh Recuſants* to remove out of the Inns of Court and *Chancery*. The Commons ordered the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be tender'd to all *Iriſh Gentlemen* within thoſe Courts; "for it now appears "(ſays Mr. *Pym*) that the Religion of the Papiſts is "incompatible with any other Religion, it is deſtru- "ctive to all others, and will endure nothing that "oppoſes it. There are other Religions that are "not right, but not ſo deſtructive as Popery, for "the Principles of Popery are ſubverſive of all "States and Perſons that oppoſe it."

King Charles I. 1641.

Nalſon, p. 667.

But when the King returned from *Scotland* the latter end of *November*, and had been received with the Acclamations of the Citizens of *London*, he was prevailed with by the Queen and her Faction to check the Proceedings of the two Houſes, ſince the *Scots* were eaſy, and the Hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation ſeemed to be with him; his Majeſty had recommended the ſuppreſſing the *Iriſh* Rebellion to the *Scots* Repreſentatives, and by Letter had committed the Care of it alſo to the *Engliſh* Parliament; whereupon the Houſe of Commons, in the King's Abſence, authorized the Earl of *Leiceſter*, by an Ordinance of their own, to raiſe Forces, and the Lord High Admiral to provide Shipping for their Tranſportation from *Cheſter*, and other Ports; but when the King came to *Whitehall* he ſeemed ſo unwilling to act againſt the Papiſts, that the Parliament were afraid of ſending Proteſtant Soldiers out of the Kingdom, leſt his Majeſty ſhould take Advantage of their Abſence, and break up the Conſtitution; for he had already commanded away the Parliament's Guard,

The King's imprudent Conduct. Nalſon, p. 606.

King Charles I. 1641.

Guard, telling them, they had nothing to fear from the Papiſts, and that their Jealouſies of Plots and Maſſacres were imaginary. He pardon'd ſeven Popiſh Prieſts that were under Sentence of Condemnation, contrary to the Petition of the Houſe of Commons. He turned out the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Sir *William Parſons*, one of the moſt active Proteſtant Juſtices in that Kingdom. He intercepted the Parliamentary Supplies in their way to *Cheſter*, and received a Deputation from the *Iriſh Catholicks* with greater Ceremony and Reſpect than from his *Proteſtant Subjects*. Nor could his Majeſty be prevailed with to iſſue out a Proclamation declaring the *Iriſh*, REBELS, till the beginning of *January*, and even then but forty Copies were printed, and not one to be diſperſed till further Order. Indeed the King proclaimed a monthly Faſt, and offered to raiſe an Army of *Engliſh* for the Relief of *Ireland*, which the Commons declined; but inſtead thereof appointed a Committee to treat for *ten Thouſand Scots*, which the Houſe of Lords, by Direction from the King, put a ſtop to; ſo that between both, the Relief of *Ireland* was neglected. The King would have perſuaded the Parliament to ſend over ten Thouſand *Engliſh*, that they might find it more difficult to raiſe Forces in caſe of a Breach with him; but the Commons prevailed with the *Scots* to offer ten Thouſand of their Nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themſelves naked and defenceleſs in ſo critical a Juncture.

Rapin, p. 280, 282.

Remarks. Upon the whole it ſeems to me, that this barbarous Inſurrection and Maſſacre was formed by the *Iriſh* to diſtreſs the Parliament, after the Failure of the Deſign of doing it by the *Engliſh* Army; that the King was willingly ignorant of the Progreſs of the Affair, having intruſted the Correſpondence with his *Queen* and her Council; that when

when the King heard how the *Iriſh* had over-acted their Part he was ſurprized, and thought it neceſſary to declare againſt them; but when he came to his *Queen* he appeared too favourable to their Perſons and Conduct, and inſtead of going briſkly into the Meaſures that were propoſed to ſubdue them, his Majeſty played the Politician, and would have made uſe of the *Iriſh* Rebellion to put himſelf at the Head of an Army to break up the *Engliſh* Parliament. *King Charles I. 1641.*

While the King was in *Scotland* it was given out by ſome ill deſigning People, that ſince his Majeſty had yielded ſo much to the *Scots*, he might be perſuaded to introduce *Preſbytery* into *England* at his Return; upon which his Majeſty ſent the following Letter to Mr. *Nichols*, Clerk of the Council.

King's Letter in favour of the Hierarchy. Nalſon, p. 683.

I *Hear it is reported, that at my Return, I intend to alter the Government of the Church of* England, *and to bring it to that Form it is in here; therefore I command you to aſſure all my Servants, that I will be conſtant to the Diſcipline and Doctrine of the Church of* England *eſtabliſhed by Queen* Elizabeth *and my Father; and that I reſolve, by the Grace of God, to die in the Maintenance of it.* Edinburgh, Octob. 18. 1641.

Accordingly, his Majeſty reſolved to fill up the vacant Sees, and ordered five *Congé d'Eſlires* to be drawn for five Clergymen therein named; but the two Houſes joining in a Petition to his Majeſty to ſuſpend his Commands till he came home, the Matter was delayed; but ſoon after his Return he made the following Removes and Promotions.

He fills up the vacant Biſhopricks.

Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was made Archbiſhop of *York*, in the room of Dr. *Neile* deceaſed, and Dr. *Winniffe* Dean of St. *Paul's*, a grave and moderate Divine, was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Dr.

Duppa

King Charles I. 1641.

Duppa Biſhop of *Chicheſter* was tranſlated to *Saliſbury*, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Davenant*, and Dr. *King* Dean of *Rocheſter*, was promoted to *Chicheſter*. Dr. *Hall* was tranſlated from *Exeter* to *Norwich*, in the room of Biſhop *Montague*; and Dr. *Brownrigge*, Maſter of *Katharine Hall*, *Cambridge*, an eminent and learned Divine, was advanced to *Exeter*. Dr. *Skinner* was tranſlated from *Briſtol* to *Oxford*, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Bancroft*; and Dr. *Weſtfield* Archdeacon of St. *Albans*, a very popular Preacher, was promoted to *Briſtol*; Dr. *Prideaux*, King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*, was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, in the room of Biſhop *Thornborough* deceaſed. The Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* being vacant by the Death of Dr. *Barnabas Potter*, a Puritan Biſhop, commonly called the *Penitential Preacher*, was given in *Commendam* to the moſt Reverend Dr. *Uſher*, Archbiſhop and Primate of *Ireland*, during the Commotions in that Kingdom. Moſt of theſe Divines ſtood well in the Opinion of the People, but their accepting Biſhopricks at this Time did neither the King nor themſelves any Service. After this his Majeſty nominated but two Biſhops throughout the Courſe of his Reign; one was Dr. *Frewen* Dean of *Glouceſter*, and Preſident of *Magdalen College*, *Oxon*, to the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, 1644. and Dr. *Howel*, Prebendary of *Windſor*, to *Briſtol*, about ten Months after.

Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons.

A Committee had been appointed a Twelvemonth ago, at the Motion of the Lord *Digby*, *to draw out of all the Grievances of the Nation ſuch a Remonſtrance as might be a faithful and lively Repreſentation to his Majeſty, of the deplorable State of the Kingdom*; but it was laid aſide till this Time, when the Proſpect of an Agreement between him and his Parliament being almoſt at an end, after the breaking out of the *Iriſh Inſurrection and Maſſacre*; it was perfected and read in the Houſe of Commons, *November* 22. when

when it met with ſo ſtrong an Oppoſition, that it was carried but by nine Voices, after a long Debate, from three in the Afternoon till three in the Morning, which made *One* ſay, It look'd like the Verdict of a ſtarv'd Jury. Many were of Opinion, that thoſe Grievances which had been redreſſed by the late Acts of Parliament ought to have been covered, leſt the reviving them ſhould make the Breach wider between the King and Parliament; but others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with reſpect, and that it was in a manner neceſſary in order to introduce the intended Limitation of the *Royal Power*. However, this was the *Criſis* that diſcovered the Strength of the two Parties, and was managed with ſuch Warmth, that *Oliver Cromwell* is ſaid to tell Lord *Falkland*, that *if the Remonſtrance had been rejected he would have ſold all he had next Morning, and never have ſeen* England *more*. *King* Charles I. 1641.

It was difficult to ſay which ſide of the Queſtion was right. Mr. *Rapin* will not take upon him to determine, whether it was neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom, *to put it out of the King's Power to govern for the future in the ſame arbitrary manner as he had done for fifteen Years*; but he thinks the Reaſons for it very plauſible, and does not well ſee what Security they could have who were for leaving the King in poſſeſſion of the ſame Power he had enjoyed before; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that his Majeſty had ſtill the ſame arbitrary Principles, and the ſame inviolable Attachment to his Queen and the Popiſh Faction, beſides the current Report that the Court had fomented the *Iriſh Inſurrection*, which had filled the Minds of People with diſtracting Terrors. 'Tis certain the King had conceived an implacable Averſion to the leading Members of the Puritanical Party in both Houſes, and having quieted the *Scots*, was determined to make them Examples; of which they were not ignorant. But, whether theſe and the like Reaſons were ſufficient to juſtify the whole of the *Remarks*; Claren. Vol. II. p. 312. Rapin, p. 212.

King Charles I. 1641.

Parliament's Conduct in this Affair, I will not take upon me to determine.

It is preſented to the King. Ruſhw. p. 438. Nalſon, p. 694.

The Remonſtrance was preſented to the King at *Hampton Court* [*Dec.* 1.] about a Week after his Majeſty's return from *Scotland*, with a Petition for Redreſs of the Grievances therein contained. 'Tis eaſy to ſuppoſe it was not very acceptable, but the King gave the Committee his Hand to kiſs, and took Time to return an Anſwer. The *Remonſtrance* enumerates the ſeveral Grievances, Oppreſſions, and unbounded Acts of the Prerogative, ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion, to the Number of almoſt two hundred, and charges their Riſe and Progreſs, (1.) On the Jeſuited Papiſts. (2.) On the Court Biſhops, and the corrupt Part of the Clergy. (3.) On ſuch corrupt Counſellors and Courtiers as for private Ends had engaged themſelves in the Intereſt of ſome foreign Princes, to the Prejudice of the King and State. Theſe *Miniſters* are ſaid to carry on their Deſigns, (1.) By ſuppreſſing the Power and Purity of Religion, and of ſuch Perſons as were beſt affected to it. (2.) By cheriſhing the *Arminian Party* in thoſe Points wherein they agree with the Papiſts, in order to widen the Difference between the common Proteſtants and thoſe called *Puritans*; and by introducing ſuch Opinions and Ceremonies as tend to an Accommodation with Popery. (3.) By fomenting Differences and Diſcontents between the King and his Parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal Methods of raiſing Supplies.

I omit the Grievances of the *State*; thoſe which related to the *Church* were ſuch as follow:

Grievances of Religion.

1. The Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Miniſters of the Goſpel, by the *Biſhops*; and the grievous Oppreſſion of great Numbers of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects.

The

King Charles I. 1641.

2. The Sharpneſs and Severity of the *High Commiſſion*, aſſiſted by the *Council Table*, not much leſs grievous than the *Romiſh* Inquiſition.

3. The Rigor of the *Biſhops Courts* in the Country, whereby great Numbers of the meaner Tradeſmen have been impoveriſhed, and driven out of the Kingdom, to *Holland* and *New England*. The advancing thoſe to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments who were moſt officious in promoting Superſtition, and moſt virulent in railing againſt Godlineſs and Honeſty.

4. The Deſign of *reconciling the Church of* England *with* Rome, and impoſing upon the Church of *Scotland* ſuch Popiſh Superſtitions and Innovations as might diſpoſe them to join with *England* in the intended Reconciliation.

5. The late *Canons* and *Oath* impoſed upon the Clergy under the ſevereſt Penalties; and the *Continuance of the Convocation* by a new Commiſſion, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, wherein they raiſed Taxes upon the Subject for the Maintenance of what was called *Bellum Epiſcopale*. The rooting out of the Kingdom by force, or driving away by fear, the PURITANS; under which Name they include all that deſire to preſerve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the Power of it.

6. The exempting Papiſts from *Penal Laws*, ſo far as amounted to a Toleration, beſides conferring upon them many other Privileges and Court Favours; Theſe (ſay they) have had a Secretary of State of their own Religion, and a *Nuncio* from the Pope, by whoſe Authority the Popiſh Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, have been convocated after the manner of a Parliament; new Juriſdictions have been erected of Popiſh Archbiſhops; Taxes have been levied; another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, and ſecretly corrupting the ignorant Profeſſors of our Religion, *&c.* The Papiſts have been furniſhed with Arms and Ammuni-

King Charles I. 1641.

tion, liſted in the King's Service, and encouraged by the weekly Prayers of their Prieſts, for the Proſperity of their Deſigns to promote the Catholick Cauſe. They complain further of a Party of *Biſhops* and *Popiſh* Lords in the Houſe of Peers, that have cauſed much Oppoſition and Delay in the Proſecution of *Delinquents*, and hindred the paſſing ſome *good Bills* for the reforming Abuſes and Corruptions in Church and State; and of a malignant Party that has countenanced the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

Declaration of their Intentions.

After the Recital of theſe Grievances they acknowledge with Thankfulneſs, the many Acts that his Majeſty has paſſed this Seſſion for the publick Good, and put his Majeſty in mind of the large Sums of Money they have raiſed for his Service, amounting to no leſs than a Million and half. They declare, "That it is far from their Purpoſe or Deſire to let "looſe the golden Reins of Diſcipline and Govern- "ment in the Church, to leave private Perſons, or "particular Congregations, to take up what Form "of Divine Service they pleaſe; for we hold it re- "quiſite (ſay they) that there ſhould be through- "out the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order "which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of "God; and we deſire to unburden the Conſciences "of Men from needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremo- "nies; to ſuppreſs Innovations, and to take away "the Monuments of Idolatry. To effect this in- "tended Reformation, we deſire there may be a "general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, "and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with "ſome from foreign Parts profeſſing the ſame Reli- "gion with us, who may conſider of all Things ne- "ceſſary for the Peace and good Government of "the Church, and repreſent the Reſult of their "Conſultations to the Parliament, to be allowed "and confirmed, and to receive the Stamp of Au- "thority — It is our chief Care to advance and "promote Learning, and to provide a competent

"Mainte-

" Maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Mi- *King Charles I. 1641.*
" niſters throughout the Kingdom —— We intend
" likewiſe to reform and purge the Fountains of
" Learning, the *two Univerſities*, that the Streams
" flowing thence may be clear and pure, and an
" Honour and Comfort to the whole Land. And
" ſeeing that the Religion of Papiſts has ſuch Prin-
" ciples as certainly tend to the Deſtruction and Ex-
" tirpation of all Proteſtants, when they have Op-
" portunity to effect it, 'tis neceſſary to keep them
" in ſuch a Condition, that they may not be able to
" do us any hurt."

In the Petition that attended this Remonſtrance, after having aſſured his Majeſty, that they had not the leaſt Intention to lay any Blemiſh upon his Royal Perſon by the foregoing *Declaration*, but only to preſent how his Royal Authority and Truſt had been abuſed, they humbly beſeech his Majeſty to concur with his People in a Parliamentary way, (1.) *For the depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate Power, uſurped over the Clergy, and other your good Subjects, to the Hazard of Religion, and Prejudice of the juſt Liberties of your People.* (2.) *For the taking away ſuch Oppreſſions in Religion, Church Government and Diſcipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.* (3.) *For uniting all ſuch your loyal Subjects, as agree in Fundamentals, againſt Papiſts, by removing ſome Oppreſſions and unneceſſary Ceremonies, by which divers weak Conſciences have been offended, and ſeem to be divided from the reſt.* (4.) They conclude, *with beſeeching his Majeſty to remove from his Counſels all Favourers of Popery and arbitrary Power, and Promoters of the above-mentioned Preſſures and Corruptions, and to employ ſuch as his Parliament might confide in; and that in his princely Goodneſs he would reject all Solicitations to the contrary,* HOW POWERFUL AND NEAR SOEVER. *Petition preſented with the Remonſtrance.* Nalſon, p. 692.

His Majeſty, in his Anſwer to this Petition, about a Week after, complains very juſtly of the Diſrepect of *The King's Anſwer to the Petition.*

King Charles I. 1641.

the Commons in printing their Remonſtrance before he had Time to return an Anſwer. To the Preamble and Concluſion of the Petition, he ſays, that *he knows of no wicked, arbitrary, and malignant Party prevalent in the Government, or near himſelf and his Children*; and aſſures them, that the Mediation of the NEAREST TO HIM has always concurr'd in ſuch Perſons, againſt whom there can be no juſt Cauſe of Exception. To the ſeveral Articles his Majeſty replies; Firſt, Concerning Religion, "That he is willing to "concur with all the juſt Deſires of his People in a "Parliamentary way, for preſerving the Peace of "the Kingdom from the Deſign of the Popiſh "Party.

"That for *depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in "Parliament*, he thought their Right was grounded "on the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and "Conſtitution of Parliament, but ſince you deſire "our Concurrence in a Parliamentary way (ſays "the King) we will give no further Anſwer at "preſent.

"As for *abridging the extraordinary Power of the "Clergy*, if there remain any Exceſſes, or Uſurpa-"tions in their Juriſdictions, we neither have, nor "will protect them.

"Concerning *Church Corruptions* (as you ſtile "them) and *removing unneceſſary Ceremonies*; we "are willing to concur in the Removal of any illegal "Innovations which may have crept in; and if our "Parliament adviſe us to call a National Synod for "that purpoſe, we ſhall take it into Conſidera-"tion.

"But we are very ſorry to hear in ſuch gene-"ral Terms, *Corruption in Religion* objected, ſince "we are perſuaded in our own Conſcience, that no "Church can be found upon Earth that profeſſeth "the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine, "than the Church of *England* doth; nor where the "Government and Diſcipline are jointly more beau-"tified,

" tified, and free from Superſtition, than as they are " here eſtabliſhed by Law, which, by the Grace of " God, we will with Conſtancy maintain (while we " live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt " all Invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the Irreve- " rence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts " wherewith of late this Kingdom, and this City " abounds, to the great Diſhonour and Hazard " both of Church and State; for the Suppreſſion of " whom we require your timely Aid and active " Aſſiſtance." *King Charles I. 1641.*

Some Time after [*Dec.* 15.] his Majeſty publiſhed his Anſwer to the REMONSTRANCE, with a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in which he profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied, " That the Religion of the " Church of *England* is moſt agreeable to the Word " of God, and that he ſhould be ready to ſeal it " with his Blood, if God ſhould call him to it. " That as for Ceremonies in Religion, which are in " their own Nature indifferent, he is willing, in " Tenderneſs to any Number of his Subjects, that " a Law ſhould be made for the Exemption of ten- " der Conſciences from Puniſhment, or Proſecution " for ſuch Ceremonies, as by the Judgment of moſt " Men are held to be indifferent, and of ſome to be " abſolutely unlawful, provided the Peace of the " Kingdom be not diſturbed, nor the preſent De- " cency and Comelineſs of God's Service eſtabliſhed " in the Church, diſcountenanced, nor the pious, " ſober, and devout Actions of thoſe Reverend " Perſons, who were the firſt Labourers in the bleſ- " ſed Reformation, be ſcandalized and defamed. His " Majeſty then adds, That he cannot without Grief " of Heart, and ſome Tax upon himſelf and his Mi- " niſters, for not executing the Laws, look upon " the bold Licenſe of ſome Men, in printing Pam- " phlets and Sermons ſo full of Bitterneſs and Ma- " lice againſt the preſent Government, and the " Law eſtabliſhed; ſo full of Sedition againſt him- " ſelf *And to the Remonſtrance.* Nalſon, p. 746.

King Charles I. 1641.

"ſelf and the Peace of the Kingdom, that he is "many Times amazed to conſider by what Eyes "theſe Things are ſeen, and by what Ears they are "heard; he therefore commands again all his Offi- "cers and Miniſters of Juſtice to proceed againſt "them with all ſpeed, and put the Laws in Execu- "tion." Agreeably to this Declaration his Majeſty iſſued out his Royal Proclamation *December* 10. requiring Obedience to the Laws and Statutes ordained for the eſtabliſhing true Religion in this Kingdom, and commanding that *Divine Service* be performed as heretofore; and that all Officers and Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, do put the ſaid Laws in due Execution againſt all wilful Contemners and Diſturbers of Divine Worſhip, contrary to the ſaid Laws and Statutes.

Ruſhw. p. 456.

Iſſue of the Impeachment of the 13 Biſhops.

Thus Matters ſtood between the King and Parliament, when all Men expected the *Court Intereſt in the Houſe of Peers* would be broken, by the Iſſue of the Impeachment of the thirteen Biſhops, for compiling the late Canons, which was now at hand. The Lords had reſolved, that ſuch Biſhops as were impeached ſhould not ſit in the Houſe when the Merits of their Cauſe was in debate, but that when the Manner of Proceeding was to be ſettled they might be preſent, but not vote. To enable them the better to make their Defence it was reſolved further, that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* with one other Biſhop, might have acceſs twice to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the *Tower*, to conſult with him about their Anſwer to the Impeachment; and that all the Lords Biſhops may have acceſs to, and have Copies of any Acts and Records in any of his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, that may ſerve for their Defence. On the 10th of *November* the Biſhops put in their Anſwer, conſiſting of a *Plea* and a *Demurrer*, in which they neither confeſs nor deny the Fact, but endeavour to ſhew, that the Offence of making Canons could not amount to a Premunire, which was certainly true,

pro-

provided they had been made in a legal Convocation, and that the Canons themſelves had not been contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the fundamental Laws of the Land. The *Anſwer* was ſigned with all their Hands, except the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*'s, who pleaded not guilty *modo & forma*. The Commons were diſſatisfied with the Biſhops for not pleading directly to their Charge; and with the Lords, for receiving a *Demurrer* when they were not preſent, contrary to the Requeſt which they ſent up with the Impeachment, eſpecially when the Nature of the Caſe, being a meer Matter of Fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the Lords by Serjeant *Glyn* to ſet aſide the *Demurrer*, and to admit them to make Proof of their Charge without any further delay; or if they were ſatisfied with the Charge, and the Biſhops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to Judgment; but the Lords, inſtead of complying with the *Commons*, gave the Biſhops their Option, and ordered them to declare by *Saturday*, whether they would *plead to the Impeachment*, or abide by their *Demurrer*; when they declared they would abide by their *Demurrer*; upon which the Lords appointed *Monday* following [*December* 11.] to hear them by their Counſel in preſence of the Commons; but the Houſe reſenting this dilatory Method of proceeding in a Caſe ſo apparent and manifeſt to the whole World, would not appear; the moſt active Members declaring among their Friends, with a ſort of Deſpair, that they would be concerned no further againſt the Biſhops, for they now ſaw it was in vain to attack a Number of Men whom the Court and the Houſe of Lords were reſolved to protect.

King Charles I. 1641.

Nalſon, p. 715, 731.

When this was rumoured in the City it alarmed the People, whoſe Fears were already ſufficiently awaken'd with the Apprehenſions of a Popiſh Maſſacre and Inſurrection within their own Walls. The Aldermen and Common Council immediately aſſem-

Petition of the Lord Mayor and Ald. againſt Bps. and Popiſh Lords.

King Charles I. 1641.

aſſembled, and drew up a Petition to ſupport the Courage of the Commons, and went with it to *Weſtminſter* in ſixty Coaches, attended with a great Number of the lower People. The Petition prays, "That the Houſe of Commons "would ſtill be a Means to the King and Houſe "of Peers, to concur with them [the Commons] "in redreſſing the Grievances of Church and State, "and for the better effecting hereof, that the Po-"piſh Lords and Biſhops may be removed out of "the Houſe of Peers." The Speaker returned them Thanks in the Name of the Houſe, and promiſed to take their Addreſs into Conſideration in due Time.

Nalſon, p. 733.

Of the London *Apprentices.*

A few Days after great Numbers of People met upon *Black Heath*, to ſign a Petition to the ſame purpoſe; and within a Fortnight the Apprentices of *London* went up with a Petition, ſigned with a Multitude of Names, complaining of the Decay of Trade, occaſioned by *Papiſts* and *Prelates*, and by a malignant Party that adher'd to them; and praying, that the *Popiſh Lords*, and other eminent Perſons of that Religion, might be ſecured, and that Prelacy might be *rooted out*, according to their former Petition, commonly called the ROOT AND BRANCH. The Commons received their Petition favourably; but the King, inſtead of calming the Citizens, encreaſed their Jealouſies and Suſpicions, by removing at this very Time, Sir *William Belfour* from the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and putting Colonel *Lunſford* into his Place, a ſuſpected Papiſt, of no Fortune, that had been once out-lawed, and was fit for any deſperate Attempt; this occaſioned Petitions to his Majeſty for his Removal, which with much Difficulty, after ſome Time, was obtained, but the Jealouſies of the People ſtill remained.

Petitions for the Biſhops.

The Petitions abovementioned againſt the Biſhops were confronted with others out of the Country, in their favour. *Nov.* 18. the humble Petition of the Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates of *Rut-*

Nalſon, p. 656.

Rutlandſhire, was preſented to the Houſe, ſigned by about eight Hundred and forty Hands, praying for the Continuance of *Epiſcopacy*, as the only Government of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, ſealed with the Blood of Martyrs, admirably ſuited to the Civil Government of this Kingdom, and affirming, that no Preſbyter ever laid on Hands without a Biſhop. *Dec.* 8, a Petition of the like Nature was preſented from *Huntingdonſhire*, and two Days after another from *Somerſetſhire*, ſigned with above fourteen Thouſand Names. *King* Charles I. 1641. Nalſon, p. 726.

On the other hand, the *Miniſters* appointed to ſolicit their *Remonſtrance* formerly mentioned, addreſſed the Houſe, *Dec.* 20. acknowledging "Their "Piety and Zeal for the true Religion, againſt Po- "pery and Superſtition; in countenancing the ſa- "cred Ordinance of Preaching; in encouraging "painful and godly Miniſters, formerly ſet aſide, "but now profitably employed in many Congrega- "tions; in diſcountenancing of bold Intruders, who, "without a ſufficient Call, have thruſt themſelves "into the ſacred Office; as alſo, of all unworthy "and ſcandalous Miniſters; in freeing divers godly "Miniſters from Priſon and Exile, and others from "heavy Cenſures; in preventing the utter Ruin of "the *Petitioners*, by ſetting aſide the late *Oath* and "*Canons*, the High Commiſſion, and other illegal "Preſſures of Eccleſiaſtical Courts; in making an "Order to take away all ſuperſtitious Rites and Ce- "remonies, Images, Pictures, and other Innova- "tions, out of Churches; in conducting the late "Peace with *Scotland* to an happy Concluſion, and "in their vigorous Endeavours for the Relief of "*Ireland*, &c.—But whereas there ſtill remain a great "many *Grievances* to be removed, they are neceſſi- "tated to renew their former Suit for Redreſs of the "aforeſaid Evils, and for taking away whatever "ſhall appear to be the Root and Cauſe of them. *A ſecond Petition of the Puritan Clergy for Reformation.* Nalſon, p. 764.

"And

King Charles I. 1641.

" And whereas the Petitioners, and many others, " are desirous in all Things to submit to the Laws, " so far as possibly they may, yet merely out of " Tenderness and Scruple of Conscience, they dare " not continue as formerly they did, the Exercise of " some Things enjoined; not only because they " have more seriously weighed the Nature and Scan- " dal of them, and because sundry Bishops, and other " grave Divines, called to their Assistance by order " of the House of Peers, have (as they are inform- " ed) discovered divers Particulars which need Al- " teration in the Liturgy; and because there is not " (as they humbly conceive) at this Day, commonly " extant, any Book of Common Prayer without so " many Alterations and Additions, as render it in " many parts another Thing from that which is by " Law established, but chiefly, because the House, " from a Sense of its Defects, has taken the Re- " formation thereof under Consideration, which they " hoped would be some Shelter against the strict " pressing the Use of it, till their Pleasure was de- " clared in a Parliamentary way. But though the " Petitioners have been comfortably assured of some " Ease herein, yet now to their great Sorrow they ap- " prehend that the same Things are anew enforced, " which may occasion much Trouble and Vexation " to sundry peaceable and worthy Ministers, some " of whom have been indicted upon the Statute of " 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2. since the beginning of this present " Parliament, and others threaten'd for Omissions of " some Things complained of to this High Court, " and still depending before you. The Petitioners " therefore pray the House to resume the Considera- " tion of their former Petition, and to commit the " same to the Debate of a *free Synod*, and in the mean " Time to be Mediators to his Majesty for some " Relaxation in Matters of Ceremony, and of read- " ing the whole Liturgy. They further pray, that

" a

" a monthly Faſt may be appointed and religiouſly " obſerved, during the preſent Seſſions of Parlia- " ment, and they will be ready at any Time to offer " Reaſons why there ſhould be a Synod of a different " Conſtitution from the Convocation now in being, " when they ſhall be requir'd." *King* Charles I. 1641.

The carrying up theſe Petitions to *Weſtminſter*, and eſpecially that of the *London* Apprentices, occaſioned great Tumults about the Parliament Houſe. The King was at his Palace at *Whitehall*, attended by great Numbers of diſbanded Officers, whom his Majeſty received with great Ceremony, and employed as a Guard to his Royal Perſon. Theſe Officers inſulted the common People, and gave them ill Language as they paſſed by the Court to the Parliament Houſe, crying out, *No Biſhops, no Popiſh Lords.* If the People ventur'd to reply, the Officers followed their Reproaches with Cuts and Slaſhes, which (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) produced ſome Wounds, and drew Blood. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, they came out of *Whitehall*, and catched ſome of them, and cut off their Ears. From theſe Skirmiſhes, and from the Shortneſs of the Apprentices Hair, which was cut cloſe about their Ears, the two Parties began firſt to be diſtinguiſhed by the Names of ROUNDHEAD and CAVALIER. *David Hyde*, one of the Reformades, firſt drew his Sword in *Palace Yard*, and ſwore, He would cut the Throats of thoſe *Round headed Dogs* that baul'd againſt the *Biſhops*. Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, lately promoted to the See of *York*, going by Land to the Houſe of Peers in company with the Earl of *Dover*, and hearing a Youth cry out louder than the reſt, *No Biſhops, no Popiſh Lords*, ſtept from the Earl and laid Hands on him, but his Companions reſcued him, and about one Hundred of them ſurrounding the Biſhop hemm'd him in, and with an univerſal Shout cry'd out, *No Biſhops*; after which they open'd a Paſſage and let his *Grace* go forward to the Houſe. The ſame

Tumults about the Parliament Houſe

Vol. I. p. 339.

Skirmiſhes between the two Parties.

Ruſhw. p. 464.

King Charles I. 1641.

same Day Colonel *Lunsford* coming through *Weſtminſter Hall* in company with thirty or forty Officers, drew his Sword and wounded about twenty Apprentices and Citizens: Others walking in the *Abbey* while their Friends were waiting for an Anſwer to their Petition, were ordered by the Vergers to clear the Church, leſt the Ornaments of the Cathedral ſhould ſuffer damage; upon which moſt of them went out, and the Doors were ſhut, but ſome few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the Biſhop, which occaſioned another Skirmiſh, in which Sir *Richard Wiſeman* was killed by a Stone from the Battlements; after which the Officers and Scholars ſallied out upon the Mob with Sword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The News of this being reported in the City, the whole Populace was in Arms, and reſolved to go next Morning to *Weſtminſter* with Swords and Staves. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs raiſed the Train Bands, and having ordered the City Gates to be kept ſhut, they rid about all Night to keep the Peace; but it was impoſſible to hinder the People's going out in the Day. On the other hand, the King commanded the Militia of *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex* to be raiſed by turns, as a Guard to his Royal Perſon and Family; upon which ſeveral Gentlemen of the Inns of Court offered their Service, in caſe his Majeſty apprehended any Danger. The Houſe of Commons being no leſs afraid of themſelves, petitioned for a Guard out of the City of *London*, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, which his Majeſty refuſed, but told them, he would take as much care of them as of his own Children; and if this would not ſuffice, he would command ſuch a Guard to wait upon them as he would be anſwerable to God for; but the Houſe not being willing to truſt to the King's Guard, declined his Majeſty's Offer, and not prevailing for one of their own chooſing, they ordered Halberds to be brought into the Houſe, and reſolved, in caſe of an Aſſault, to defend themſelves.

And in the City.

Ruſhw. p. 471, 456.

The

The Lords did what they could to diſperſe the Tumults, by ſending their Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to command the People to depart to their homes; and appointing a Committee to enquire into the Cauſes of them. His Majeſty alſo publiſhed a Proclamation [*Dec.* 28.] forbidding all tumultuous Aſſemblies of the People. But the Commons being unwilling to affront the Citizens, were not ſo vigorous in ſuppreſſing them, as 'tis thought they might have been; for as the King relied upon his Guard of Officers, the Commons had their Dependance upon the Good-will of the Citizens; not that the Houſe can be charged with encouraging Tumults, for the very next Day after the King's Proclamation they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, declaring their readineſs to join in all lawful Methods to appeaſe them; but they were ſenſible that their chief Strength was among the Inhabitants of *London*, without whoſe Countenance and Support every Thing muſt have been given back into the Hands of the Court.

King Charles I. 1641.

Attempts to ſuppreſs them.

While theſe Tumults continued the Biſhops were adviſed to forbear their Attendance upon the Houſe, at leaſt till after the *Chriſtmas* Holidays; but this looking too much like Cowardice, *their Lordſhips* determined to do their Duty; and becauſe the Streets were crouded with unruly People, they agreed to go by Water in their Barges; but as ſoon as they came near the Shore, the Mob ſaluted them with a Volley of Stones, ſo that being afraid to land they rowed back, and returned peaceably to their Houſes. Upon this Repulſe twelve of them met privately at the Archbiſhop of *York*'s Lodgings in *Weſtminſter*, to conſult what was next to be done. The Archbiſhop adviſed to go no more to the Houſe, and immediately in a Heat drew up the following *Proteſtation* againſt whatſoever the two Houſes ſhould do in their Abſence, which all that were preſent ſigned with their Hands, except the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

The Biſhops inſulted going to the Parliament Houſe

King Charles I. 1641.

To the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament.

Their Protestation. Claren. p. 351.

The humble Petition *and* Protestation *of all the Bishops and Prelates now called by his Majesty's Writs to attend the Parliament, and present about* London *and* West-minster *for that Service.*

" WHereas the Petitioners are called up by several " and respective Writs, and under great Penal- " ties to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and " indubitable Right to vote in Bills, and other Mat- " ters whatsoever debatable in Parliament, by the an- " cient Customs, Laws and Statutes of this Realm, " and ought to be protected by your Majesty quietly " to attend and prosecute that great Service: They " humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your " Majesty, and the noble Lords and Peers now as- " sembled in Parliament, that as they have an in- " dubitate Right to set and vote in the House of " Lords, so are they, if they may be protected from " Force and Violence, most ready and willing to " perform their Duties accordingly. And, that " they do abominate all Actions or Opinions tend- " ing to Popery and the Maintenance thereof; as " also, all Propension and Inclination to any malig- " nant Party, or any other Side or Party whatso- " ever, to the which their own Reasons and Consci- " ence shall not move them to adhere. But where- " as they have been at several Times violently me- " naced, affronted, and assaulted, by Multitudes of " People in their coming to perform their Services " in that honourable House, and lately chased away " and put in danger of their Lives, and can find no " Redress or Protection, upon sundry Complaints " made to both Houses in these Particulars: They " humbly protest before your Majesty, and the " noble House of Peers, that saving unto them- " selves all their Rights and Interest of sitting and

" voting

" voting in that Houſe at other Times, they dare " not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, until your " Majeſty ſhall further ſecure them from all Affronts, " Indignities, and Dangers, in the Premiſes. Laſt- " ly, Whereas their Fears are not built upon Fan- " taſies and Conceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and " Objections as may well terrify Men of Reſolution " and much Conſtancy, they do in all Humility and " Duty, proteſt before your Majeſty, and the Peers of " that moſt honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt " all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions, and De- " terminations, as in themſelves null, and of none " effect, which in their Abſence, ſince the 27th of " this Month of *December*, 1641. have already paſ- " ſed; as likewiſe, againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter " paſs in that moſt honourable Houſe, during the " Time of this their forced and violent Abſence from " the ſaid moſt honourable Houſe; not denying, " but if their Abſenting of themſelves were wilful " and voluntary, that moſt honourable Houſe might " proceed in all the Premiſes, their Abſence, or " this Proteſtation, notwithſtanding. And humbly " beſeeching your moſt excellent Majeſty to com- " mand the Clerk of that Houſe of Peers, to enter " this their Petition and Proteſtation among their " Records,

King Charles I. 1641.

And they will ever pray God to bleſs, &c.

John Eborac.	*George Hereford,*
Tho. Dureſme,	*Rob. Oxon.*
Ro. Cov. Lichf.	*Mat. Ely,*
Joſ. Norwich,	*Godfrey Glouceſter,*
Jo. Aſaph,	*Jo. Peterborough,*
Gul. Bath and *Wells,*	*Morice Landaff.*

This Proteſtation was preſented to the King by Archbiſhop *Williams*, who undertook to juſtify the Lawfulneſs of it; but his Majeſty declining to appear in ſo nice an Affair delivered it into the Hands

Claren: Vol. II. p. 250.

King Charles I 1641.

Hands of the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, who, by his Majeſty's Command, read it in the Houſe of Lords next Morning. After ſome Debate the Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons, when the *Keeper*, in the Name of the Houſe of Peers, declared, That *the Proteſtation of the Biſhops contained Matters of high and dangerous Conſequence, extending to the intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliaments, and therefore the Lords thought fit to communicate it to the Commons.* The Proteſtation being communicated to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolved, within half an Hour, to accuſe the twelve Biſhops of High Treaſon, *for endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Being of Parliaments*, and ſent up their Impeachment by Mr. *Glyn*, who having delivered it at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, the Uſher of the Black Rod was ordered to go immediately in ſearch of the Biſhops, and bring them to the Houſe; the Biſhops appearing the ſame Evening [*December* 30.] were ſequeſter'd from Parliament, ten of them being ſent to the *Tower*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Norwich*, by reaſon of their great Age, and the Service they had done the Church of God by their Writings and Preaching, being committed to the Cuſtody of the Black Rod, with an Allowance of five Pounds a Day for their Expence.

Rushw. p. 467.

They are impeached.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 188.

The Proteſtation illegal.

The Adverſaries of the Biſhops in both Houſes were extremely pleaſed with their unadviſed Conduct; one ſaid, it was the *Finger of God*, to bring that to paſs which otherwiſe could not have been compaſſed. There was but one Gentleman in the whole Debate that ſpoke in their Behalf, and ſaid, *He did not believe they were guilty of High Treaſon, but that they were ſtark Mad, and therefore deſired they might be ſent to* Bedlam. Lord *Clarendon* cenſures this Proteſtation, as proceeding from the Pride and Paſſion of Archbiſhop *Williams*; he admits, that the eleven Biſhops were ill adviſed, in going into his Meaſures, and ſuffering themſelves to be precipitated

Claren. Vol. II. p. 355.

ted into so hasty a Resolution, though he is certain there could be nothing of High Treason in it. However, their Behaviour gave such Scandal and Offence, even to those who passionately desired to preserve their Function, that they had no Compassion or Regard for their Persons. *King Charles I. 1641.*

The Objections that I have met with against the Protestation, are these; *First*, That it tended to destroy the very Being of Parliaments, because it put a Stop to all Laws, Orders, Votes, and Resolutions made in the Absence of the Bishops. *Secondly*, The Presence of the Bishops is hereby made so essential that no Act can pass without them, which is claiming a *negative Voice*, like the Kings. *Thirdly*, The Bishops desiring the King to command the Clerk of the House of Peers to enter their *Protestation* on Record, was derogatory to the Rights of Parliament, as though the King by his Command could make a Record of Parliament. *Fourthly*, The annulling all Laws that might be made at this Time, when *Ireland* was in so much danger, from the breaking out of the *Irish* Massacre, was a sort of conspiring with the Rebels to destroy that Kingdom. *Fifthly*, It was said, that besides the unwarrantable Expressions in the Protestation, the Form of presenting and transmitting it was unjustifiable. *Reasons of it.*

On the other hand it was said on behalf of the Bishops, that here was a manifest Force put upon them; and a Violence offered to the Freedom of *one Member* of Parliament, is a Violence offered to the whole; that therefore they had a Right to protest, and guard their Privileges, without being accountable for the ill Consequences that might follow. But should they not have petitioned the Lords to secure their Passage to Parliament, rather than have put a Negative upon all their Proceedings? I have met with but one learned Writer who commends the Bishops upon this Occasion, and he advances them, in romantick Language, to the Rank of Heroes; *Apology for the Bishops.*

King Charles I. 1641. Collyer's *Eccl. Hiſt.* Vol. II. p. 819.

his Words are theſe, "Had the Biſhops done leſs "they had fallen ſhort of that Fortitude which "might juſtly be expected from them. They had "reaſon to conclude the *Root and Branch* Work "would certainly go forward, and therefore to be "ſilent under ſuch an Outrage would look like "Cowardice. When the Proſpect is thus mena- "cing, and a Man is almoſt certain to be undone, "the moſt creditable Expedient is to ſpend himſelf "in a Blaze, and flaſh to the laſt Grain of Powder. "To go out in Smoak and Smother is but a mean "Way of coming to nothing. To creep and crawl "to a Misfortune is to ſuffer like an Inſect. A Man "ought to fall with Dignity and Honour, and to "keep his Mind erect though his Fortune happens "to be cruſht. This was the Biſhops Meaning, "and for making ſo handſome a Retreat they ought *Remarks.* "to ſtand commended upon Record." But with due Regard to this Reverend Divine, was there no Medium between being ſilent, and taking upon them to diſſolve the Parliament? For if the Proceedings of the Houſe of *Peers* are null without the *Biſhops*, 'tis no leſs certain, that thoſe of the Houſe of *Commons* are null without the *Peers*; from whence it muſt follow, that the whole Parliament is of no uſe. Mr. P. 301. *Rapin* is of Opinion, that the King hoped *that this Affair might occaſion the Diſſolution of the Parliament.* But his Majeſty was much miſtaken, for the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords being now abſent, the Majority of the Houſe of Peers was againſt the Court; which vexed the Queen and her Faction, and put them upon ſuch an extravagant Piece of Revenge as effectually ruin'd the King's Affairs, and broke the Peace of the Kingdom.

King goes to the H. of Commons to ſeize five of their Members. His Majeſty having been aſſured that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and five of the moſt active Members in the Houſe of Commons, (*viz.*) *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, *John Pym*, *John Hambden*, and *William Stroud*, Eſqs; had invited the *Scots* into *England*, and were

were now the chief Encouragers of thoſe Tumults that had kept the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords from the Houſe; that they had aſperſed his Government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his Royal Power: In a word, that they were conſpiring to levy War againſt the King; reſolved to impeach them of High Treaſon; accordingly his Majeſty ſent his Attorney General to the Houſe with the Articles [*Jan.* 3.] and at the ſame Time ſent Officers to their Houſes to ſeal up their Trunks, Papers, and Doors; but the Members not being ordered into Cuſtody, as his Majeſty expected, the King went himſelf to the Houſe next Day in the Afternoon [*Jan.* 4.] to ſeize them, attended with about two Hundred Officers and Soldiers, armed with Swords and Piſtols; the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court who had offered their Service to defend the King's Perſon, having had Notice to be ready at an Hour's warning. The King having enter'd the Houſe went directly to the Speaker's Chair, and looking about him, ſaid with a Frown, *I perceive the Birds are fled, but I will have them whereſoever I can find them, for as long as theſe Perſons are here, this Houſe will never be in the right Way that I heartily wiſh it; I expect therefore, that as ſoon as they come to the Houſe that you ſend them me.* Having then aſſured the Members, that he deſigned no Force upon them, nor Breach of Privilege, after a little Time, he withdrew; but as his Majeſty was going out, many Members cried aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!* The Houſe was in a terrible Pannick while the King was in the Chair, the Door of the Houſe, with all the Avenues, being crouded with Officers and Soldiers: As ſoon therefore as his Majeſty was gone they adjourned till next Day, and then for a Week. It was happy that the five Members had notice of the King's coming, juſt time enough to withdraw into the City, otherwiſe it might have occaſioned the Effuſion of Blood, for without doubt the armed

King Charles I. 1641.

King Charles I. 1641.

Soldiers at the Door waited but for the Word to carry them away by force. Next Day his Majesty went into the City [*Jan.* 5.] and demanded them of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, then assembled by his Order at *Guildhall*, professing at the same Time his Resolution to prosecute all that opposed the Laws, whether *Papists* or *Separatists*, and to defend the true Protestant Religion which his Father professed, and in which he would continue during his Life. But though his Majesty was nobly entertained by the Sheriffs, he now perceived, that *this rash and unadvised Action* had lost him the Hearts of the Citizens, for there were no Acclamations or Huzza's, as usual, but here and there a Voice, as he went along in his Coach, crying out, *Privilege of Parliament! Privilege of Parliament!* However, he went on with his Resolution, and *Jan.* 8. published a Proclamation, commanding all Magistrates, and Officers of Justice, to apprehend the accused Members and carry them to the *Tower*.

Rushw. p. 479.

Authors of this Project.

'Tis hard to say with any certainty, who put the King upon this unparallel'd Act of Violence upon the Parliament, which the most arbitrary of his Predecessors never attempted. If his Majesty reflected at all upon what he was going about, we must conclude, that he intended *to dissolve the Parliament, and to return to his former Methods of arbitrary Government*; because by the same Rule that the King might take five Members out of the House he might take out five Hundred; besides, several of the Articles laid against them were equally chargeable upon the Majority of the House. It now appeared (says *Rapin*) that the King was resolved to be revenged on those that had offended him; and that there was no further room to confide in his Royal Word. Some say this was Lord *Digby*'s mad Project, who, when he found his Majesty, after his Return out of the City, vexed at his Disappointment, offered to go with a select Company and bring them dead or alive; but

p. 322, 323.

the King was afraid of the Conſequences of ſuch an Enterprize; and *Digby* being ordered to attend in his Place in the Houſe, thought fit to withdraw out of the Kingdom. Mr. *Eachard*, with greater Probability, lays it upon the *Queen* and her Cabal of Papiſts; and adds, that when the King expreſſed his Diſtruſt of the Affair, her Majeſty broke out into a violent Paſſion, and ſaid, *Allez Poltron*, &c. *Go Coward, and pull theſe Rogues out by the Ears, or never ſee my Face any more*; which it ſeems (ſays the Archdeacon) determined the whole Matter. *King Charles I. 1641.*

The Citizens of *London* were ſo far from delivering up the five Members, that they petitioned the King that they might be at liberty, and proceeded againſt according to the Methods of Parliament. At the ſame Time they acquainted his Majeſty with their Apprehenſions of the Ruin of Trade, and of the Danger of the Proteſtant Religion, by reaſon of the Progreſs of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the Numbers of Papiſts and other diſbanded Officers about the Court. His Majeſty finding he had loſt the City fortified *Whitehall* with Men and Munition, and ſent Canoneers into the *Tower* to defend it, if there was Occaſion. When the Citizens complained of this, his Majeſty replied, "That it was "done with an Eye to their Safety and Advantage; "that his fortifying *Whitehall* was not before it was "neceſſary, and that, if any Citizens had been "wounded it was undoubtedly for their evil and cor-"rupt Demeanor." But they had no Confidence in the King's Protection. A Thouſand Mariners and Sailors offered to guard the five Members to *Weſtminſter* by Water upon the Day of their Adjournment [*Jan.* 11.] and the Train Bands offered the Committee at *Guildhall* to do the ſame by Land, which was accepted; but the Offer of the Apprentices was refuſed. Things being come to this Extremity, his Majeſty, to avoid the Hazard of an Affront from the Populace, took a fatal Reſolution *City of London for the Parliament.* Rapin, P. 317.

King Charles I 1641.

to leave *Whitehall*, and accordingly, *Jan.* 10. the Day before the Parliament was to meet, he removed with his Queen and the whole Royal Family to *Hampton Court*, and two Days after to *Windsor*, from whence he travell'd by easy Journies to *York*; but never returned to *London* till he was brought thither as a Criminal, to Execution.

King leaves Whitehall

Remarks. By the King's deserting his Capital in this manner, and not returning when the Ferment was over, he left the Strength and Riches of the Kingdom in the Hands of the Parliament; for next Day the five Members were conducted by Water in Triumph to *Westminster*, the Train Bands of the City marching at the same Time by Land, who, after they had received the Thanks of the House were dismissed; and Serjeant *Skippon*, with a Company of the City Militia, was appointed to guard the Parliament House; *from this Day* (says Lord *Clarendon*) *we may reasonably date the levying War in* England, *whatsoever has been since done being but the Superstructures upon these Foundations.* It must be confessed, that two Days after [*Jan.* 12.] the King sent a Message to the House, waving his Proceedings with respect to the five Members, and promising to be as careful of their Privileges as of his Life or Crown; and a little after his Majesty offered a general Pardon; but the Commons had too much Reason at this Time not to depend upon his Royal Promise; they insisted, that the accused Members should be brought to their Trial in a legal and parliamentary Way; in order to which they desired his Majesty to inform them, what Proof there was against them; it being the undoubted Right and Privilege of Parliament, *that no Member can be proceeded against without the Consent of the House*; which his Majesty refusing to comply with, removed further off, to *Windsor*, and enter'd upon Measures very inconsistent with the Peace of the Kingdom.

Vol. II. p. 383.

Rushw. Vol. IV. p. 492.

Bishops not brought to their Trial. To return to the Bishops; about a Fortnight after their Commitment [*Jan.* 17.] they pleaded to the Im-

Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons, *Not Guilty, in manner and form*, and petition'd the Lords for a ſpeedy Trial, which was appointed for the 25th Inſtant, but was put off from Time to Time, till the whole Bench of Biſhops was voted out of the Houſe, and then entirely dropt; for the very next Day after their Commitment the Commons deſired the Lords to reſume the Conſideration of the Bill that had been ſent up ſome Months ago, *for taking away all temporal Juriſdiction from thoſe in holy Orders*, which the Lords promiſed: It had paſſed the Commons without any Difficulty about the Time of the *Iriſh* Inſurrection, but was laid aſide in the Houſe of Lords, as being thought impoſſible to go through while the Biſhops Votes were entire: When it was revived at this Juncture, the Earl of *Bedford* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* made a vigorous Stand againſt it. His Lordſhip urged, that it was contrary to the Uſage of Parliament, when a Bill had been once rejected, to bring it in a ſecond Time the ſame Seſſion. To which it was replied, that it was not the ſame Bill [having a new Title] though it was to accompliſh the ſame End. Beſides, the Diſtreſs of the Times required ſome extraordinary Meaſures for their Redreſs; and further, ſince the King had been graciouſly pleaſed to paſs an Act for *the Continuance of this Parliament as long as they thought fit to ſit*, and thereby parted with his Right of proroguing or diſſolving them, the Nature of Things was altered, and therefore they were not to be tied down to the ordinary Forms in other Caſes. The Queſtion being put, whether the Bill ſhould be read, it paſt in the Affirmative; upon which the Conſideration of it was reſumed, and after ſome few Debates the Bill was paſſed by a very great Majority, *Feb.* 6. 1641-2. the Citizens of *London* expreſſing their Satisfaction by ringing of Bells and Bonfires. But it was ſtill apprehended that the King would refuſe his Aſſent, becauſe when he had been preſſed to it his Majeſty had ſaid, it was a Matter of great Concern-

King Charles I. 1641.

Bill to take away their Votes revived.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 302, 426.

And paſſes the Houſe of Lords.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 227.

ment,

King Charles I. 1641.

ment, and therefore he would take Time to consider; but the Commons not content with this Delay sent again to *Windsor*, to press his Compliance upon the following Reasons, "Because the Subjects suffered by "the Bishops exercising temporal Jurisdiction, and "making a Party in the House of Lords. Because "it was apprehended that there would be a happy "Conjunction of both Houses upon the Exclusion of "the Bishops. And the signing this Bill would be a "comfortable Pledge of his Majesty's gracious As-"sent to the future Remedies of those Evils which "were to be presented to him."

Arguments for the King to pass it.

This Message from the Commons was seconded by those of greatest Trust about the King, who argued, "That the Combination against the Bishops "was irresistible; that the passing this Bill was the "only way to preserve the Church; and, that if the "Parliament was gratified in this, so many Persons "in both Houses would be fully satisfied, that they "would join in no further Alterations; but if they "were crossed in this, they would endeavour an Ex-"tirpation of the Bishops, and a Demolishing of the "whole Fabrick of the Church." They argued further, "That Force or indirect Means having been "made use of to obtain the Bill, *the King might by his* "*Power* bring the *Bishops* in again when the present "Distempers were composed." An Argument by which his Majesty might set aside all his Concessions, or *Acts of Grace* (as he was pleased to call them) to his Parliament at once. But none of these Reasons would have prevailed, had not the Queen made use of her sovereign Influence over the King. Her Majesty was made to believe by Sir *J. Culpeper*, that her own Preservation depended upon the King's Consent to the Bill; that if his Majesty refused it her Journey into *Holland* would be stopt, and her Person possibly endangered by some Mutiny or Insurrection, whereas the using her Interest with the King would lay a popular Obligation upon the Kingdom, and make her acceptable

Claren. Vol. I. p. 427.

able to the Parliament. Theſe Arguments carrying a Face of Probability, her Majeſty wreſted the King's Reſolution from him, ſo that the Bill was ſigned by Commiſſion, *Feb.* 14. together with another againſt preſſing Soldiers, his Majeſty being then at *Canterbury*, accompanying the Queen in her Paſſage to *Holland*. But his Majeſty's ſigning them with ſo much Reluctance did him a Diſſervice. All Men took notice of his Diſcontent; and Lord *Clarendon* ſays, He has cauſe to believe, that the King was prevailed with to ſign them, *becauſe he was told, that there being Violence and Force uſed to obtain them, they were therefore in themſelves null, and in quieter Times might eaſily be revoked and diſannulled.* A ſhort Method of cutting aſunder the Sinews of the moſt eſtabliſhed Laws of a Country! To give the Reader the Act it ſelf; the Preamble begins thus,

King Charles I. 1641.

King paſſes it. Ruſhw. P. 552.

Vol. I. P. 427, 430.

The Act it ſelf.

" WHereas Biſhops, and other Perſons in Holy " Orders, ought not to be entangled with " ſecular Juriſdiction (the Office of the Miniſtry be- " ing of ſuch great Importance that it will take up " the whole Man). And for that it is found by long " Experience, that their intermedling with ſecular " Juriſdictions hath occaſioned great Miſchiefs and " Scandals both to Church and State, his Majeſty, " out of his Religious Care of the Church, and " Souls of his People, is graciouſly pleaſed that it " be enacted, and by Authority of this preſent Par- " liament be it enacted, That no Archbiſhop or Bi- " ſhop, or other Perſon that now is, or hereafter " ſhall be in holy Orders, ſhall at any Time after " the 15th Day of *February*, in the Year of our Lord " 1641. have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Vote, " or uſe, or execute any Power or Authority in the " Parliaments of this Realm, nor ſhall be of the " Privy Council of his Majeſty, his Heirs or Suc- " ceſſors, or Juſtices of the Peace of Oyer and Ter- " miner, or Gaol Delivery, or execute any tempo-

" ral

King Charles I. 1641.

" ral Authority, by virtue of any Commiſſion; " but ſhall be wholly diſabled, and be uncapable to " have, receive, uſe, or execute any of the ſaid " Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and Things " aforeſaid.

" And be it further enacted by the Authority " aforeſaid, that all Acts from and after the ſaid " 15th of *February*, which ſhall be done or executed " by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or other Perſon " whatſoever in Holy Orders; and all and every " Suffrage or Voice, given or delivered by them, or " any of them, or other Thing done by them, or " any of them, contrary to the Purport and true " Meaning of this preſent Act, ſhall be utterly " void, to all Intents, Conſtructions, and Pur- " poſes."

Remarks upon it.

Thus the Peerage of the Biſhops, and the whole ſecular Power of the Clergy, ceaſed for about twenty Years; how far they contributed to it by their Pride and Ambition, their ſovereign Contempt of the Laity, and indiſcreet Behaviour towards their Neighbours, has been already obſerved. Their Enemies ſaid, the Hand of God was againſt them, becauſe they had given too much Countenance to the ridiculing of true Devotion and Piety, under the Name of *Godly Puritaniſm*; becauſe they had ſilenced great Numbers of Miniſters, eminent for Learning and Piety, for not complying with certain indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, while others that were vicious, and inſufficient for their Places, were continued; becauſe they made a ſtricter Enquiry after thoſe who faſted and prayed, and join'd together in religious Exerciſes, than after thoſe who were guilty of Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and other Kinds of Debauchery; becauſe they diſcouraged Afternoon Sermons and Lectures, and encouraged Sports and Paſtimes on the Lord's Day; becauſe they had driven many hundred Families out of the Land; and were, upon the whole, Enemies

Baxter's *Hiſt. Life and Times*, p. 33.

to the Civil Intereſts of their Country. Others objected, that moſt of them verged too much towards the See of *Rome*, and gave ground to ſuſpect, that they were deſigning an Union between the two Churches, which, at a Time when the *Roman* Catholicks in *Ireland* had embrued their Hands in the Blood of almoſt two hundred Thouſand Proteſtants; and were ſo numerous at home, as to make large and publick Collections of Money to ſupport the King in his War againſt the *Scots*, was ſufficient to make every ſincere Proteſtant jealous of their Power. Beſides, the Biſhops themſelves had been guilty of a great many Oppreſſions; they had in a manner laid aſide the Practice of Preaching, that they might be the more at leiſure for the governing Part of their Function; and even here they tranſferred the whole of their Juriſdiction upon their Chancellors and Under Officers. They did not ſit in their Conſiſtories to hear Complaints, or do Juſtice either to Clergy or Laity, but turn'd over the People to Regiſters, Proctors, and Apparitors, who drew their Money from them againſt Equity and Law, and uſed them at Diſcretion. Few or none of them made their Viſitations in Perſon; nor did they live in their Epiſcopal Cities, by which means there was no kind of Hoſpitality or Liberality to the Poor. Divine Service in their Cathedrals was neglected, or ill performed, for want of their Preſence and Inſpection. Inſtead of conferring *Orders* at the Mother Church they made uſe of the Chapels of their private Houſes, nor did they require the Aſſiſtance of their Deans and Chapters upon ſuch ſolemn Occaſions; they pronounced the Cenſures of Deprivation and Degradation in a monarchical and abſolute Manner, not calling in the *Deans and Chapters to any Share of the Adminiſtration.* And upon the whole, they did little elſe but receive their Rents, indulge their Eaſe, conſult their Grandeur, and lord it over their Brethren. Theſe were the popular Complaints againſt

King Charles I. 1641.

Collyer's *Ecc. Hiſt.* p. 820.

King Charles I. 1641.

againſt them, which made the Citizens rejoice at their Downfal, and attend the paſſing of the Bill with Bonfires and Illuminations. But if all theſe Things had not concurred in a nice and critical State of Affairs, the Attempts of the Houſe of Commons would have been in vain; neither the King nor the Houſe of Peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their Seats in Parliament. This was one of the laſt Bills the King paſt; and the only Law which he enacted in Prejudice of the Eſtabliſhed Church. Here his Majeſty made a Stand, and by a Meſſage ſent to both Houſes, deſired not to be preſt to any one ſingle Act further, till the whole Affair of Church Government and the Liturgy was ſo digeſted and ſettled by both Houſes, that he might ſee clearly what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

Ruſhw. p. 554.

CHAP. XI.

From the KING's *leaving* Whitehall *to the beginning of the* Civil War.

ALL Things now tended to a Rupture between the King and Parliament; the Legiſlature was divided and the Conſtitution broken. While the Royal Family was at *Hampton Court* the Officers and Soldiers that were quartered about *Kingſton*, to the Number of two Hundred, made ſuch Diſturbances, that the Militia of the County was raiſed to diſperſe them. After a few Days the King removed further, to *Windſor*, where a Cabinet Council was held in preſence of the *Queen*, in which, beſides the Reſolution of paſſing no more Bills, already mentioned, it was further agreed, that her Majeſty being to accompany the Princeſs her Daughter to *Holland*, in order to her Marriage with the Prince of *Orange*, ſhould take with her the Crown Jewels, and pledge them for ready Money; with which ſhe ſhould purchaſe Arms and Ammunition, *&c.* for the King's Service. She was alſo to treat with the Kings of *France* and *Spain* for four Thouſand Soldiers, by the Mediation of the Pope's Nuncio. It was agreed further, that his Majeſty ſhould come to no Agreement with the Parliament, till he underſtood the Succeſs of her Negotiations, but ſhould endeavour to get Poſſeſſion of the important Fortreſſes of *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, where the Arms and Artillery of the late Army in the North were depoſited. Mr. *Eachard* ſays it was reſolved, that the Queen ſhould remove to *Portſmouth*, and the King to *Hull*; that being poſſeſſed of thoſe Places of Strength, where his Friends might reſort to him with Safety, he ſhould ſit ſtill till the hot Spirits at *Weſtminſter* could be brought to Reaſon; but this important Secret being diſcovered the

King Charles I. 1642.

State of the Nation.

Reſolutions of the Cabinet Council at Windſor.

p. 525.

Rapin, Par. p. 354.

King Charles I. 1642.

Parliament enter'd upon more effectual Measures for their Safety: They sent to Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, not to receive any Forces into the Town but by Authority of the King, signified by both Houses of Parliament. Sir *John Hotham* was sent to secure the Magazine at *Hull*; and a Guard was placed about the *Tower* of *London*, to prevent the carrying out any Ordnance or Ammunition without Consent of Parliament. Lord *Clarendon*, and after him Mr. *Eachard*, censure the two Houses for exercising these *first Acts of Sovereignty*; but how far they were necessary for their own and the publick Safety, after what had past, and after the Resolutions of the Councils at *Windsor*, I leave with the Reader.

p. 370, 371.

Debates about the Militia.

The Command of the Militia had been usually in the Crown; tho' *the Law had not positively determined in whom that great Power was lodged*, as Mr. *Whitlock* undertook to prove before the Commissioners at *Uxbridge*: The King claimed the sole Disposal of it to himself, but the Parliament insisted that it was not in the King alone, but in the King and Parliament jointly; and that, when the Kingdom is in imminent Danger, if the Royal Power is not executed in its Defence, the *Military Force* may be raised without it. But waving the Question of RIGHT, the Parliament desired the Command of the Militia might be put into such Hands as they could confide in only for two Years, till the present Disorders were quieted, but the King refused, unless the House would first give up the Question of *Right*, and vest the sole Command of the Militia in the Crown by Form of Law; which the Parliament declined, and voted the Advisers of that Answer Enemies of the Kingdom.

Petitions to the Parliament to provide for the Safety of the Nation.

Multitudes of Petitions were presented to the Houses from the *City of London*, and from the Counties of *Middlesex*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, &c. beseeching them to provide for the Safety of the Nation, by disarming Papists, by taking Care of the Protestants in *Ireland*.

Ireland, by bringing Evil Counſellors to Puniſhment, by putting the Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence, and by committing the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, to ſuch Perſons as both Houſes could confide in; but their Hands were tied, becauſe the King claimed to himſelf the *ſole* Execution of the Laws, and would act no longer in Concert with his Parliament. The Commons, encouraged by the Spirit of the People, petitioned a ſecond Time for the Militia, and framed an Ordinance, with a Liſt of the Names of ſuch Perſons in whom they could confide. His Majeſty, in order to amuſe the Houſe and gain Time, told them, That *he could not diveſt himſelf of that juſt Power that God and the Laws of the Kingdom had placed in him for the Defence of his People, for any indefinite Time.* After this they preſented a third Petition to the King at *Theobalds* [*March* 1.] in which they proteſt, *That if his Majeſty perſiſts in that Denial, the Dangers and Diſtempers of the Kingdom were ſuch as would endure no longer delay; and therefore, if his Majeſty will not ſatisfy their Deſires, they ſhall be inforced, for the Safety of the Kingdom, to diſpoſe of the Militia by Authority of both Houſes of Parliament, and they reſolve to do it accordingly:* Beſeeching his Majeſty at the ſame Time to reſide near his Parliament. The King was ſo enflamed with this Proteſtation, that he told them, *He was amazed at their Meſſage, but ſhould not alter his Reſolution in any Point.* And inſtead of reſiding near his Parliament he removed to *New Market*, and by Degrees as far as *York*. Upon this the Commons voted *March* 4. *That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Poſture of Defence by Authority of both Houſes, in ſuch a Way as is already agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament*; and next Day they publiſhed an Ordinance for that purpoſe. *March* 9. both Houſes preſented a Declaration to the King at *New Market*, " expreſſing the Cauſes of their Fears " and Jealouſies, and their earneſt Deſires, that his " Majeſty would put from him thoſe wicked and " miſ-

King Charles I. 1642.

Their Proceedings.

Ruſhw. p. 523.

Ib. p. 524.

Rapin, p. 374.

Ruſhw. p. 528.

King Charles I. 1642.

" miſchievous Counſellors, that have cauſed theſe " Differences between him and his Parliament; that " he would come to *Whitehall*, and continue his own " and the Prince's Reſidence near his Parliament, " which he may do with more Honour and Safety " than in any other Place. We beſeech your Ma- " jeſty (ſay they) to conſider in what State you are, " and how eaſy the Way is to Happineſs, Greatneſs " and Honour, if you will join with your Parlia- " ment; this is all we expect, and for this we will " return you our Lives and Fortunes, and do every " Thing we can to ſupport your juſt Sovereignty and " Power. But it is not Words alone that will ſecure " us; that which we deſire is ſome real Effect in grant- " ing thoſe Things that the preſent Neceſſities of the " Kingdom require." They add further, " That his " Majeſty's Removal to ſo great a Diſtance not on- " ly obſtructed the Proceedings of Parliament, but " look'd like an Alienation of the Kingdom from " himſelf and Family." His Majeſty's beſt Friends adviſed him to take this Opportunity to return to *London*; *and it muſt be ſolely imputed to his Majeſty's own Reſolutions* (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) *that he took not that Courſe*; but inſtead of this he broke out into a Paſſion, and told them, he had his Fears for the true Proteſtant Profeſſion and the Laws as well as they: " What would you have? (ſays his " Majeſty) Have I violated your Laws, or denied " to paſs any Bill for the Eaſe of my Subjects? I " do not aſk you what you have done for me — " God ſo deal with me and mine, as my Intentions " are upright for maintaining the true Proteſtant " Profeſſion and the Laws of the Land." Being aſked by the Earl of *Pembroke*, Whether he would not grant the *Militia* for a little Time? his Majeſty ſwore by God, *No, not for an Hour.* When he was put in mind of his frequent Violation of the Laws, his Majeſty replied, That he had made ample Repa- ration, and did not expect to be reproached with the Actions of his Miniſters.

Ruſhw. p. 533.

As

As his Majeſty inſiſted upon the *Militia*, he claimed alſo an *unalienable Right to all the Forts and Garriſons of the Kingdom, with an uncontroulable Power to diſpoſe of the Arms and Ammunition laid up in them, as his proper Goods.* This the Parliament diſputed, and maintained, that they were his Majeſty's, only in *Truſt for the Publick*, and that in diſcharge of this Truſt the Parliament ſitting are his Counſellors; for if the King had ſuch a Property in the Forts and Magazines as he claimed, he might then ſell or transfer them into an Enemy's Hand as abſolutely as a private Perſon may his Lands and Goods; which is a ſtrange Maxim, and contrary to the Act of 40 *Edw.* III. Many Declarations paſſed between the King and his Parliament on this Argument, while each Party were getting Poſſeſſion of all that they could. The King was contriving to get Poſſeſſion of the Magazine of *Hull*, but the Parliament were before hand with his Majeſty, and not only ſecured that important Fortreſs, but got Poſſeſſion of the Fleet [*March* 31.] which ſubmitted to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Parliament appointed to be their Admiral. *King* Charles I. 1642.

But the Ordinance of *March* 5. *For diſpoſing of the Militia by both Houſes of Parliament without the King, in Caſes of extreme Danger to the Nation, of which Danger the two Houſes were the proper Judges, with the ſubſequent Reſolutions* of *March* 16. were the GRAND CRISIS which divided the two Parties in the Houſe. Mr. *Hyde*, afterwards Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Bridgeman*, Mr. *Palmer*, and other eminent Lawyers and Gentlemen, having given their Opinion againſt the Ordinance, deſerted their Stations and retired to the King. On the other hand, Serjeant *Maynard*, *Whitlocke*, *Glyn*, *Selden*, the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, Mr. *Lee*, *St. John*, *Grimſton*, and divers others of no leſs Judgment in Law, and of a ſuperior Intereſt in their Country, accepted of Commiſſions in the *Militia*, and continued in the Service of the Parliament. Many retired to their Country Seats, and were for ſtand- *The Criſis.*

King Charles I. 1642.

ing Neuter in this nice Conjuncture; but thoſe that remained in the Houſe were about three Hundred, beſides fifty that were employed in the Country, and about fifty more that were abſent with leave; the reſt went over to the King, and were ſome Time after expell'd the Houſe. But from this Time the ſitting Members were more reſolute, and met with leſs Oppoſition.

March 15. his Majeſty acquainted the Houſes from *Huntington*, with his Deſign to reſide for ſome Time at *York*; and adds, that he expected "they ſhould "pay a due Regard to his Prerogative, and to the "Laws eſtabliſhed; and that none of his Subjects "ſhould preſume, under Colour of any Order or "Ordinance of Parliament, to which his Majeſty is "not a Party, to do or execute what is not war-"rantable by the Laws." His Majeſty's Intention, by this Meſſage, was to put a ſtop to all farther Proceedings of the Parliament, for their own and the Nation's Security, till they had digeſted all their Grievances into a Body. Upon receiving this Declaration both Houſes came to theſe Reſolutions among others.

Votes and Reſolutions of the Commons. Ruſhw. p. 534. Rapin, p. 390, &c.

March 16. *Reſolved*, "That thoſe who adviſe his "Majeſty to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, "are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and "juſtly ſuſpected to be Favourers of the Rebellion "in *Ireland*.

Reſolved, "That the Ordinance of Parliament for "the Militia is not inconſiſtent with the Oath of Al-"legiance; but that the ſeveral Commiſſions grant-"ed by his Majeſty under the Great Seal to the Lieu-"tenants of the ſeveral Counties are illegal and void.

Reſolved, "That in Caſes of extreme Danger, and "of his Majeſty's Refuſal to act in Concert with his "Parliament, the People ought, by the fundamental "Laws of the Kingdom, to obey the Ordinance of "both Houſes concerning the *Militia*; and that ſuch "Perſons as ſhall be appointed Deputy Lieutenants,

"and

" and are approved by both Houſes, ought to take " upon them to execute their Offices. *King* Charles I. 1642.

It was reſolved further, " That the two Houſes of " Parliament being the Repreſentative Body of the " whole Nation, and two Parts in three of the " Legiſlature, were the proper Judges of the State " and Condition of it.

Reſolved, " That when both Houſes agreed, that " the Nation was in extreme Danger, as they now " did, the King was obliged by the Laws of Nature, " as well as by the Laws of the Land, to agree to " thoſe Remedies which they who are his great " Council ſhould adviſe him to. This ſeems evident " from the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. entitled, The Sta- " tute of Proviſors of Benefices, which ſays, that *the " Right of the Crown of* England, *and the Laws of the " Realm is ſuch, that upon the Miſchiefs and Damages " that happen to this Realm, our Sovereign Lord the " King ought, and is bound by his Oath, with the Accord " of his People in Parliament, to ordain Remedy for re- " moving thereof.* Ruſhw. p. 669.

Reſolved, " That if in ſuch a Time of Danger his " Majeſty deſerts his Parliament, or refuſes to con- " cur with them in ordaining ſuch Remedies as are " abſolutely neceſſary for the common Safety, then " the two Houſes ought to look upon themſelves as " the Guardians of the People, and provide for their " Defence.

Reſolved, " That when the Lords and Commons, " which is the ſupreme Court of Judicature in the " Kingdom, ſhall declare *what the Law of the Land " is*; to have this not only queſtion'd but contradicted, " and a Command that it ſhould not be obey'd, is a " high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament."

His Majeſty on the other hand averr'd, " That *The King Reply.* " the Kingdom was in no Danger, but from the ar- " bitrary Proceedings of the Parliament, who were " invading the Royal Prerogative, and ſubverting " the Conſtitution in Church and State.

King Charles I. 1642.

" That if the Kingdom was really in Danger, He " was the *Guardian* and Protector of his People, " and was anſwerable to God only for his Conduct; " but that Parliaments were temporary and diſſolva- " ble at his Pleaſure: That he ſhould therefore con- " ſider them as his Counſellors and Adviſers, but not " his Commanders or Dictators.

His Majeſty admitted, " That in ſome doubtful " Caſes the Parliament were Judges of the Law, but " he did not think himſelf bound to renounce his " own Judgment and Underſtanding, by paſſing " Laws which might ſeparate from his Crown that " which was in a manner eſſential to it (*viz.*) a " *Power to protect his Subjects.*"

The Parliament's Anſwer. Ruſhw. p. 698. Rapin, p. 477.

To which the Commons replied, " That the " King alone could not be Judge in this Caſe, for " the King judges not Matters of Law but by his " Courts; nor can the Courts of Law be Judges of " the State of the Kingdom againſt the Parliament, " becauſe they are inferior; but as the Law is de- " termined by the Judges, who are the King's " Council, ſo the State of the Nation is to be de- " termined by the two Houſes of Parliament, who " are the proper Judges of the Conſtitution. If " therefore the Lords and Commons in Parliament " aſſembled, declare this or the other Matter to be " according to Law, or according to the Conſtitu- " tion of the Kingdom, 'tis not lawful for any ſingle " Perſon or inferior Court to contradict it."

Remarks.

But inſtead of tiring the Reader with a long Paper War in ſupport of theſe Propoſitions, I will make one general Remark, which may ſerve as a Key to the whole Controverſy. *If we ſuppoſe the Kingdom to be in its natural State, after the King left his Parliament, and would act no longer in concert with it. If the Conſtitution was then entire, and the moſt conſiderable Grievances redreſſed. If the Laws in being were a ſufficient Security againſt the Return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and there was ſufficient Reaſon to believe thoſe Laws would*

would have their free Courſe, then the King's Arguments are ſtrong and concluſive; for in all ordinary Caſes, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the due Execution of the Laws, is veſted in the Crown; nor may the Lords and Commons in Parliament make new Laws, or ſuſpend and alter old ones, without his Majeſty's Conſent. But on the other hand, *If in the Opinion of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, who are the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, the Conſtitution is broken, by the King's deſerting his two Houſes, and reſolving to act no longer in Concert with them; or by any other Overt-Acts of his Majeſty's Council, inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution. Or if both Houſes ſhall declare the Religion and Liberties of the Nation to be in imminent Danger, either from foreign or domeſtick Enemies, and the King will not concur with his Parliament to apply ſuch Remedies as the Wiſdom of his two Houſes ſhall think neceſſary*; then certainly, after proper Petitions and Remonſtrances, they may provide for the publick Safety, as much as in the Caſe of Nonage or Captivity of the Prince. In order therefore to decide in the preſent Controverſy, we muſt carefully conſider the true Condition of the Nation; whether it was in its natural State? or, Whether the Conſtitution being divided and broken by the King's deſerting his Parliament, the legal Form of Government was not diſſolved? In the former Caſe I apprehend the King was in the right; but in the latter the Parliament.

King Charles I. 1642.

This unhappy Controverſy was managed with great Warmth, and mutual Reproaches, but with this Decency, that the King did not charge his Parliament with criminal Deſigns, but only a malignant Party in both Houſes; nor did the Parliament reproach the Perſon of the *King*, but laid all their Grievances upon his evil Counſellors; however, 'tis eaſy to obſerve, that it was impoſſible for the two Parties to agree, becauſe they reaſoned upon different Principles; the King ſuppoſing the Nation was in Safety, and that therefore the Laws

King Charles I. 1642.

ſhould have their natural Courſe; the Parliament apprehending the Conſtitution broken, and that therefore it was their Duty to provide for the publick Safety, even without his Majeſty's Conſent. But we ſhall have more Light into this Controverſy hereafter.

The Scots offer their Mediation.

To return to the Hiſtory: Though the *Scots* were made eaſy at home, being in full Poſſeſſion of their Civil and Religious Rights, yet they were not willing to be unconcerned Spectators of the Ruin of the *Engliſh* Parliament, partly out of Gratitude for the Favours they had received, and partly from an Apprehenſion, that the Security of their own Settlement, as well as the Spreading their Kirk Diſcipline into *England* depended upon it. While the King was at *Windſor* the *Scots* Commiſſioners at *London* offered their Mediation between his Majeſty and his two Houſes: In their Petition they tell his Majeſty, "That the Liberties of *England* and *Scotland* muſt "ſtand and fall together;" and after ſome Expreſſions of Grief for the Diſtractions of *England*, which they conceive to ariſe from the Plots of the Papiſts and Prelates, whoſe Aim has been, not only to prevent any further Reformation, but to ſubvert the Purity and Truth of Religion, they offer their Service to compoſe the Differences, and beſeech his Majeſty "to have recourſe to the faithful Advices of "both Houſes of Parliament, which will not only "quiet the Minds of his *Engliſh* Subjects, but re"move the Jealouſies and Fears that may poſſeſs "the Hearts of his Subjects in his other Kingdoms." In their Paper of the ſame Date to both Houſes of Parliament, *Jan.* 15. "They return Thanks to the "Parliament of *England*, for the Aſſiſtance given to "the Kingdom of *Scotland* in ſettling their late Trou"bles; and next to the Providence of God and his "Majeſty's Goodneſs, they acknowledge their Obli"gations to the Mediation and brotherly Kindneſs "of the *Engliſh* Parliament; and now, by way of "Re-

" Return, and to discharge the Trust reposed in " them, they offer their Mediation between them " and the King, beseeching the Houses to consider " of the fairest and most likely Methods to compose " the Differences in Church and State." Bishop *Burnet* says, Their Design was to get Episcopacy brought down, and Presbytery set up, to the *first of which most of the Members were willing to consent, but few were cordial for the latter.* *King Charles I. 1642.*

The King was highly displeased with the *Scots Mediation*, and sent them Word, that the Case of *England* and *Scotland* was different; in *Scotland* (says his Majesty) Episcopacy was never fully settled by Law, and is found to be contrary to the Genius of the People; but in *England* it is rooted in the very Constitution, and has flourished without Interruption for eighty Years; he therefore commands them not to transact between him and his Parliament, without first communicating their Propositions to him in private. At the same Time his Majesty sent Letters into *Scotland*, and ordered the Chancellor to use his utmost Efforts to keep that Kingdom to a Neutrality. On the other hand, the Parliament threw themselves into the Arms of the *Scots*; they thanked the Commissioners for their kind and seasonable interposing, and prayed them to continue their Endeavours to remove the present Distractions, and to preserve the Union between the two Kingdoms. They writ likewise into *Scotland* to the same Purpose; the Effects of which will appear at the next Meeting of their Parliament. *Which the King refuses.* *But the Parliament accepts.*

In the mean Time the Lords and Commons, in order to encourage the Expectations of their Friends in both Kingdoms published the following Declaration of their Intentions.

Die Sabbati, April 9. 1642. *Declaration of the Parliament concerning Reformation.*

" The Lords and Commons declare, that they " intend a due and necessary Reformation of the

King Charles I. 1642.

" the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, " and to take away nothing in the one but what " ſhall be evil and juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt unne- " ceſſary and burdenſom; and for the better effect- " ing thereof, ſpeedily to have Conſultation with " godly and learned Divines; and becauſe this will " never of it ſelf attain the Ends ſought therein, " they will uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh " learned and preaching Miniſters, with a good and " ſufficient Maintenance, throughout the whole " Kingdom, wherein many dark Corners are miſer- " ably deſtitute of the Means of Salvation, and ma- " ny poor Miniſters want neceſſary Proviſion."

This Declaration was ordered to be publiſhed by the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, for the Satisfaction of the People.

The Diſtance between *London* and *York* encreaſed the Miſunderſtanding between the King and his Parliament; Numbers of Paſſengers travelling between the two Places with ſecret Intelligence, the Parliament appointed the following Oath to be taken by all that came from the King's Quarters.

The Negative Oath.

" I A. B. *do ſwear from my Heart, that I will not* " *directly nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly* " *aſſiſt the King in this War, or in this Cauſe againſt* " *the Parliament, nor any Forces raiſed without Conſent* " *of the two Houſes of Parliament, in this Cauſe or War.* " *And I do likewiſe ſwear, that my coming, and ſub-* " *mitting my ſelf under the Power and Protection of Par-* " *liament, is without any manner of Deſign whatſoever to* " *the Prejudice of the Proceedings of this preſent Parlia-* " *ment, and without Direction, Privity, or Advice of* " *the King, or any of his Council or Officers, other than* " *I have made known. So help me God, and the Con-* " *tents of this Book.*"

This was called the NEGATIVE OATH, and was voted *April* 5. 1642.

As

King Charles I. 1642.

As ſoon as the Correſpondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous *News Papers*, *Mercuries*, and *Weekly Intelligencers*, began to appear, full of Scandal and Reproach, whereby the Conduct of great and wiſe Men was aſpers'd, innumerable falſe Reports were ſpread through the Nation, and the Spirits of the People ſharpened for War. On the Side of the King was *Mercurius Aulicus*; and on the Side of the Parliament *Mercurius Britannicus*: When the King fixed his Court at *Oxford*, the learned Garriſon drew their Pens for the King, as the Politicians of *London* did for the Parliament; and while the Armies were in the Field theſe Gentlemen employed themſelves in magnifying their wonderful Exploits to the People; ſo that beſides the abovementioned weekly Papers there appeared, *Mercurius Ruſticus* — *Pragmaticus* — *Politicus* — *Publicus* — *Diurnals* — and *Intelligencers* without Number. The Pulpits alſo were employed in the ſame Work; the Preachers dealt too much in Politicks, and made too free with the Characters and Actions of their Superiors: There were Incendiaries on both Sides; the King's Preachers enhaunc'd his Majeſty's Character, and treated the Parliament as ſo many Rebels and Traitors; and the Parliament Miniſters were no leſs culpable, for tho' they avoided ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the Perſon of the King, they declaimed againſt the Hierarchy, againſt evil and popiſh Counſellors, and glanced at the Queen her ſelf, as preventing the Harmony between his Majeſty and the Parliament, and puſhing him upon Meaſures that were deſtructive of the Proteſtant Religion and the Conſtitution of their Country; which how true ſoever in it ſelf, was not the proper Buſineſs of the Pulpit.

Numbers of libellous Pamphlets on both ſides.

Ruſhw. p. 760.

The great Reſort of the Nobility and Gentry to the Court at *York*, gave his Majeſty new Life, and encouraged him to treat his Parliament with very high Language; he ſent them word, that *he would have nothing extorted from him; nor would he grant them any*

The King's high Language to the Parliament.

Rapin, p. 554.

King Charles I. 1642.

any Thing further that the Law had put into his Hands. At the ſame Time his Majeſty attempted to get Poſſeſſion of the Magazine of *Hull*, purſuant to the Scheme formed at *Windſor* in *January* laſt; and accordingly appeared before the Town with three hundred Horſe, *April* 23. but was denied Entrance with more than twelve Attendants; upon which, after an Hours Time for Deliberation, his Majeſty cauſed Sir *John Hotham* the Governor, to be proclaimed a Traytor by two Heralds at Arms, and then rerired to *York* full of Reſentment for the Affront he had received, which he did not fail to communicate to the Parliament, demanding Juſtice againſt Sir *John Hotham*, according to Law; but the Parliament ſtood by their Governor, and ordered the Arms and Ammunition in *Hull* to be removed to the *Tower* of *London*, except what was neceſſary for the Defence of the Place.

He is denied Entrance into Hull.

The King's Proceedings in the North.

Upon his Majeſty's Return to *York* he commanded the Committee of Parliament, which were Spies upon his Actions, to retire to *London*, but they excuſed themſelves, as being ordered to continue by thoſe that employed them. His Majeſty alſo ſummoned the Nobility and Gentry of the Northern Counties to meet him at *York* [*May* 12.] when he acquainted them with his Reaſons for refuſing the *Militia* Bill, and with the treaſonable Behaviour of Sir *John Hotham* in keeping him out of *Hull*, and depriving him of his Magazine, *being his own proper Goods*. "Since "Treaſon is countenanced ſo near me (ſays his Ma"jeſty) 'tis Time to look to my Safety; none can "blame me to apprehend Danger, I am therefore "reſolved to have a Guard —" The Gentry were divided in their Sentiments about the King's Conduct, and gave Anſwers as they were differently affected, but all were willing to ſerve his Majeſty *according to Law*.

Ruſhw. p. 615, 623. Rapin, p. 516.

After ſeveral other Aſſemblies of the Nobility, Gentry, Freeholders, and Miniſters of *York* called together by his Majeſty's Command, in all which he declared, that

that *he was reſolved to defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth; *to govern by Law for the future; and that he had no Intention to make War with his Parliament, except it were in way of Defence*, a Regiment of Horſe was raiſed for the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Command given to the Prince of *Wales*. This was the firſt Levy of Troops in the Civil War, his Majeſty having as yet only a Regiment of the Militia of ſix Hundred Men, beſides the *Reformadoes* that attended the Court. *King* Charles I. 1642.

About the ſame Time [*May* 17.] the King ordered the Courts of Juſtice to remove from *Weſtminſter* to *York*, and ſent for Serjeant Major *Skippon*, an old experienced Officer, to attend him in Perſon, which the Parliament prevented; but were not ſo ſucceſsful in relation to the *Great Seal*, which the *Keeper* ſent privately to the King by the Meſſenger that came for it [*May* 22.] and next Day followed it himſelf. This was a conſiderable Diſappointment to the Parliament, eſpecially as it was attended with the Loſs of nine other Peers, who deſerted their Stations in the Houſe about this Time, and went to the King, as did conſiderable Numbers of the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty having now given Orders to all *his Friends* to leave the Houſe and come to him, which inſtead of breaking up the Parliament, as was intended, ſtrengthened the Hands of the *Country Party*, and gave them an Opportunity, after ſome Time, to expel *the Deſerters*. *Courts of Juſtice to be removed*

Things being come to this Criſis, the Parliament voted, *May* 20. "That it was now apparent that "the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, intended "to make War upon the Parliament — "That "whenſoever the King maketh ſuch War it is a "Breach of Truſt, contrary to his Coronation Oath, "and tending to the Diſſolution of the Government "— That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt his Maje-"ſty in ſuch War are Traitors, and have been ſo "ad- *Proceedings of Parliament.*

King Charles I. 1642.

" adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 11 *Rich.* II. " and 1 *Henry* IV. — *May* 28. they ordered all She- " riffs and Juſtices of Peace, *&c.* to make Stay of " all Arms and Ammunition carrying to *York*, and " to diſperſe all Forces coming together by the " King's Commiſſion."

To juſtify theſe Proceedings both Parties publiſhed their Reaſons to the World; a Summary of which being contained in the *Parliament's Memorial* of *May* 19. and the *King's Anſwer*, I ſhall give the Reader an Abſtract of them.

Abſtract of the Parliament's Memorial.

The Parliament in their Memorial avow, in the Preſence of the All-ſeeing Deity, " That the Sincerity " of their Endeavours have been directed only to " the King's Honour and the Publick Peace, free " from all private Aims, perſonal Reſpects and " Paſſions whatſoever. They complain of his Ma- " jeſty's being drawn into the North, far from his " Parliament, which has given occaſion to many " falſe Rumours, and ſcandalous Reports, to the " interrupting the good Underſtanding between the " King and his Parliament — They take Notice of " thoſe evil Counſellors which have prevailed with " his Majeſty to make Infractions upon his Royal " Word, as that, *On the Word of a King; and as I* " *am a Gentleman, I will redreſs the Grievances of my* " *People* — *I am reſolved to put my ſelf on the Love* " *and Affection of my* Engliſh *Subjects* — *We do en-* " *gage ſolemnly, on the Word of a King, that the Secu-* " *rity of all, and every one of you, from Violence, is and* " *ſhall be as much my Care, as the Preſervation of us* " *and our Children.* Since which Time the Studies " and Chambers of ſome of the Members had been " broken open, and ſix of them attempted to be " ſeized in the Parliament Houſe, the Blame of " which they are willing to impute to his evil Coun- " ſellors. And though the King diſavows ſuch " Counſellors, we hold it our Duty (ſay they) " humbly to avow, there are ſuch, elſe we muſt " ſay,

" ſay, that all the ill Things done in his Majeſty's *King*
" Name have been done by himſelf, wherein we Charles I.
" ſhould neither follow the Direction of the Law, 1642.
" which ſays, *The King can do no wrong*; nor the Ruſhw.
" Affection of our own Hearts, which is to clear p. 692.
" his Majeſty as much as may be of all Miſgovern-
" ment, and to lay the Fault upon his Miniſters.
" If any ill be done in Matters of State the Council
" are to anſwer for it, and if in Matters of Law
" the Judges. They acknowledge the many ex-
" cellent Acts that his Majeſty had lately paſt for
" the Advantage of his Subjects," but then add,
" that in none of them have they bereaved his Ma-
" jeſty of any juſt, neceſſary, or profitable Prero-
" gative of the Crown. They declare their Diſ-
" allowance of all ſeditious Libels, but complain of
" many mutinous Petitions that have been preſented
" to the King to divide him from his Parliament;
" and whereas the King had inſinuated, that the
" Church was to be deſtroyed to make way for
" *Preſbytery*, they aver, that they deſire no more
" than to encourage Piety and Learning, and to
" place learned and pious Preachers in all Pariſhes,
" with a ſufficient Maintenance —— Upon the
" whole, they *aver the Kingdom to be in imminent*
" *Danger from Enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and diſ-*
" *contented Party at home, and that in ſuch a Caſe the*
" *Kingdom muſt not be without Means to preſerve it ſelf.*
" They aver, that the ordinary Means of providing Ib. p. 689.
" for the publick Safety is in the *King and Parlia-*
" *ment*; but becauſe the King being only a ſingle
" Perſon may be liable to many Accidents, the
" Wiſdom of the State in ſuch Caſes has entruſted
" the two *Houſes of Parliament* to ſupply what ſhall
" be wanting on the Part of the *Prince*, as in *Caſes*
" *of Captivity, Nonage, or where the* ROYAL TRUST
" IS NOT DISCHARGED; which the Lords and Com-
" mons having declared to be the preſent Caſe, there
" needs no farther Authority to affirm it; nor is it

" in

King Charles I. 1642.

" in the Power of any Perſon or Court to revoke " that Judgment. They then mention ſome Proofs " of the Nation's Danger, and conclude with pray- " ing for the Protection of Almighty God upon the " King, and beſeech his Majeſty to caſt from him " his evil Counſellors; aſſuring him and the whole " Kingdom, that they deſire nothing more than to " preſerve the Purity and Power of Religion, to " honour the King in all his juſt Prerogatives, and " to endeavour to the utmoſt of their Power, that " all Pariſhes may have learned and pious Preach- " ers, and thoſe Preachers competent Livings. And " they doubt not to overcome all Difficulties, if the " People do not deſert them to their own undoing; " and even in this caſe, *They declare they will not be-* " *tray their Truſt, but look beyond their own Lives and* " *Eſtates, as thinking nothing worth enjoying without the* " *Liberty, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, nor any* " *Thing too much to be hazarded for the obtaining* " *of it.*"

And of the King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty in his Anſwer is not willing to charge his Parliament with *Miſbehaviour*, but only a malignant Party in both Houſes. He denies the ſeveral Plots and Conſpiracies mentioned in the Parliament's Declaration, and takes notice of their miſapplying the Word *Parliament* to the Vote of both Houſes, whereas the King is an eſſential Part of the Parliament. His Majeſty confeſſes, that his going to the Houſe of Commons to ſeize the five Members was an Error in Form, but maintains, the Matter of the Accuſation to be juſt, and therefore thinks he ought not to be reproached with it. He neither affirms nor denies the Deſign of bringing the Army to *London*, but quibbles with the Words *Deſign* and *Reſolution*, (as *Rapin* obſerves) King *Charles* I. being very ſkilful in ſuch ſort of Ambiguities. His Majeſty made no Reply to the Parliament's Reaſoning upon the Head, of the *King's neglecting to diſcharge his Truſt*, but ſeems to in-

King Charles I. 1642.

inſinuate, that the Parliament ſhould in no caſe meddle with the Government without an expreſs Law. He denies his Knowledge of any evil Counſellors about him; and declares, that he did not willingly leave his Parliament, but was driven away by the Tumults at *Whitehall*; and adds, *That by the Help of God and the Laws of the Land, he would have Juſtice for thoſe Tumults*; nor does his Majeſty own the promoting or retaining in his Service any that are diſaffected to the Laws of the Kingdom; but he will not take a *Vote of Parliament* for his Guide, till 'tis evident they are without Paſſion or Affection. The King charges them home with the greateſt Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Subject. "What is become of "the Law that Man was born to? (ſays he) And "where is *Magna Charta*, if the Vote of Parliament "may make a Law?" His Majeſty concludes with a ſevere Remark on the Parliament's calling the Petitions preſented to him mutinous. "Hath a Mul-"titude of mean inconſiderable People about the "City of *London* had liberty to petition againſt the "Government of the Church, againſt the Book of "Common Prayer, *&c.* and been thanked for it? "And ſhall it be called *Mutiny* in the graveſt and "beſt Citizens in *London*, and Gentry of *Kent*, to "frame Petitions to be governed by the known "Laws of the Land, and not by Votes of Parlia-"ment? Is not this evidently the Work of a Fa-"ction? Let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, "judge between us and theſe Men!"

Ruſhw. p. 704. Rapin, p. 497.

The Reader will judge of theſe Declarations according to a former Remark. The Parliament ſuppoſes the *Nation in imminent Danger, and the Royal Power not exerted in its Defence*; in which Caſe, they, as the Guardians of the People, apprehend themſelves empowered to act in its Defence. The King ſuppoſes *the Nation to be in its natural State, and in no manner of Danger, but from a malignant Party within the two Houſes*, and that therefore the Laws ſhould have their free and ordina-

King Charles I. 1642.

ry Courſe. Upon theſe Suppoſitions the Arguments on both Sides are invincible; but (as has been already obſerved) it was impoſſible they ſhould produce any good Effect, till it was firſt agreed, whether the Nation was in Danger, or whether the *Royal Promiſe* might be relied upon with Safety.

The Sum of the Parliament's Deſires in 19 Propoſitions.

On the 2d of *June* the Parliament preſented the King with the Sum of all their Deſires for the *Reformation and Security of Church and State*, in nineteen Propoſitions, according to his Majeſty's Commands in *January* laſt. The Reader will obſerve, that thoſe which relate to the State are built upon the Suppoſition abovementioned, that *the Nation was in imminent Danger*; *and that after ſo many Infractions of the* ROYAL WORD *it was not to be relied upon for the Execution of the Laws but in Conjunction with the Parliament.* They therefore pray, "That his Majeſty's "*Privy Counſellors, Commanders of Forts and Garriſons,* "*and all the great Officers of State*, may be approved "by the two Houſes; that the Judges may hold their "Places *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; that the *Militia* "may be in the Hands of the Parliament for the "preſent; that all publick Buſineſs may be determined by *a Majority of the Council*, and that they "may take an Oath to maintain the *Petition of Right*, "*and ſuch other Laws as ſhall be enacted this preſent* "*Seſſion.* They pray, that the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon *Delinquents*; that the Lord "*Kimbolton* and the *five Members* may be effectually "cleared by Act of Parliament, and that his Majeſty would enter into Alliances with foreign Princes for the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, *&c.*" 'Tis hard to expreſs his Majeſty's Reſentment againſt all theſe Propoſitions (except the two laſt) which he ſays were fit only to be offered to a vanquiſhed Priſoner; that he were unworthy of his noble Deſcent if he ſhould part with ſuch Flowers of the Crown as are worth all the reſt of the Garland. "If theſe "Things are granted (ſays he) we may have the

"Title

" Title of a King, and be waited upon bareheaded; " we may have our Hand kiſſed, and have Swords " and Maces carried before us, but as to real Power " we ſhould remain but the Outſide, the Picture, " the Sign of a King." His Majeſty therefore rejected them in the Groſs with this ſovereign Reply, *Nolumus leges* Angliæ *mutari.* *King Charles I. 1642.*

The Propoſitions relating to Religion were theſe:

Prop. IV. " That he or they to whom the Go- " vernment and Education of the King's Children " ſhall be committed, be approved of, by both " Houſes of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Par- " liament by the Majority of the Privy Council; " and that ſuch Servants againſt whom the Houſes " have any juſt Exception be removed. *Propoſitions relating to Religion.* Ruſhw. Part 3d. p. 793.

Prop. V. " That the Marriages of the King's " Children be with Conſent of Parliament, under " Penalty of a *Præmunire* on ſuch as ſhall conclude " them otherwiſe, not to be pardoned but by Par- " liament.

Prop. VI. " That the Laws in force againſt *Je-* " *ſuits*, *Prieſts*, and *Popiſh Recuſants*, be ſtrictly " put in Execution, without any Toleration or Diſ- " penſation to the contrary; and that ſome more " effectual Courſe may be enacted by Authority of " Parliament, to diſable them from making any Di- " ſturbance in the State, or eluding the Laws by " Truſts or otherwiſe.

Prop. VII. " That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in " the Houſe of Peers may be taken away, ſo long as " they continue Papiſts; and that your Majeſty will " conſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be drawn, for the " Education of the Children of Papiſts by Prote- " ſtants, in the Proteſtant Religion.

Prop. VIII. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed " to conſent, that ſuch a Reformation be made of " the Church Government and Liturgy, as both " Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe, wherein they " intend to have Conſultation with Divines, as is

King Charles I. 1642.

" expreſſed in their Declaration for that purpoſe; " and that your Majeſty will contribute your beſt " Aſſiſtance for the raiſing of a ſufficient Mainte- " nance for preaching Miniſters through the King- " dom; and that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give " your Conſent to the Laws, for the taking away " of Innovations and Superſtition, and of Pluralities, " and againſt ſcandalous Miniſters."

To theſe Propoſitions his Majeſty replied as follows:

King's Anſwer. To the fourth and fifth, concerning the *Education and Diſpoſal of his Children*, " That he had commit- " ted them to the Care of Perſons of Quality, Inte- " grity and Piety, with ſpecial Regard to their " Education in the Principles of the true Proteſtant " Religion, but that he would never part with that " Truſt, which God, Nature, and the Laws of the " Land had placed in him; nor would he ſuffer any " to ſhare with him in his Power of Treaties; but " he aſſured them, that he would not entertain any " Treaty of Marriage for his Children without due " Regard to the *Proteſtant Religion, and the Honour of* " *his Family*; and that he would take ſuch Care of " the Prince of *Wales*, and his other Children, as " ſhould juſtify him to God as a Father, and to his " Dominions as a King.

To the ſixth Propoſition, *concerning Popiſh Recuſants*, his Majeſty admitted, " That if they could " find any more effectual Courſe to diſable them " from diſturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, " by Truſts or otherwiſe, he ought to give his Con- " ſent to it.

To the ſeventh, *concerning the Votes of Popiſh Lords*, his Majeſty replied, " That he was informed, thoſe " Lords had prudently withdrawn from the Houſe " of Peers, but he did not conceive that a Law " againſt the Votes of any, where Blood gave them

" their

" their Right, was ſo proper, in regard of the Pri- *King*
" vilege of Parliament; however, his Majeſty was Charles I.
" content, that as long as they did not conform to 1642.
" the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *Eng-*
" *land*, they ſhould not ſit in the Houſe of Peers,
" but only vote by Proxy. As for a Bill for the
" educating the Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant
" Religion, he ſhould be very glad of it, and would
" encourage them in it.

To the eighth Propoſition, *touching Reformation of Church Government and Liturgy*, his Majeſty refers them to his Declaration of *December* 1. in which he had declared, " That he was willing to remove ille-
" gal Innovations; that if his Parliament adviſed
" him to call a *Synod* to examine into ſuch Ceremo-
" nies as gave offence, he would take it into Con-
" ſideration, and apply himſelf to give due Satisfa-
" ction therein; but he was perſuaded in his Con-
" ſcience, that no Church could be found upon
" Earth that profeſſed the true Religion with more
" Purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England*;
" nor where the Government and Diſcipline are
" more beautified, and free from Superſtition, than
" as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law; which his
" Majeſty is determined with Conſtancy to maintain,
" as long as he lives, in their Purity and Glory, not
" only againſt all Innovations of Popery, but from
" the Irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and
" Separatiſts, wherewith of late this Kingdom, and
" the City of *London* abounds, for the Suppreſſion
" of whom his Majeſty requires the Aſſiſtance of
" his Parliament. As for ſuch Matters in Religion
" which were in their own Nature indifferent, his
" Majeſty refers them to his firſt Declaration, print-
" ed by Advice of his Privy Council, in which he
" had declared, that he was willing, in Tenderneſs
" to any Number of his loving Subjects, to admit
" that ſome Law might be made for the Exemption
" of tender Conſciences from Puniſhment or Proſe-

King Charles I. 1642.

" cution for ſuch Ceremonies; provided it be attempted and purſued with that Modeſty, Temper and Submiſſion, that the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, the Decency and Comelineſs of God's Service diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, devout Actions, of the firſt Reformers ſcandalized and defamed. His Majeſty adds, that he had formerly referr'd the compoſing the preſent Diſtractions about Church Government and Liturgy to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, but deſired *he might not be preſt to any ſingle Act on his part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſettled by both Houſes, that his Majeſty may clearly ſee what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away.* His Majeſty obſerves with Satisfaction, that *they deſire only a Reformation, and not as is daily preached in Conventicles, a Deſtruction of the preſent Diſcipline and Liturgy*, and promiſes to concur with his Parliament in raiſing a ſufficient Maintenance for preaching Miniſters, in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt for the Advancement of Piety and Learning; but as for the other Bills, againſt *ſuperſtitious Innovations*, and *Pluralities*, his Majeſty can ſay nothing to them, till he ſees them."

King's Preparations for War.

It was now apparent to all Men, that this Controverſy, which had hitherto been debated by the Pen, muſt be decided by the Sword; for this Purpoſe the Queen was all this while in *Holland* negotiating foreign Supplies: Her Majeſty pledged the Crown Jewels, and with the Money ariſing from thence purchaſed a ſmall Frigate of thirty two Guns, called the *Providence*, and freighted it with two Hundred Barrels of Powder, two or three Thouſand Arms, ſeven or eight Field Pieces, and ſome ready Money for the King's Service, all which were ſafely convoyed to his Majeſty at *York*, about the beginning of *June*. The Parliament had been advertiſed of the Queen's Proceedings, and acquainted the King with their

their Advices; which at firſt he was pleaſed to diſown, for in his Declaration of *March* 9. he tells the Parliament, "Whatſoever you are advertized from *Paris*, "&c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no ſober, "honeſt Man in our Kingdom can believe, that "we are ſo deſperate, or ſo ſenſeleſs, as to enter-"tain ſuch Deſigns, as would not only bury this "our Kingdom in certain Deſtruction and Ruin, "but our Name and Poſterity in perpetual Scorn "and Infamy." One would think by this that the King did not know what was doing with the Crown Jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and (as Mr. *Whitlock* ſays) that with them and the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, a ſufficient Party might be raiſed for the King. But in this Anſwer, as in moſt others, his Majeſty had his Ambiguities and Reſervations. *King Charles I. 1642.*

But it was the King's great Misfortune never to get Poſſeſſion of a convenient Place of Strength upon the Coaſt; indeed the Governor of *Portſmouth* declared for him, but the Parliament immediately ordered the Militia of the Country to block up the Place by Land, while the Earl of *Warwick* did the ſame by Sea, ſo that it was forced to ſurrender for want of Proviſion, before the King could relieve it. The like Diſappointment his Majeſty met with before *Hull*, which he beſieged a ſecond Time, *July* 4. with three Thouſand Foot and about one Thouſand Horſe, while Sir *J. Pennington*, the King's Admiral, block'd it up by Sea; but the Governor drawing up the Sluices laid the Country under Water, which obliged the Army to retire. This was a ſevere Diſappointment, becauſe his Majeſty had ſent Word to the Parliament, *June* 14. that *by the Help of God and the Law he would have Juſtice upon thoſe that kept him out of* Hull, *or loſe his Life in requiring it.* Ruſhw. p. 601. Ib. p 750.

Preparations of the Parliament for War.

On the other hand, the Commons, upon the Deſertion of the King's Friends, ordered all their Mem-

King Charles I. 1642.

Members to anſwer to their Names in the Houſe, *June* 16. on Forfeiture of one Hundred Pounds. The Lords ordered the *nine Peers* that went after the *Great Seal*, to appear at their Bar *June* 8. and for their not appearing they afterwards [*June* 27.] deprived them of their Privilege of voting in the Houſe during the preſent Parliament. As the *Commons* had taken all imaginable Precautions to hinder the King from getting the Forts and Magazines of the Kingdom into his Poſſeſſion, they ordered all ſuſpected Places to be ſearched for Arms and Ammunition; in the Archbiſhop's Palace at *Lambeth* they ſeized Arms for about five Hundred Men, and lodged them in the *Tower* of *London*; in *Cobham Hall* they ſeized five Cart Loads of Arms; and below *Graveſend* about one Hundred Pieces of Canon. As ſoon as they heard the King had received Supplies from beyond Sea, and was preparing to beſiege *Hull*, they ordered their Ordinance for raiſing the Militia to be put in Execution in *Eſſex*, [*June* 7.] when all the Regiments appeared full, beſides a great Number of Voluntiers who declared they would ſtand by the Parliament in this Cauſe with their Lives and Fortunes. The King forbid the Militia's appearing in Arms without his Conſent, according to the Statute 7 *Eliz. cap.* 1. and iſſued out *Commiſſions of Array*, according to an old Statute of 5 *Henry* IV. appointing ſeveral Perſons of Quality to Array, Muſter, and Train the People in the ſeveral Counties; but the Parliament, by a Declaration, endeavoured to prove theſe Commiſſions to be illegal, contrary to the *Petition of Right*, and to a Statute of this preſent Parliament; and went on with Muſtering the *Militia* in ſeveral other Counties, where the Spirit of the People appeared to be with them; but the Execution of theſe Counter Commiſſions occaſioned ſome Skirmiſhes where the two Parties happened to meet.

On

On the 10th of *June* the Parliament publiſhed Propoſals for borrowing Money upon the publick Faith at Eight *per Cent.* Intereſt, and the full Value of the Plate, beſides one Shilling *per* Ounce Conſideration for the Faſhion. Upon Information of this, the King immediately writ to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to forbid the Citizens lending their Money or Plate, upon pain of High Treaſon; but notwithſtanding this, ſuch vaſt Quantities were brought into *Guildhall* within ten Days that there were hardly Officers enough to receive it. Mr. *Eachard* computes the Plate at *eleven Millions*, which is monſtrous, for in reality it was but one Million, two Hundred ſixty ſeven Thouſand, three Hundred and twenty ſix Pounds: The *Gentry* of *London* and *Middleſex* brought in the beſt of their Plate, and the *meaner Sort* their Gold Rings, Thimbles and Bodkins. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, this Zeal of the People aroſe from the Influence and Induſtry of their Preachers; which might be true in part, but it was rather owing to a quick and feeling Apprehenſion of the Danger of their Liberties and Religion by an Inundation of Popery and arbitrary Power.

King Charles I. 1642.

They borrow Money and Plate of the Citizens.

The King alſo tried his Credit with the People, by publiſhing a Declaration, inviting his Subjects to bring in their *Money, Plate, Horſes and Arms* to *York*, upon the Security of his Foreſts and Parks for the Principal, and Eight *per Cent.* Intereſt, but with very little Succeſs, except among the Courtiers and the two Univerſities.

King's Propoſals for borrowing Money, &c.

July 7. His Majeſty ſent Letters to the *Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in* Oxford, deſiring them to lend him their publick Stock, engaging upon the Word of a King to allow them Eight *per Cent.* for that, and for all other Sums of Money that any private Gentleman or Scholar ſhould advance. Upon which it was unanimouſly agreed in Convocation, to intruſt his Majeſty with their publick *Stock*, amounting to eight Hundred and ſixty Pounds, which was

Loyalty of the Univerſity of Oxford.

King Charles I. 1642.

was immediately delivered to Mr. *Chaworth* his Majeſty's Meſſenger. The ſeveral Colleges alſo ſent his Majeſty their Plate; and private Gentlemen contributed conſiderable Sums of Money, to the Value of above ten Thouſand Pounds. The two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* being informed of theſe Proceedings publiſhed an Ordinance, declaring this Act of the Univerſity "a Breach of Truſt, and an "Alienation of the publick Money, contrary to the "Intent of the pious Donors, and therefore not to "be juſtified by the Laws of God nor Man;" that it was alſo contrary to their Engagements, for the *Univerſity* being yet in the Hands of the Parliament, the Lord *Say* and his Deputy Lieutenants had been with the ſeveral Maſters and Heads of Colleges, and obtained a ſolemn Promiſe from each of them, that their *Plate* ſhould be forth-coming, and ſhould not be made uſe of by the King againſt the Parliament; and yet contrary to their Engagement they ſent it away privately to *York*, where it arrived *July* 18. as appeared by his Majeſty's moſt gracious Letter of Thanks. As ſoon as the two Houſes were informed of this they ſent for the four principal Managers of this Affair into Cuſtody, *viz.* Dr. *Prideaux* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Samuel Fell* Dean of *Chriſt Church*, Dr. *Frewen* and Dr. *Potter*, but they abſconded, and the Scholars, encouraged by their Principals, bought Arms, formed themſelves into Companies, and laying aſide their Academical Studies, were inſtructed in the Art of War, and performed the Military Exerciſes under their reſpective Captains and Leaders. Such was the Zeal of the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Pink*, that not content with marſhalling the Univerſity, he promoted the King's *Commiſſion* of *Array* among the Townſmen, and received one of his Majeſty's Troops of Horſe into Garriſon, for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed to the *Gate-Houſe* at *Weſtminſter*. The Parliament provoked with this Behaviour of the Univerſity, threaten'd to quarter

Clarend. Vol. II. p. 88.

Ruſhw. p. 759.

ſome

ſome of their own Regiments upon them, which frightened away half the Scholars, and put the reſt into ſuch a terrible Pannick, that the Vice-Chancellor thought proper to write the following ſubmiſſive Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke* their Chancellor. *King* Charles I. 1642.

Right Honourable!

" MAY it pleaſe your Lordſhip to know, that this Univerſity is now in extreme Danger of ſuffering all the Calamities that warlike Forces may bring upon it. Such Forces we hear for certain are ſome of them already on their March, and others are raiſing to aſſault us; and, if they may have their Wills, to deſtroy us! My Lord, you have been ſollicitous whom to appoint your *Chancellor* for next Year, but if theſe Forces come forward, and do that Execution upon us that we fear they intend, there will be no Uſe at all for a *Vice-Chancellor*, for what will be here for him to do, where there will be no Scholars for him to govern? Or, what ſhould Scholars do here, having no Libraries left them to ſtudy in, no Schools to diſpute in, Chapels to ſerve God in, Colleges or Halls to live or lodge in, but have all theſe ranſacked, defaced, demoliſhed, ſo as Poſterity may have to ſay, ſee! here was for a long Time, and till ſuch a Year, an Univerſity of great Renown and Eminence in all manner of Learning and Virtue, but now laid utterly waſte, and buried in her own Ruins. And then the Queſtion will be, what! had we no *Lord Chancellor?* Or, was not he able to protect us? — We are all confident, that if your Lordſhip would interpoſe for us to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament for our Safety and Security all would be well with us. The Delinquents that were ſent for are not one of them here at this Time. Sir *John Byron*, with his Regiment of Troopers, we ſhall ſoon prevail with to withdraw from us, if he may with Safety march back to the King, who

Vice-Chancellor's Letter on behalf of the Univerſity. Ruſhw. Part 3d. p. 11.

" of

King Charles I. 1642.

" of his own gracious Care of us ſent him hither. " And if your Lordſhip ſhall be ſecured, that no " other Forces ſhall be here impoſed upon us, that " will take the Liberty to exerciſe that barbarous In- " ſolence with which the illiterately rude and ruffianly " Rabble of the Vulgar threaten us; againſt ſuch only " our young Men have lately taken in hand the Arms " we have (a very few God knows, and in weak " Hands enough) to ſave themſelves and us from " having our Libraries fired, our Colleges pillaged, " and our Throats cut by them, if they ſhould ſud- " denly break in upon us. And this, my Lord, is " all the ſinful Intent we have had in permitting " them to train in a voluntary and peaceable Man- " ner ſo as they have done. Good, my Lord, that " which I moſt earneſtly beg of your Honour is, " that at the humble Requeſt of the Univerſity " you would put in Action with all ſpeed, what " may be moſt prevalent with the Parliament for " the Peace and Security of this Place, and for the " ſtaying of our Students, a great part of whom " (ſuch ſtout and hardy Men they are) upon Alarms " and Frights, ſuch as have been hourly here of " late, are fled away from us home to their Mothers. " The Diſciples, when in danger of drowning, cla- " moured our Saviour, *Maſter, careſt thou not that* " *we periſh!* But I am bold to aſſume for your Ho- " nour, and to aſſure all of this Univerſity under " your happy Government, that you will not ſuffer " us to periſh; and that you will at this Time give " us a clear and real Evidence of it, having this " Repreſentation of the Peril we are now in, made " to your Honour by me,

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,

Sept. 12th. 1642. Provoſt, *Vice-Chancellor of* Oxford.

This

This Letter being writ two Months after the Uni- *King* Charles I. 1642.
verſity had ſent away their Plate and Money to the King; after they had refuſed to ſend up ſuch princi-
pal Managers of that Affair as the Parliament had de-
manded; after they had took up Arms, and received a Regiment of his Majeſty's Forces into Garriſon, the Earl of *Pembroke* only returned the following an-
gry Anſwer.

Sir,

" IF you had deſired my Advice and Aſſiſtance *The Chan-*
" in Time I ſhould willingly have contributed *cellor's An-*
" my beſt Endeavours for your Safety and Prote- *ſwer.*
" ction, but your own unadviſed Counſels and Acti-
" ons have reduced you to the Straits you are now
" in; and in Diſcretion you might have foreſeen,
" that the admitting Cavaliers, and taking up
" Arms, could not but make the Univerſity a no-
" torious Mark of Oppoſition againſt the Parlia-
" ment, and therefore to be oppoſed by it. If you
" had contained your ſelves within the decent, mo-
" deſt Bounds of an Univerſity, you might juſtly
" have challeng'd me, if I had not performed the
" Duty of a *Chancellor*. The beſt Counſel I now
" can give you is, that you preſently diſmiſs the
" Cavaliers, and yield up to the Parliament ſuch
" *Delinquents* as are among you; then the Cauſe
" being taken away the Effect will follow. When
" you have put your ſelves into the right Poſture
" of an Univerſity I will be a faithful Servant to
" you, and ready to do you all the good Offices I
" can with the Parliament, as I am now ſorry you
" have brought upon your ſelves theſe Troubles."

Sept. 13. 1642. *I reſt your very true Friend,*
Pembroke *and* Montgomery.

Loyalty of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY followed the Example of *Oxford*, for upon reading his Majeſty's Letter of *June*

King Charles I. 1642.

They deliver up their Plate.

June 29. to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Holdſworth*, they readily agreed alſo to intruſt the King with their publick Money: What the whole Sum was does not appear; but may be gueſſed by the Particulars of one College, a Receipt for which is preſerv'd among the *Archives*, and is as follows:

July 2d. 1642.

Dr. Barwick's *Life*, p. 22.

"REceived the Day and Year above-written of "*William Beale*, Doctor in Divinity, Maſter "of St. *John*'s *College* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, "for the King's Uſe (according to the Intendment "and Direction of his Majeſty's Letters of the 29th "of *June* laſt, to the Vice-Chancellor of the ſaid "Univerſity) the Sum of one Hundred and fifty "Pounds. I ſay received from the Treaſury of the "ſaid College by me

John Poley.

This Mr. *Poley* was Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*, and one of the *Proctors* of the Univerſity. When the King had got their Money he ſent to borrow their Plate, under pretence of ſecuring it from the Parliament; for this purpoſe he writ another Letter to the *Vice-Chancellor*, with Directions to take an exact Account, not only of the Weight, but alſo of the Form of every Piece, together with the *Names*, *Arms*, and *Motto*'s, of the reſpective Donors, that if his Majeſty ſhould not preſerve it entire as it was, he might reſtore it hereafter in the ſame Weight and Form, and with the ſame Marks, all which he enſured upon his Royal Word. There is no Account remaining of what *Plate* the Colleges delivered up for his Majeſty's Uſe, though many wiſhed (ſays Mr. *Fuller*) that every Ounce had been a Pound for his ſake; but in the Treaſury of St. *John*'s *College* there are the Particulars of what *Plate* that College delivered in, together with the Weight, Forms, and Names of the chief Benefactors, which amounts in the

the whole, according to *Grocer's Weight*, to two Thouſand ſixty five Ounces and a half, according to the following Receipt. *King Charles I. 1642.*

Aug. 8th. 1642.

"I Do acknowledge that there has been delivered to me, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the Maſter, Fellows, and Scholars of St. *John's College* in *Cambridge*, two Fir Boxes, marked with theſe three Letters, *S. J. C.* containing in them all the ſeveral Pieces of Plate above-written, which ſaid Plate weigheth, as appears by the Particulars, two Thouſand ſixty five Ounces and a half, more or leſs, which they depoſited into the King's Hands for the Security thereof, and his Majeſty's Service, according to the Tenor of his Majeſty's Letters, written and directed to the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity." *Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 24.*

John Poley.

According to this Calculation the King might receive from all the Colleges together about eight or ten Thouſand Pounds in Plate, beſides Money. Colonel *Oliver Cromwel* with his Company of Soldiers, endeavoured to intercept the Convoy, but under the Conduct of Mr. *Barnaby Oley* their Guide, who was acquainted with all the *By-Roads*, they eſcaped the Enemy, and delivered up their Charge to the King about the Time when he was ſetting up his Royal Standard at *Nottingham*. *Cromwel* having miſſed the Convoy returned to *Cambridge*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Town and Univerſity for the Parliament, who being acquainted with what was done, ſent then an angry Meſſage, as they had done to *Oxford*, full of Reſentments for their diſpoſing of the *publick Money*, contrary to the Truſt repoſed in them. The Maſters and Fellows excuſed themſelves, by alleging the *Royal Mandate*; upon which the two Houſes ſent a *Mandate* of their own to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in Convocation aſſembled, *Value of the whole.* *Parliament reſents it.*

King Charles I. 1642.

ſembled, deſiring them to contribute their Aſſiſtance to the Cauſe in which they [the Parliament] were engaged; but tho' (as Dr. *Barwick* obſerves) the Commander of the Garriſon kept them ſitting till Midnight they would lend nothing, becauſe *they apprehended it to be contrary to Religion and a good Conſcience*; the Houſes therefore ordered Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Sterne*, Maſters of St. *John*'s, *Jeſus*, and *Queen's College*, into Cuſtody; upon which many of the Scholars deſerted their Stations, and liſted in the King's Service.

King applies to the Papiſts. *Compleat Hiſtory*, p. 131. Ruſhw. p. 621.

Beſides the two Univerſities the King applied under-hand to the Papiſts, who were firm to his Intereſt, though he durſt not as yet avow his Correſpondence with them; for in his Declaration of *June* 3. he aſſures the Miniſters and Freeholders of *Yorkſhire*, that he would not make uſe of Foreigners, nor of Perſons diſaffected to the Proteſtant Religion — Again, we have taken Order that the Power of the Sword ſhall not come into the Hands of Papiſts — *Auguſt* 10. his Majeſty commands that no Papiſt ſhould be liſted as a Soldier in his Army; all which was to avoid as much as poſſible, the Reproach of an Alliance with thoſe People, who were at this Time become infamous by the *Iriſh* Maſſacre. Though his Majeſty had but few *Roman* Catholicks among his own Forces, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Army was filled with them, and Popery was countenanced to that degree at *York*, that Maſs was ſaid in every Street, and the Proteſtants ſo affronted, that they were almoſt afraid to go to Church. The King writ to his *Roman* Catholick Subjects to advance two or three Years of the Rent that they paid as a Compoſition for their Eſtates as Recuſants; which they not only complied with, but writ to their Friends abroad to borrow more; Proclamation was made at *Bruges*, and other Parts of *Flanders*, that all People that would lend any Money to maintain the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, ſhould have it repaid in a Year's Time with many Thanks.

The *Lancaſhire Papiſts* having been lately diſarmed by Order of Parliament, petitioned his Majeſty, That ſince the War was begun, their Arms might be re-delivered, that they might be in a Capacity to defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and their own Families. To which his Majeſty conſented in the following Words. *King* Charles I. 1642.

— "The Laws for diſarming Recuſants being "to prevent Dangers in a Time of Peace, but "intended not to bar you from the Uſe of Arms "in Time of War for your own Safety, or the "Defence of our Perſon —— Our Will and Com- "mand therefore is, and we charge and require "you, upon your Allegiance, that with all poſſible "ſpeed you provide ſufficient Arms for your ſelves, "your Servants, and your Tenants, which we autho- "rize, and require you to keep and uſe for the De- "fence of Us, your Selves, and your Country, againſt "all Forces raiſed againſt us, under Colour of any "Order or Ordinance of Parliament, and we ſhall "uſe our utmoſt Power to protect you and yours "againſt all Injuries and Violence." Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 50.

Given under our Signet at Cheſter, Sept. 27th. *in the eighteenth Year of our Reign.*

Agreeably to this, Mr. *George Tempeſt* a Prieſt, writes to his Brother in the King's Army, *Our Prieſts at* Lancaſter *are at liberty; Catholick Commanders are admitted, and all well enough that way; God Almighty (as I hope) will better proſper the Cauſe.* And another adds, That *there is no Proſecution of Prieſt or Papiſt in* Northumberland.

When the Parliament objected this to his Majeſty, and named the very *Officers*, he was highly diſpleaſed, and in his Anſwer makes uſe of theſe ſolemn Expreſſions. "For that continued diſhoneſt Accuſation, of our Incli- "nation to Papiſts, which the Authors of it in their own "Conſciences know to be moſt unjuſt and groundleſs, "we Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 28.

King Charles I. 1642.

" we can ſay no more, and we can do no more to the " Satisfaction of the World — That any Prieſts or " Jeſuits impriſoned have been releaſed by us out of " the Gaol of *Lancaſter*, or any other Gaol, is as " falſe as the Father of Lies can invent. Neither " are the Perſons named in that Declaration, to whom " Commiſſions are ſuppoſed to be granted for Places " of Command in this War, ſo much as known to " us; nor have they any Command, or to our " Knowledge are preſent in our Army. And 'tis " ſtrange, that our Oaths and Proteſtations before " Almighty God, for the Maintenance of the Pro- " teſtant Religion, ſhould be ſo ſlighted — We " deſire to have our Proteſtations believed by the " Evidence of our Actions." Surely this ſolemn Appeal to Almighty God was ambiguous and evaſive! Or elſe we muſt conclude, that his Majeſty was very little acquainted with what was done in his Name, and by his Commiſſion.

It was but five Days after this, that the Maſk was thrown off, for his Majeſty confeſſes in his Declaration of *Octob.* 27. That the Malice and Fury of his Enemies had reduced him to the Neceſſity of accepting the Service and Affection of any of his good Subjects, *whatſoever their Religion was*; that he did know of ſome few Papiſts, whoſe eminent Abilities in Command and Conduct had moved him to employ them in his Service; but he aſſures his good Subjects, that he would always uſe his Endeavours to ſuppreſs *their Religion*, by executing the Laws already in Force againſt *Papiſts*, and in concurring in any other Remedies which his two Houſes ſhould think proper. But was this probable? Could any one believe, that the King would ſuppreſs that Religion whoſe *Votaries* he was inviting into his Service? Or, that the arming of Papiſts and employing them againſt Proteſtants, was the way to defend the Proteſtant Religion? Whoever therefore adviſed this

Part

Part of the King's Declaration had very little Regard to his Majesty's Honour. The Disguise is so thin, that the meanest Understanding must see through it. *King Charles I. 1642.*

As the King was reduced to the Necessity of accepting the Service and Affection of the *Papists*; so on the other hand, the Parliament took all imaginable Care to cultivate a good Correspondence with the *Scots*, and to secure that Nation in their Interests. We have remembred that the *Scots* Commissioners at *London* offered their *Mediation* in the beginning of the Year, which the Parliament accepted; but the King, from his extreme hatred of the *Presbyterian Discipline* refused, commanding them to be content with their own Settlement, and not meddle in the Affairs of another Nation. But the Breach between the King and his two Houses growing wider, the *Council* of *Scotland* sent their *Chancellor* in the Month of *May* to renew their Offers of a Mediation between the two Parties, which the King rejected as before; and the rather, because they still insisted upon the *Abolishing of Episcopacy*, which his Majesty believed to be of *Divine Institution*, and upon an *Uniformity of Presbyterian Government* in the two Nations: Whereas the Majority of both Houses being of ERASTIAN PRINCIPLES, were under no Difficulties about a *Change of Discipline*, apprehending that the Civil Magistrate might set up what Form of Government was most conducive to the good of the State. The Parliament therefore treated the Chancellor with great Respect, and not only accepted the *Mediation*, but writ to the General Assembly which was to meet in *July*, acquainting them with the *Crisis* of their Affairs, and desiring their Advice and Assistance in bringing about such a Reformation as was desired. To which the Assembly returned an Answer to the following Purpose, dated *August* 3. 1642. *The Parliament confederate with the Scots.* Ham. *Memoirs*, B. III. p. 194.

King Charles I. 1642.

Letter of the G. Aſſembly to the Parliament. Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 387.

After giving God Thanks for the Parliament's Deſire of a Reformation of Religion, and expreſſing their Grief that it moves ſo ſlowly — They obſerve, that their Commiſſioners, far from Arrogance and Preſumption, had with great Reſpect and Reverence, expreſſed their Deſires for *Unity of Religion, that there might be one Confeſſion of Faith, one Directory of Worſhip, one publick Catechiſm, and one Form of Church Government.* The Aſſembly (ſay they) now enter upon the Labours of the Commiſſioners, being encouraged by the Zeal of former Times, when their Predeceſſors ſent a Letter into *England* againſt the *Surplice*, *Tippet*, and *Corner Cap*, in the Year 1566. and again, in the Years 1583. and 1589. They are now further encouraged by the King's late Anſwer to their Commiſſioners in their Treaty for *Ireland*, wherein his Majeſty approves of the Affection of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their Deſires of Conformity of Church Government; by his Majeſty's late Practice while he was in *Scotland*, in reſorting to their Worſhip, and eſtabliſhing it by Act of Parliament. They are alſo encouraged by a Letter ſent from many Reverend Brethren of the Church of *England*, expreſſing their Prayers and Endeavours againſt every Thing that ſhall be prejudicial to the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of Chriſt. They therefore adviſe to begin with an Uniformity of Church Government; for what Hope can there be (ſay they) of *one Confeſſion of Faith, one Form of Worſhip and Catechiſm, till Prelacy be pluck'd up Root and Branch, as a Plant which God hath not planted?* Indeed the Reformed Kirks hold their Form of Government by Preſbyteries to be *Jure Divino*, and perpetual, but *Prelacy* is almoſt univerſally held by the Prelates themſelves to be a *human Ordinance*, and may therefore be altered or aboliſhed

" in

" in Caſes of Neceſſity, without wronging any " Man's Conſcience; for the accompliſhing of " which they promiſe their beſt Aſſiſtance." *King* Charles I. 1642.

In the Parliament's Anſwer to this Letter " they " acknowledge the Friendſhip of their Brethren of " *Scotland*, and expreſs their Deſires of Unity in " Religion, *that in all his Majeſty's Dominions there* " *might be but one Confeſſion of Faith and Form of Church* " *Government*; and though this is hardly to be ex- " pected punctually and exactly, yet they hope, " ſince they are guided by the ſame Spirit, they " ſhall be ſo directed, as to caſt out every Thing " that is offenſive to God, and ſo far agree with the " *Scots*, and other Reformed Churches, in the Sub- " ſtantials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Diſcipline, " that there may be a free Communion in all holy " Exerciſes and Duties of publick Worſhip, for the " attaining whereof they intend an Aſſembly of god- " ly and learned Divines, as ſoon as they can obtain " the Royal Aſſent — We have enter'd into a ſe- " rious Conſideration (ſay they) what good we have " received by the Government of Biſhops, and do " perceive it has been the Occaſion of many intolera- " ble Burthens and Grievances, by their uſurping a " Pre eminence and Power not given them by the " Word of God, *&c.* We find it has alſo been per- " nicious to our Civil Government, inſomuch as the " Biſhops have ever been forward to fill the Minds " of our Princes with Notions of an arbitrary Power " over the Lives and Liberties of the Subject, by their " Counſels and in their Sermons. Upon which Ac- " counts, and many others, we do declare, that this " Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their " Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans and Chap- " ters, Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Offi- " cers depending upon the Hierarchy, is evil, and " juſtly offenſive and burdenſome to the Kingdom, " a great Impediment to Reformation, and very

Parliament's Reply. Ruſhw. Vol II. Part 3d. p. 390.

King Charles I. 1642.

" prejudicial to the Civil Government; and that we " are reſolved the ſame ſhall be taken away. And " we deſire our Brethren of *Scotland* to concur with " us in petitioning his Majeſty, that we may have " an Aſſembly of Divines; and to ſend ſome of their " *own Miniſters* to the ſaid Aſſembly, in order to " obtain Uniformity in Church Government, that " ſo a more eaſy Paſſage may be made for ſettling " one Confeſſion of Faith, and Directory of publick " Worſhip, for the three Kingdoms."

The King being alarmed with the Harmony between the two Kingdoms, ſent a warm Remonſtrance to the Council of *Scotland*, *Aug.* 26. the very Week he ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, in which he declares,

King's Letter to Scotland. Ham. *Memoirs*, B. IV. p. 197.

" THAT he deſired *Uniformity* as much as they, " in ſuch a Way as he in his Conſcience " thought moſt ſerviceable to the true Proteſtant " Religion; but that his two Houſes of Parliament " had never made any Propoſition to him ſince their " Meeting, concerning *Uniformity of Church Govern-* " *ment*; ſo far (ſays his Majeſty) are they from de- " ſiring ſuch a Thing, that *we are confident the moſt* " *conſiderable Perſons, and thoſe who make the faireſt* " *Pretenſions to you of that kind, will not ſooner embrace* " *a Preſbyterial than you an Epiſcopal.* And truly it " ſeems (notwithſtanding whatſoever Profeſſion they " have made to the contrary) that nothing has been " leſs in their Minds, than ſettling the true Reli- " gion, and reforming ſuch Abuſes in the Church " as poſſibly may have crept in, contrary to the " eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, to which we have " been ſo far from being averſe, that we have preſ- " ſed them to it. And whenever any Propoſition " ſhall be made to us by them, which we ſhall con- " ceive may advance the Unity of the Proteſtant " Religion, according to the Word of God, or " eſtabliſh Church Government, according to the " known

" known Laws of the Kingdom, we ſhall let the " World ſee, that nothing can be more agreeable " to us than the advancing ſo good a Work." *King* Charles I. 1642.

Here his Majeſty explains the *Uniformity* he all along intended, and very juſtly obſerves, that the Parliament no more believed the *Divine Inſtitution of Preſbytery*, than the others did of *Dioceſan Prelacy*; for though they were content, in order to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots Nation*, to vote away the Hierarchy of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, yet when they had conquered the King, and had nothing to fear from their Neighbours, they could not be prevail'd with to eſtabliſh the *Scots Preſbytery*, without a Reſerve of the *Power of the Keys* to themſelves.

Lord *Clarendon* obſerves very juſtly, " That the " Parliament were ſenſible they could not carry on " the War but by the Help of the *Scots*, which they " were not to expect without an Alteration of the Go- " vernment of the Church, to which *that* Nation was " violently enclined, but *that very much the major Part* " *of the Members that continued in the Parliament Houſe* " *were cordially affected to the eſtabliſhed Government*, " AT LEAST NOT AFFECTED TO ANY OTHER." But then to induce them to conſent to ſuch an Alteration, it was ſaid the *Scots* would not take up Arms without it; ſo that they muſt loſe all, and let the King return as a Conqueror, or ſubmit to the Change. If it ſhould be ſaid, this would make a Peace with the King impracticable, whoſe Affection to the Hierarchy all Men knew; it was anſwered, that it was uſual in Treaties to aſk more than was expected to be conſented to; and it may be, their departing from their Propoſition concerning the Church, might prevail with the King to give them the *Militia*. Upon theſe Motives the Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy was brought into the Houſe, and paſſed the Commons *September* 1. and on the 10th of the ſame Month it paſſed the Lords. The noble Hiſtorian ſays, that Clarен. Vol. II. p. 117.

King Charles I. 1642.

marvellous Art and Induſtry was uſed to obtain it; that the Majority of the Commons were really againſt it, and that it was very hardly ſubmitted to by the Houſe of Peers. But the Writer of the *Parliamentary Chronicle*, who was then at *London*, ſays the Bill paſſed *nullo contradicente*, not a negative Vote being heard among them all; and that there were Bonfires and Ringing of Bells for Joy all over the City.

Parl. Chron. p. 150.

Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy

The Bill was entitled, *An Act for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries*, &c.

" It ordains, that after the 5th of *November*, 1643. " there ſhall be no *Archbiſhop*, *Biſhop*, *Chancellor or* " *Commiſſary of any Archbiſhop or Biſhop*, *nor any* " *Dean*, *Sub-Dean*, *Dean and Chapter*, *Archdeacon*, *nor* " *any Chancellor*, *Chaunter*, *Treaſurer*, *Sub-Treaſurer*, " *Succentor or Sacriſt of any Cathedral or Collegiate* " *Church*, *nor any Prebendary*, *Canon*, *Canon Reſi-* " *dentiary*, *Petty Canon*, *Vicar*, *Choral*, *Choriſter*, " *old Vicars or new Vicars*, *of or within any Cathedral* " *or Collegiate Churches in* England *or* Wales — That " their Names, Titles, Juriſdictions, Offices, and " Functions, and the having or uſing any Juriſdicti- " on or Power, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch " Names and Titles, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and " become abſolutely void.

" That all the Manors, Lordſhips, Caſtles, " Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, and all other " Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever, be- " longing to any Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, ſhall " be in the real and actual Poſſeſſion, and Seiſin of " the King's Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to " hold and enjoy in as ample a manner as they were " held by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop within two " Years laſt paſt, except Impropriations, Parſona- " ges, appropriate Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, " Penſions, Portions of Tithes, Parſonages, Vi- " carages, Churches, Chapels, Advowſons, No- " minations,

" minations, Collations, Rights of Patronage and " Preſentation. *King* Charles I. 1642.

" That all Impropriations, Parſonages, Tithes, " *&c.* and all other Hereditaments and Poſſeſſions " whatſoever belonging to any Dean, Subdean and " Chapter, Archdeacon, or any of their Officers, " be put into the Hands of Truſtees, to pay to all " and every Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Dean, Subdean, " Archdeacon, and all other Officers belonging to " Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, ſuch yearly " Stipends and Penſions as ſhall be appointed by " Parliament. And they ſhall diſpoſe of all the " aforeſaid Manors, Lands, Tithes, Appropria- " tions, Advowſons, *&c.* for a competent Mainte- " nance for the Support of ſuch a Number of preach- " ing Miniſters in every Cathedral and Collegiate " Church as ſhall be appointed by Parliament; and " for the Maintenance of Preaching Miniſters in " other Places of the Country where ſuch Mainte- " nance is wanting; and for ſuch other good Uſes, " to the Advancement of Religion, Piety and Learn- " ing, as ſhall be directed by Parliament.

" Provided, That all Revenues and Rents as have " been, and now ought to be paid, for the Mainte- " nance of Grammer Schools or Scholars, or for the " Repairing any Church, Chapel, Highway, Cauſe- " way, Bridges, School-Houſe, Alms-Houſe, or " other charitable Uſes, payable by any of the Per- " ſons whoſe Offices are taken away by this Act, " ſhall be continued. Provided alſo, That this Act " ſhall not extend to any College, Church, Corpo- " ration, Foundation, or Houſe of Learning in either " of the Univerſities."

Remarks. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the Parliament ſhould vote away the *preſent Eſtabliſhment* before they had agreed upon *another*, but the *Scots* would not declare for them till they had done it. If the two Houſes had been enclined to Preſbytery (as ſome have maintained)

King Charles I. 1642.

tained) it had been eaſy to have adopted the *Scots Model* at once; but as the Bill for extirpating Epiſcopacy was not to take Place till above a Year forward, 'tis apparent they were not willing it ſhould take place at all, if in that Time they could come to an Accommodation with the King; and if the Breach ſhould then be open, they propoſed to conſult with an *Aſſembly of Divines* what Form to erect in its place. Thus the old *Engliſh Hierarchy* was ſuſpended, and lay proſtrate for about eighteen Years, but was never *legally diſſolved* for want of the Royal Aſſent; and therefore at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. it took Place again, without any new Law to eſtabliſh it; which the Preſbyterians, who were then in the Saddle, did not underſtand or provide againſt as they might.

The War opens.

While the King and Parliament were thus ſtrengthning themſelves, and calling in to their Aid all the Aſſiſtances they could get, the Scene of War began to open; his Majeſty travell'd with a large Retinue into ſeveral of the *Northern* and *Weſtern* Counties, ſummoning the People together, and in ſet Speeches endeavouring to poſſeſs them of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, promiſing upon the Word of a King, that for the future he would govern by Law. Upon this Aſſurance about forty Lords, and ſeveral Members that had deſerted the Houſe of Commons, ſigned an Engagement, *To defend his Majeſty's Perſon and Prerogative, to ſupport the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by Law, and not to ſubmit to any Ordinance of Parliament concerning the Militia that had not the Royal Aſſent.* Great Numbers liſted in his Majeſty's Service, whereby an Army was form'd which marched a ſecond Time to the Siege of *Hull.*

Parliament vote the raiſing an Army.

A Week after the King was ſet down before this *Fortreſs*, and not before [*July* 12.] the two Houſes, after long Debates, came to this Reſolution, *That an Army ſhould be raiſed for the Defence of the King and Parliament*, that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be Captain General,

General, and the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horſe, who were empowered to reſiſt and oppoſe with Force all ſuch whom they ſhould find in Arms, putting in Execution the King's *Commiſſion of Array*. The Reaſons of this Reſolution ariſing from the King's extraordinary Preparations for War, were publiſhed at the ſame Time; and in their Declaration of *Auguſt* 4. they ſay, "*That they would have* "*yielded up every Thing to the King, could they have* "*been aſſured, that by diſarming themſelves they ſhould* "*not have been left naked, while the military Sword was* "*in the Hands of thoſe evil Counſellors who they had rea-* "*ſon to fear had vowed the Deſtruction of the two Hou-* "*ſes, and through their Sides of the Proteſtant Religion*; "but being well acquainted with their Deſigns, they "apprehend that their Duty to God and their Coun- "try, obliges them to hazard every Thing for the "Maintenance of the true Religion, the King's "Perſon, Honour and Eſtate, and the Liberties of "*England*." On the 9th of *Auguſt* the King proclaimed the Earl of *Eſſex* and all his Adherents *Traitors*, unleſs they laid down their Arms within ſix Days; and in another *Manifeſto* he declared both Houſes of Parliament guilty of *High Treaſon*, and forbid all his Subjects to yield Obedience to them. The Parliament alſo on their part, proclaimed all that adhered to the King in this Cauſe *Traitors againſt the Parliament and Kingdom*. *Auguſt* 12. the King by Proclamation commanded all his Subjects on the *North* of *Trent*, and within twenty Miles *South* of it, to appear in Arms for the ſuppreſſing the *Rebels* that were marching againſt him; and about the ſame Time iſſued out another Proclamation, requiring all Men who could bear Arms to repair to him at *Nottingham*, where he intended to ſet up his Standard on *Monday Auguſt* 22. In the mean Time his Majeſty gave out new Commiſſions to augment his Forces, and marching through *Lincoln* he took away the Arms of the Train Bands for the Uſe of his Troops. At length, being

King Charles I. 1642.

Rapin, p. 567.

King ſets up his Standard at Nottingham.

King Charles I. 1642.

being arrived at the appointed Place, he cauſed his Standard to be erected in the open Field, on the outſide of the Caſtle Wall of *Nottingham*, but very few came to attend it; and the Weather proved ſo ſtormy and tempeſtuous that it was blown down the ſame Evening, and could not be fixed again in two Days. Three Weeks after this [*September* 9.] the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Parliament's General, left *London*, to put himſelf at the Head of their Army of fifteen Thouſand Men at St. *Albans*. The King, with an Army of equal Strength, marched from *Nottingham* to *Shrewſbury*, and having refreſhed his Forces there for ſome Time, broke up *October* 12. in order to march directly for *London*, but the Earl of *Eſſex* putting himſelf in the Way, both Armies engaged at *Edgehill*, near *Keinton* in *Warwickſhire*, on Sunday *October* 23. the very ſame Day Twelvemonth after the breaking out of the *Iriſh Maſſacre*; the Battle continued from three in the Afternoon till Night, with almoſt equal Advantage, the Number of ſlain on both Sides being about four Thouſand. Thus the Sword was drawn, which was died with the Blood of the Inhabitants of this Iſland for ſeveral Years, to the Loſs of as many Proteſtant Lives as periſhed by the Inſurrection and Maſſacre of *Ireland*.

CHAP. XII.

The State of the Church *of* England. *The Religious Character of both Parties. With a Summary of the Grounds of the* CIVIL WAR.

WE have already ſeen the unſettled State of Religion upon the King's Progreſs into *Scotland*, with the Complaints of the *Royaliſts* for want of Decency and Uniformity. The Hierarchy had for ſome Time been *a dead Weight*, the Springs that moved it being ſtopt, by the Impriſonment of the Biſhops, and the Check that was given to the Spiritual Courts; but now the whole Fabrick was voted away after a Year, though when that was expired no other Diſcipline was erected in its Room; nor was the *Name, Stile and Dignity of Archbiſhops and Biſhops* taken away by Ordinance of Parliament till *Sept.* 5. 1646. that is, till the War was over, and the King their Priſoner. In this Interval there was properly *no eſtabliſhed Form of Government*; the Clergy being permitted to read more or leſs of the Liturgy as they pleaſed, and to govern their Pariſhes according to their Diſcretion. The *Veſtments* were left indifferent, ſome wearing them, and others in Imitation of the foreign Proteſtants, making uſe of a *Cloak*. *Feb.* 2. 1642-3. The *Commons* ordered, that the Statute of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which impoſes the Uſe of the *Surplice* upon all Students and Graduates ſhould not be preſſed, as being againſt the Law and Liberty of the Subject; and three Days after they made the ſame Order for the Schools of *Weſtminſter*, *Eaton*, and *Wincheſter*. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that *Tithes* were denied to thoſe that read Common Prayer; and 'tis as true, that they were with-held from thoſe that did not read it, for many took Advantage of the Confuſion of the Times to eaſe themſelves

King Charles I. 1642.

The Condition of the Church.

King Charles I. 1642.

selves of a Burden for which some few pleaded Conscience, and others the uncertain Title of those that claimed them.

Of the Cathedrals.

Though the Parliament and Puritan Clergy were averse to *Cathedral Worship*; that is, to a Variety of Musical Instruments, Choristers, singing of Prayers, Anthems, &c. as improper for the Solemnity and Simplicity of Divine Service, yet was it not prohibited; and though the Revenues of Prebendaries and Deans, &c. had been voted useless, and more fit to be applied to the Maintenance of preaching Ministers, yet the Stipends of those that did not take part with the King were not sequester'd till the latter end of the Year 1645. when it was ordained, "That the "Deans and Prebendaries of *Westminster* who had absented themselves, or were Delinquents, or had "not taken the Covenant, should be suspended from "their several Offices and Places, except Mr. *Osbal-* "*deston*;" but the Names, Titles, and Offices of *Deans and Chapters*, were not abolished, till after the King's Death, in the Year 1649. thus cautiously did the Parliament proceed, as long as there was any Prospect of an Accommodation with the King. Indeed, the Beauty of the *Cathedrals* was defaced in some Measure about this Time, by the Ordinance for the *removing Crucifixes, Images, Pictures, and other Monuments of Superstition out of Churches.* Many fine Paintings in the Windows and on the Walls were broken and destroy'd, without a decent Repair of the Damage. In *Lambeth Chapel* the Organ was taken down [*Nov.* 25.] The following Summer the Paintings, Pictures, superstitious Ornaments and Images were defaced, or removed out of the Cathedrals of *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, *Chichester*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Litchfield*, *Salisbury*, *Glouceſter*, *St. Paul's* in *London*, the *Collegiate Church* of *Westminster*, &c. "But (says my Author) I do "not find that they then seized the Revenues and "Estates of the Cathedrals, but contented them-

Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.

"selves

" ſelves with plundering and impriſoning ſome of the " principal Members, and diſperſing many of the " reſt; and ſeveral of thoſe Places coming after- " wards into his Majeſty's Hands, the Service did " not wholly ceaſe, nor were the Doors of thoſe " ſtately Fabricks finally cloſed at that Time."

King Charles I. 1642.

Though the *Diſcipline* of the Church was diſſolved, there was nevertheleſs an uncommon Spirit of Devotion among the People in the Parliament Quarters; the *Lord's Day* was obſerved with unuſual Strictneſs, the Churches being crowded with numerous and attentive Hearers three or four Times in the Day; the Officers of the Peace walked the Streets, and ſhut up all publick Houſes; there was no travelling on the Road, nor walking in the Fields, except in Caſes of abſolute Neceſſity. *Religious Exerciſes* were ſet up in private Families, as reading the Scriptures, Family Prayer, repeating Sermons, and ſinging Pſalms, which was ſo univerſal in the City of *London*, that you might walk the Streets on the Evening of the Lord's Day without ſeeing an idle Perſon, or hearing any Thing but the Voice of Prayer or Praiſe from Churches and private Houſes.

The ſtrict Obſervation of the Sabbath.

As is uſual in Times of publick Calamity, ſo at the breaking out of the Civil War, all *publick Diverſions and Recreations* were laid aſide. By an Ordinance of *September* 2. 1642. it was declared, that " Whereas " publick Sports do not well agree with publick Ca- " lamities, nor publick Stage-Plays with the Seaſons " of Humiliation; this being an Exerciſe of ſad and " pious Solemnity; the other being Spectacles of " Pleaſure too commonly expreſſing laſcivious Mirth " and Levity; it is therefore ordained, that while " theſe ſad Cauſes, and *ſet Times of Humiliation* " continue, *publick Stage-Plays* ſhall ceaſe and be " forborn; inſtead of which are recommended to " the People of this Land, the profitable Duties of " Repentance, and making their Peace with God."

Plays and other Diverſions put down. Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 1.

The

King Charles I. 1642.

The Monthly Faſt.

The *ſet Times of Humiliation* mentioned in the Ordinance refer to the Monthly Faſt appointed by the King, at the Requeſt of the Parliament [*Jan.* 8. 1641.] on account of the *Iriſh* Inſurrection and Maſſacre, to be kept every laſt *Wedneſday* in the Month, as long as the Calamities of that Nation ſhould require it. But when the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the two Houſes apprehending that *England* was now to be the Seat of War, publiſhed an Ordinance for the more ſtrict Obſervation of *this Faſt*, in order to implore a Divine Bleſſing upon the Conſultations of Parliament, and to deprecate the Calamities that threaten'd *this Nation*. All Preachers were enjoined to give Notice of it from the Pulpit the preceding Lord's Day, and to exhort their Hearers to a ſolemn and religious Obſervation of the whole Day, by a devout Attendance on the Service of God in ſome Church or Chapel, by Abſtinence, and by refraining from worldly Buſineſs and Diverſions: All publick Houſes were likewiſe forbid to ſell any Sorts of Liquors (except in Caſes of Neceſſity) till the publick Exerciſes and religious Duties of the Day were ended; which continued with little or no Intermiſſion *from Nine in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon*; all which length of Time the People were at their Devotions, and the Miniſters engaged in one part or other of Divine Worſhip.

Riſe of the Morning Lecture.

But beſides the Monthly Faſt, the opening of the War gave Riſe to another *Exerciſe of Prayer, and Exhortation to Repentance*, for an Hour every Morning in the Week. Moſt of the Citizens of *London* having ſome near Relation or Friend in the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo many Bills were ſent up to the Pulpit every Lord's Day for *their Preſervation*, that the Miniſter had neither Time to read them, nor to recommend their Caſes to God in Prayer; it was therefore agreed by ſome *London Divines*, to ſeparate an Hour for this Purpoſe every Morning, one half to be ſpent in Prayer, and the other

other in a ſuitable Exhortation to the People. The Reverend Mr. *Caſe*, Miniſter of St. *Mary Magdalen*, *Milk-ſtreet*, began it in his Church at ſeven in the Morning, and when it had continued there a Month it was removed by Turns to other Churches at a Diſtance, for the Accommodation of the ſeveral Parts of the City, and was called the *Morning Exerciſe*. The Service was performed by divers Miniſters, and earneſt Interceſſions were made in the Preſence of a numerous and crowded Audience, for the Welfare of the Publick as well as particular Caſes. When the Heat of the War was over, it became a *Caſuiſtical Lecture*, and was carried on by the moſt learned and able Divines of thoſe Times till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. Their Sermons were afterwards publiſhed in ſeveral Volumes in Quarto, under the Title of the *Morning Exerciſes*; each Sermon being the Reſolution of ſome practical Caſe of Conſcience. This Lecture, though in a different Form, is continued among the Proteſtant Diſſenters to this Day. *King Charles I. 1642.*

Some Time after another *Morning Lecture* was ſet up in the *Abbey Church of Weſtminſter*, between the Hours of Six and Eight, for the Benefit of that Part of the Town, and eſpecially of the Members of Parliament; it was carried on by Dr. *Staunton*, Mr. *Nye*, *Marſhal*, *Palmer*, *Herle*, *Whitaker* and *Hill*, all Members of the Aſſembly of Divines. In ſhort, there were Lectures and Sermons every Day in the Week in one Church or another, which were well attended, and with great Appearance of Zeal and Affection. Men were not backward to riſe before Day, and go to Places of Worſhip at a great Diſtance, for the Benefit of Hearing the Word of God. Such was the Devotion of the City of *London*, and Parts adjacent, in theſe dangerous Times!

Reformation of Manners in the City and Parts adjacent.

Nor was the *Reformation of Manners* leſs remarkable; the Laws againſt Vice and Profaneneſs were ſo ſtrict, and ſo rigorouſly put in Execution, that Wicked-

King Charles I. 1642.

Wickedneſs was forced to hide it ſelf in Corners. There were no Gaming Houſes, nor Houſes of Pleaſure; nor was there any profane Swearing, Drunkenneſs, nor any kind of Debauchery to be ſeen or heard in the Streets. It is commonly ſaid, that the Religion of theſe Times was no better than *Hypocriſy* and *Diſſimulation*; and without all doubt, there were Numbers of Men that made a *Form of Godlineſs* a Cloak to Diſhoneſty; nay, 'tis probable, that *Hypocriſy*, and other *ſecret Immoralities*, might be the prevailing Sins of the Times, becauſe all *open Vices* were ſuppreſſed; but ſtill I am perſuaded, that the Body of the People were ſincerely Religious, and with all their Faults, I ſhould rejoice to ſee *in our Days*, ſuch an Appearance of Religion, and ſuch an effectual Diſcountenance of all kinds of Vice and Profaneneſs.

In the Camp of the Earl of Eſſex.

If we go from the City to the Camp of the Earl of *Eſſex*, we ſhall find no leſs Probity of Manners among them, for moſt of his Soldiers were ſuch as did not fight ſo much for Pay, as for Religion and the Liberties of their Country. Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves, "That Colonel *Cromwel*'s Regiment of "Horſe were moſt of them *Freeholders Sons*, who "engaged in the War upon Principles of Con- "ſcience; and that being well armed within, by "the Satisfaction of their Conſciences, and without "with good Iron Arms, they would as one Man "ſtand firmly and charge deſperately." The ſame Author adds, "That Colonel *Wilſon*, who was Heir "to an Eſtate of two Thouſand Pounds a Year, "and was the only Son of his Father, put himſelf "at the Head of a gallant Regiment of Citizens, "who liſted themſelves in the Parliament's Service "purely upon Conſcience; this (ſays he) was the "Condition of many others alſo of like Quality and "Fortune in thoſe Times, who had ſuch an Affe- "ction for their Religion, and the Rights and Li- "berties of their Country, that *pro Aris & Focis* "they

Memorials, p. 68.

" they were willing to undergo any Hardſhips or " Dangers, and thought no Service too much or " too great for their Country." The moſt eminent Divines went as Chaplains to the ſeveral Regiments; Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Marſhal* were Chaplains to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment; Dr. *Downing* to Lord *Roberts*'s; Mr. *Sedgwick* to Colonel *Hollis's*; Dr. *Spurſtow* to Mr. *Hampden*'s; Mr. *Aſke* to Lord *Brooks*'s, &c. while theſe continued, none of the Enthuſiaſtick Follies, that were afterwards a Reproach to the Army, diſcovered themſelves. There were among them ſome that afterwards join'd the *Sectaries*; ſome that were mere *Mercenaries*, and (if we may believe his Majeſty's Declaration after the Battle of *Edgehill*) ſome *diſguiſed Papiſts*; but upon the whole, Lord *Clarendon* confeſſes, That there was an exact Diſcipline in the Army; that they neither plunder'd nor robb'd the Country; all Complaints of this kind being redreſſed in the beſt manner, and the Offenders puniſhed. The Reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who was himſelf in the Army, gives this Account of them. " The Generality of thoſe People through- " out *England* who went by the Name of *Puritans*, " *Preciſians*, *Preſbyterians*, who followed Sermons, " prayed in their Families, read Books of Devo- " tion, and were ſtrict Obſervers of the Sabbath, " being avowed Enemies to Swearing, Drunkenneſs, " and all Kinds of Profaneneſs, adher'd to the Par- " liament; with theſe were mixed ſome young Per- " ſons of warm Heads, and enthuſiaſtick Princi- " ples, who laid the Foundation of thoſe Sects and " Diviſions which afterwards ſpread over the whole " Nation, and were a Diſgrace to the Cauſe which " the Parliament had eſpouſed. Of the Clergy, " thoſe who were of the Sentiments of *Calvin*, who " were conſtant Preachers of the Word of God " themſelves, and Encouragers of it in others; who " were zealous againſt *Popery*, and wiſhed for a " Reformation of the Diſcipline of the Church, were

King Charles I. 1642.

Mr. Baxter's *Character of thoſe that took part with the Parliament.* Baxter's *Life*. Fol. p. 26, 31, 33, &c.

King Charles I. 1642.

" on the Parliament's Side. Among theſe were " ſome of the elder Clergy, who were preferr'd be- " fore the Riſe of Archbiſhop *Laud*; all the depri- " ved and ſilenced Miniſters, with the whole Body " of Lecturers and warm popular Preachers both in " Town and Country; theſe drew after them great " Numbers of the more ſerious and devout People, " who were not capable of judging between the " King and Parliament, but followed their *ſpiritual* " *Guides* from a Veneration they had for their Inte- " grity and Piety. Many went in to the Parliament, " and filled up their Armies afterwards, meerly be- " cauſe they heard Men *ſwear* for the Common " Prayer and Biſhops, and heard others *pray* that " were againſt them: becauſe they heard the King's " Soldiers with horrid Oaths abuſe the Name of " God, and ſaw them live in Debauchery, while the " Parliament Soldiers flocked to Sermons, talked of " Religion, and prayed, and ſung Pſalms together " on their Guards. And all the ſober Men that I " was acquainted with who were *againſt the Parlia-* " *ment* (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) uſed to ſay, *The King had* " *the better Cauſe, but the Parliament had the better* " *Men.*"

Of the Puritan Clergy.

The Puritan [or Parliament] Clergy were zealous *Calviniſts*, and having been prohibited for ſome Years from preaching againſt the *Arminians*, they now pointed all their Artillery againſt them, inſiſting upon little elſe in their Sermons, but the Doctrines of *Predeſtination*; *Juſtification by Faith alone*; *Salvation by Free Grace*; *and the Inability of Man to do that which is good.* The Duties of the *ſecond Table* were too much neglected; from a very ſtrong Averſion to *Arminianiſm* theſe Divines unhappily made way for *Antinomianiſm*, verging from one Extreme towards the other, till at length ſome of the weaker Sort were loſt in the wild Mazes of enthuſiaſtick Dreams and Viſions, and others from falſe Principles pretended to juſtify the hidden Works of Diſhoneſty. The *Aſſembly* of *Di-*

vines

vines did what they could to put a Stop to the Growth of theſe Errors; but the great Scarcity of Preachers of a learned Education, who took part with the Parliament, left ſome Pulpits in the Country empty, and the People to be led aſide in many Places, by every bold Pretender to Inſpiration. *King Charles I. 1642.*

"The generality of the ſtricter and more diligent "Sort of Preachers (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) joined the "Parliament, and took Shelter in their Garriſons; "but they were almoſt all conformable Miniſters; "the Laws and the Biſhops having caſt out the Non-"Conformiſts long enough before, and not left "above two in a County: Thoſe who made "up the Aſſembly of Divines, and who through "the Land were the Honour of the Parliament "Party, were almoſt all ſuch as till then, had con-"formed, and took the Ceremonies to be lawful in "Caſes of Neceſſity, but longed to have that Ne-"ceſſity removed." He admits, "That the youn-"ger, and leſs experienced Miniſters in the Coun-"try, were *againſt amending the Biſhops and Li-"turgy*, apprehending this was but gilding over "their Danger; but that this was not the Senſe of "the Parliament, nor of their principal Divines. "The Matter of Biſhops or no Biſhops (ſays he) "was not the main Thing, except with the *Scots*, "for Thouſands that wiſhed for good Biſhops were "on the Parliament Side. Almoſt all thoſe after-"wards called *Preſbyterians*, and all that learned and "pious Synod at *Weſtminſter*, except a very few, "had been Conformiſts, and kept up an honourable "Eſteem for thoſe Biſhops that they thought reli-"gious; as Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Davenant*, "*Hall*, *Moreton*, &c. Theſe would have been con-"tent with an Amendment of the Hierarchy, and "went into the Parliament, becauſe they appre-"hended the Intereſt of Religion, and Civil Liber-"ties, were on that Side." *Mr. Baxter's Account of them.* Baxter's *Life*, p. 33, 35, 37.

King Charles I. 1642.

Their political Behaviour.

Husb. *Collect.* p. 514.

But the *political Principles* of theſe Divines gave the greateſt Diſguſt to the Royaliſts; they encouraged the People to ſtand by the Parliament, and preached up the Lawfulneſs of defending their Religion and Liberties, againſt the King's evil Counſellors. They were for a limited Monarchy, agreeable to our preſent happy Conſtitution, for which, and for what they apprehended the Purity of the Proteſtant Religion, they contended, and for nothing more; but for this they have ſuffered in their moral Character, and have been left upon Record, as *Rebels*, *Traitors*, *Enemies to God and the King*, &c. His Majeſty, in one of his Declarations, calls them *ignorant in Learning*, *turbulent and ſeditious in Diſpoſition*, *ſcandalous in Life*, *unconformable to the Laws of the Land*, *Libellers*, *Revilers both of Church and State*, *and Preachers of Sedition and Treaſon it ſelf.* Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "That "under the Notion of Reformation, and extirpating "Popery, they infuſed ſeditious Inclinations into "the Hearts of Men againſt the preſent Govern- "ment of the Church and State; that when the "Army was raiſed they contained themſelves with- "in no Bounds, and inveighed as freely againſt the "Perſon of the King as they had before againſt the "worſt Malignants, profanely and blaſphemouſly "applying what had been ſpoken by the Prophets "againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to "ſtir up the People againſt their moſt gracious So-

Vol. I. p. 302.

"vereign." His Lordſhip adds, "That the *Puri-* "*tan Clergy* were the chief Incendiaries, and had the "chief Influence in promoting the Civil War. The "Kirk Reformation in *Scotland* and in this Kingdom "(ſays his Lordſhip) was driven on by no Men ſo "much as thoſe of their Clergy; and without doubt "the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* never had ſuch an "Influence over the Councils at Court, as Dr. *Burges* "and Mr. *Marſhal* had then on the Houſes; nor did "all the Biſhops of *Scotland* together ſo much meddle "in temporal Affairs as Mr. *Henderſon* had done."

Strange!

Strange! when the *Scots* Biſhops were advanced to the higheſt Poſts of Honour and Civil Truſt in that Kingdom; and when Archbiſhop *Laud* had the Direction of all publick Affairs in *England*, for twelve Years together. Was not the Archbiſhop at the Head of the Council Table, the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commiſſion? Was not his *Grace* the Contriver or Promoter of all the Monopolies and Oppreſſions that brought on the Civil War? What could the Puritan Clergy do like this? Had they any Places of Profit or Truſt under the Government? Or any Commiſſions in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts? Did they amaſs to themſelves great Riches or large Eſtates? No; they renounced all Civil Power and Juriſdiction, as well as lordly Titles and Dignities; and were, for the moſt part, content with a very moderate Share of the World. If they ſerved the Parliament Cauſe it was in viſiting their Pariſhioners, and by their Sermons from the Pulpits: Here they ſpent their Zeal, praying and preaching as Men that were in earneſt, for what they apprehended the Cauſe of God and their Country. But 'tis eaſy to remark, that the *noble Hiſtorian* obſerves no Meaſures with the *Puritan Clergy* when they fall in his way. *King* Charles I. 1642. *Their Vindication.*

Nor were the Parliament Divines *the chief Incendiaries between the King and People*, if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, who knew the *Puritans* of thoſe Times much better than his Lordſhip. "It is not true (ſays this Divine) that they ſtirred up the People "to War, there was hardly one ſuch Man in a "County, though they diſliked the late Innova- "tions, and were glad the Parliament was attempt- "ing a Reformation." They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons againſt the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the *Faſt Sermons* that I have read, for ſome Years after the beginning of the War, I have met with no Reflections upon the Perſon of the King, but a religious Baxter's *Life*, p. 34.

King Charles I. 1642.

gious Obſervation of that political Maxim, *The King can do no wrong.*

But his Lordſhip adds, that *they profanely and blaſphemouſly applied what had been ſpoken by the Prophets againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to ſtir up the People againſt their moſt gracious Sovereign.* If this were really the Caſe, yet the King's Divines came not behind them in applying the abſolute Dominion of the Kings of *Judah* in ſupport of the unbounded Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, nor in *curſing* the Parliament, and pronouncing *Damnation* upon all that died in their Service. I could produce a large Catalogue of ſhocking Expreſſions to this purpoſe, but I am no Advocate for ſuch Extremes; nor ought we to form our Judgments of great Bodies of Men, from the Exceſſes of a few.

We ſhall have an Opportunity hereafter, of comparing the Learning of the Puritan Divines with the Royaliſts, when it will appear, that there were Men of no leſs Eminence for Literature with the Parliament than with the King, as the *Seldens*, the *Lightfoots*, the *Cudworths*, the *Pococks*, the *Witchcots*, the *Arrowſmiths*, &c. but as to their *Morals*, their very Adverſaries will witneſs for them. Dr. *G. Bates* an eminent Royaliſt in his *Elenchus*, gives them this Character, *Moribus ſeveris eſſent, in concionibus vehementes, precibus & piis officiis prompti, uno verbo ad cætera boni*, i. e. *They were Men of ſevere and ſtrict Morals, warm and affectionate Preachers, fervent in Prayer, ready to all pious Offices, and in a Word, otherwiſe* [*that is, abating their political Principles*] *good Men.* And yet with all their *Goodneſs* they were unacquainted with the *Rights of Conſcience*, and when they got the ſpiritual Sword into their Hands managed it not much better than their Predeceſſors the Biſhops.

Of the King's Clergy.

The Clergy that eſpouſed the King's Cauſe were the *Bench of Biſhops, the whole Body of the Cathedral, and the major Part of the Parochial Clergy, with the Heads, and moſt of the Fellows of both Univerſities,* among

among whom were Men of the firſt Rank for Learning, Politeneſs, Piety, and Probity of Manners, as Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Hall*, *Moreton*, *Weſtfield*, *Brownrigge*, *Prideaux*, Dr. *Hammond*, *Saunderſon*, &c. who joined the King, not only for the ſake of their Preferments, but becauſe they believed the *Unlawfulneſs of Subjects reſiſting their Sovereign in any Caſe whatſoever*. Among the Parochial Clergy were Men of no leſs Name and Character; Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "That if the Sermons of thoſe Times preached at Court were collected together, and publiſhed, the World would receive the beſt Bulk of orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Reaſon, natural powerful Eloquence, and admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated in any Age ſince the Apoſtles Time." And yet in the very ſame Page he adds, "There was ſometimes preached there, Matter very unfit for the Place, and ſcandalous for the Perſons." I ſubmit this Paragraph to the Reader's Judgment; for I muſt confeſs, that after having read over ſeveral of theſe Court Sermons, I have not been able to diſcover all that Learning and perſuaſive Eloquence that his Lordſhip admires; nor can much be ſaid for their *Orthodoxy*, if the Thirty nine Articles be the Standard. But whatever Decency was obſerved at Court, there was hardly a Sermon preached by the inferior Clergy within the King's Quarters, wherein the Parliament Divines were not ſeverely expoſed and ridiculed, under the Character of *Puritans*, *Preciſians*, *Formaliſts*, *Sabbatarians*, *Canting Hypocrites*, &c. Such was the Sharpneſs of Men's Spirits on both Sides!

King Charles I. 1642.

Vol. I. P. 77.

Among the Country Clergy there was great Room for Complaints, many of them being *Pluraliſts*, *Non-Reſidents*, *ignorant and illiterate*, *negligent of their Cures*, ſeldom or never viſiting their Pariſhioners, nor diſcharging any more of their Function than would barely ſatisfy the Law. They took Advantage of the

King Charles I. 1642.

the *Book of Sports* to attend their Pariſhioners to their *Wakes* and *Revels*, by which means many of them became ſcandalouſly immoral in their Converſations. Even Dr. *Walker* admits, that there were among them Men of wicked Lives, and ſuch as were a Reproach and Scandal to their Function; the Particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon Record.

Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 72.

Of the King's Army.

The common People that filled up the King's Army were of the looſer Sort; the chief Officers, as Lord *Goring*, *Granville*, *Wilmot*, and others, were of profligate Lives, and made a Jeſt of Religion; the private Centinels were *Soldiers of Fortune*, and not having their regular Pay, lived for the moſt part upon free Plunder: When they took Poſſeſſion of a Town they rifled the Houſes of all that were called *Puritans*, and turned their Families out of Doors. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, "That when he lived at "*Coventry* after the Battle of *Edgehill*, there were "above thirty worthy Miniſters in that City who "had fled thither for Refuge from the Soldiers and "popular Fury, as he himſelf alſo had done, tho' "they had never meddled in the Wars; among theſe "were the Reverend Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Anthony Bur-*"*geſs*, Mr. *Burdal*, Mr. *Bromſhil*, Dr. *Bryan*, *Grew*, "*Craddock*, and others. And here (ſays he) I muſt "repeat the great Cauſe of the Parliament's Strength, "and of the King's Ruin; the debauched Rabble, "encouraged by his Gentry, and ſeconded by the "common Soldiers of his Army, took all that were "called *Puritans* for their Enemies; ſo that if any "Man was noted for a ſtrict and famous Preacher, "or for a Man of a preciſe and pious Life, he was "plundered, abuſed, and put in danger of his Life; "if a Man prayed in his Family, or was heard to "repeat a Sermon, or ſing a Pſalm, they preſently "cried out REBELS, ROUNDHEADS, and all their "Money and Goods proved guilty, however inno-"cent they were themſelves. Upon my certain "Know-

Baxter's Life, p. 44.

" Knowledge it was this that filled the Armies and " Garriſons of the Parliament with ſober and pious " Men. Thouſands had no mind to meddle in the " Wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the Rage " of the Soldiers and Drunkards would have ſuffered " them. Some ſtay'd at home till they had been " impriſon'd; ſome till they had been plunder'd " twice or thrice over, and had nothing left; others " were quite tired out with the Inſolence of their " Neighbours; with being quarter'd upon, and put " in continual Danger of their Lives, and ſo they " ſought Refuge in the Parliament Garriſons."

King Charles I. 1642.

This was ſo notorious, that at length it came to the King's Ear, who out of meer Compaſſion to his diſtreſſed Subjects, iſſued out a Proclamation, bearing Date *Nov.* 25. 1642. *for the better Government of his Army*; the Preamble to which ſets forth, " That " his Majeſty having taken into his princely Con- " ſideration, the great Miſery and Ruin of his Sub- " jects, by the plundering, robbing, and ſpoiling " of their Houſes, and taking from them their Mo- " ney, Plate, Houſhold Stuff, Cattle, and other " Goods, under Pretence of their being diſaffected " to us and our Service, and theſe unlawful and un- " juſt Actions done by divers Soldiers of our Army, " and others ſheltering themſelves under that Title; " his Majeſty deteſting ſuch barbarous Proceedings, " forbids his Officers and Soldiers to make any ſuch " Seizures for the future, without his Warrant. " And if they go on to plunder and ſpoil the People, " by taking away their Money, Plate, Houſhold " Goods, Oxen, Sheep, or other Cattle; or any " Victuals, Corn, Hay, or other Proviſions, go- " ing to or from any Market, without making Sa- " tisfaction, his Majeſty orders them to be pro- " ceeded againſt by martial Law." This was as much as the King could do in his preſent Circumſtances; but it had very little Effect, for his Majeſty

King's Proclamation for the better Government of his Army.

King Charles I. 1642.

jeſty having neither Money nor Stores for his Army, the Officers had them under no Diſcipline, being forced to connive at their living at free Quarter upon the People.

Thus this unhappy Nation was miſerably divided, and thrown into Convulſions, by an unnatural Civil War; the Nobility and Gentry with their Dependants, being chiefly with the King; the Merchants, Tradeſmen, ſubſtantial Farmers, and in general, the middle Sort of People throughout the Nation, being with the Parliament.

The Authors of the Civil War.

'Tis of little Conſequence to enquire, *Who began this unnatural and bloody War*, for if it was juſt and unavoidable on either ſide, none will blame them for taking all neceſſary Precautions in their own Defence, or making uſe of ſuch Advantages as Providence put into their Hands to defeat the Deſigns of the Enemy. His Majeſty profeſſed before God, to his Nobles at *York*, *That he had no Intention to make War upon his Parliament.* And in his laſt Speech on the Scaffold he affirms, "That he did not begin a "War with the two Houſes of Parliament, but "that they began with him upon the Point of the "Militia; and if any body will look upon the Dates "of the Commiſſions (ſays his Majeſty) theirs and "mine, they will ſee clearly that they began theſe "unhappy Troubles, and not I." But with all due Submiſſion to ſo great an Authority, Were the Dates of Commiſſions for raiſing the Militia the beginning of the War? Were not the Crown Jewels firſt pawned in *Holland*, and Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, ſent over to the King at *York?* Did not his Majeſty ſummon the Gentlemen and Freeholders to attend him as an extraordinary Guard, in his Progreſs in the North, and appear before *Hull* in a warlike Manner, before the raiſing the Militia? Were not theſe warlike Preparations? Dr. *Welwood* ſays, and, I think, all impartial Judges muſt think with him,

Memoirs, p. 64.

him, that they look very much that way. Mr. *Eachard* is surprized that *the King did not put himself into a Posture of Defence sooner*; but he would have ceased to wonder, if he had remember'd the Words of Lord *Clarendon*, *The Reason why the King did not raise Forces sooner was, because he had neither Arms nor Ammunition, and till these could be procured from* Holland, *let his Provocations and Sufferings be what they could be, he was to submit and bear it patiently.* It was therefore no want of Will, but mere Necessity, that hinder'd the King's appearing in Arms sooner than he did. Father *Orleans* confesses, that it was agreed with the *Queen in the Cabinet Council at* Windsor, that while her Majesty was negotiating in *Holland* the King should retire to *York* and there make his first Levies. He adds, *That all Mankind believed that his Majesty was underhand preparing for War, that the Sword might cut asunder those Knots he had made with his Pen.* *King* Charles I. 1642.

But in order to excuse the unhappy King, who was sacrificed in the House of his Friends, a Load of Guilt is, with great Justice, laid upon the QUEEN, who had a Plenitude of Power over his Majesty, and could turn him about which way she pleased. Bishop BURNET says, *That by the Liveliness of her Discourse she made great Impressions upon the King; so that to the Queen's want of Judgment, and the King's own Temper, the Sequel of all his Misfortunes was owing.* Bishop KENNET adds, That *the King's Match with this Lady was a greater Judgment upon the Nation than the Plague which then raged in the Land; and that the Influence of a stately Queen over an affectionate Husband proved very fatal both to Prince and People, and laid in a Vengeance to future Generations.* The Queen was a great Bigot to her Religion, and was directed by her *Father Confessor* to protect the *Roman Catholicks*, even to the Hazard of the King's Crown and Dignity. Though his Majesty usually consulted her Majesty *The Queen.* *Hist. Life and Times.* *Compl. Hist.*

King Charles I. 1642.

in all Affairs of State, yet *ſhe* ſometimes preſumed to act without the King, and to make uſe of his Name without his Knowledge. *It was the* QUEEN *that made all the great Officers of State* (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) *no Preferments were beſtowed without her Allowance.* She was an Enemy to Parliaments, and puſhed the King upon the moſt arbitrary and unpopular Actions, to raiſe the *Engliſh* Government to a Level with the *French*. It was the QUEEN that countenanced the *Iriſh* Inſurrection; that obliged the King to go to the Houſe of Commons and ſeize the five Members; and that was at the Head of the Council at *Windſor*, in which it was determined to break with the Parliament and prepare for War; *This* (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) (*viz.*) the King's perfect Adoration of his Queen, his Reſolution to do nothing without her, and his being inexorable as to every Thing he promis'd her, *was the Root and Cauſe of all other Grievances.* The two Houſes often petitioned the King not to admit her Majeſty into his Councils, nor to follow her Advice in Matters of State; but he was not to be moved from his too ſervile Regards to her Dictates, even to his Death.

Evil Counſellors.

Sundry others of his Majeſty's Privy Council had their Share in bringing on the Calamities of the Civil War, tho' when it broke out they were either dead, diſperſed or impriſoned, as the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Strafford*, Archbiſhop *Laud*, *Finch*, *Windebank*, *Noy*, &c. Theſe were the moſt buſy Actors at the *Council Table*, the *Star Chamber*, and *Court of High Commiſſion*, and were at the Head of all the Monopolies and illegal Projects that enſlaved the Nation for above twelve Years, and might have done it for ever, had they been good Huſbands of the King's Treaſure, and not brought upon themſelves the armed Force of a neighbouring Nation. The Politicks of theſe *Stateſmen* were very unaccountable, for

for as long as they could ſubſiſt without a Parliamentary Supply, they went on with their *Ship Money*, *Coat and Conduct Money*, *Monopolies*, and all the other Springs of the Prerogative; while the Parliament ſat theſe were ſuſpended, in expectation of a Supply from the two Houſes, before they enquired into the late Inroads upon the Conſtitution; but when this could not be obtained they broke up the Parliament in diſguſt, fined and impriſoned the Members for their Freedom of Speech in the Houſe, and returned to their former Methods of arbitrary Government. All King *Charles*'s Parliaments were diſſolved in this manner, even to the preſent, which would undoubtedly have been treated in the ſame way, had it not been for the Act of *Continuation*.

King Charles I. 1642.

On the other hand, a *Spirit of* Engliſh *Liberty* had been growing in the Nation for ſome Years, and the *late Oppreſſions*, inſtead of extinguiſhing it, had only kept it under Ground, till having collected more Strength, it broke out with the greater Violence; The *Patriots* of the *Conſtitution* watched all Opportunities to recover it, and when they obtained a Parliament by the Interpoſition of the *Scots*, were ready to take too ſevere a Revenge upon their late Oppreſſors, and to enter upon too violent Meaſures in order to prevent the Return of Power into thoſe Hands that had ſo ſhamefully abuſed it. The five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and their Friends, who were concerned in inviting the *Scots* into *England*, ſaw their Danger long before the King came to the Houſe to ſeize them, which put them upon concerting Meaſures *not only to reſtore the Conſtitution, but to lay further Limitations upon the Royal Power for a Time*, that they might not be expoſed to the Mercy of an incenſed Prince as ſoon as he ſhould be delivered from the preſent Parliament. 'Tis true, his Majeſty offered a general Pardon at the

Warm Spirits in the Houſe of Commons.

King Charles I. 1642.

the breaking up of the Seſſion, but theſe Members were afraid to rely upon it, becauſe (as was ſaid) there was no Appearance that his Majeſty would govern by Law for the future, any more than he had done before.

The King being made ſenſible of the Deſigns of the *Commons*, watched all Opportunities to diſperſe them, but not being able to gain his Point, he determined to leave the two Houſes, and act no longer in concert with them, which was in effect to break them up; for to what Purpoſe ſhould the Houſes ſit, if the King will paſs none of their Laws; and forbid his Subjects to obey any of their Votes or Ordinances without the Royal Aſſent? It was this divided and broke the Conſtitution, and reduced the Parliament to this Dilemma, either to go home, and leave all Things in the Hands of the King and Queen, and their late Miniſtry; or to act by themſelves, as the GUARDIANS OF THE PEOPLE, in a Time of imminent Danger: Had they diſſolved themſelves, or ſtood ſtill while his Majeſty had garriſoned the ſtrong Forteſſes of *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, and got Poſſeſſion of all the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition of the Kingdom; had they ſuffered the *Fleet* to fall into his Majeſty's Hands, and gone on petitioning for the *Militia*, or for his Majeſty's Return to his two Houſes of Parliament, till the *Queen* was returned with foreign Recruits, or the *Iriſh* at liberty to ſend his Majeſty Aſſiſtance from thence, both they, and we their Poſterity, muſt in all probability have been buried under the Ruins of the Liberties of our Country. The two Houſes were not inſenſible of the Riſk they run in croſſing the Meaſures of their *Sovereign*, under whoſe Government they thought they were to live, and who had Counſellors about him who would not fail to put him upon the ſevereſt Repriſals as ſoon as the Sword of the Kingdom ſhould

ſhould return into his Hands; but they apprehended that their own and the publick Safety was at Stake; that the King was preparing to act againſt them, by raiſing extraordinary Guards to his Perſon, and ſending for Arms and Ammunition from abroad; therefore they ventur'd to make a Stand in their own Defence, and to perform ſuch Acts of Sovereignty as were neceſſary to put it out of the Power of the Court to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of their Country. *King Charles I. 1642.*

But though in a *juſt and neceſſary War* 'tis of little Moment to enquire who began it, 'tis nevertheleſs of great Conſequence to conſider on which ſide the *Juſtice* of it lies. Let us therefore take a ſhort View of the Arguments on the King's Side with the Parliament's Reply.

1. It was argued by the Royaliſts, *That all Grievances both real and imaginary were removed by the King's giving up Ship-Money, by his aboliſhing the Court of Honour, the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion, and by his giving up the Biſhops Votes in Parliament*, &c. *The Grounds and Reaſons on which it proceeded.* Claren. Vol. I. p. 262.

The Parliament Writers own theſe to be very important Conceſſions, but far from comprehending all the real and imaginary Grievances of the Nation, for the *Queen* was ſtill at the Head of his Majeſty's Councils, without whoſe Approbation no conſiderable Affairs of Government were tranſacted. None of the Authors of the late Oppreſſions were brought to Juſtice, except the Earl of *Strafford*; and 'tis more than probable, that if the Parliament were diſſolved they would not only be pardoned, but reſtored to Favour. Though the Biſhops were deprived of their Seats in Parliament, yet the Defects in the publick Service (which the Puritans complain'd of) were almoſt untouched; nor were any effectual Meaſures taken to prevent the Growth

King Charles I. 1642.

of Popery, which threaten'd the Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion.

2. It was argued further, *That the King had provided againſt any future Oppreſſions of the Subject by conſenting to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.*

To which it was replied, That the *Triennial Act*, in the preſent Situation of the Court, was not a ſufficient Security of our Laws and Liberties; for ſuppoſe at the End of three Years, when the King was in full Poſſeſſion of the regal Power, having all the Forts and Garriſons, Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom at his Diſpoſal, with his old Miniſtry about him, the Council ſhould declare, That the NECESSITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S AFFAIRS obliged him to diſpenſe with the *Triennial Act*, what Sheriff of a County, or other Officer, would venture to put it in Execution? Beſides, had not the King, from this very Principle, ſuſpended and broke through the Laws of the Land for twelve Years, before the ſetting of this preſent Parliament? And, did not his Majeſty yield to the new Laws with a manifeſt Reluctancy? Did he not affect to call them Acts of *Grace* and not of Juſtice? Were not ſome of them extorted from him by ſuch Arguments as theſe? *That his Conſent to them being forced, they were in themſelves invalid, and might be avoided in better Times.* Lord *Clarendon* ſays, He had reaſon to believe this; and if his Lordſhip believed it, I can't ſee how it can be called in Queſtion. Biſhop *Burnet* is of the ſame Mind, for in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times he ſays, "That his Majeſty never came into his "Conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good Grace; "all appeared to be extorted from him; and there "were Grounds to believe, that he intended not "to ſtand to them any longer, than he lay under "that Force that viſibly drew them upon him, "contrary to his own Inclinations." To all which

Claren. Vol. II. P. 430.

we may add the Words of Father *Orleans* the Jeſuit, who ſays, "That all Mankind believed at "that Time, that the King did not grant ſo much "but in order to revoke all." *King Charles I. 1642.*

3. But it was ſaid, *That the King had ſeen his Miſtake, and had ſince vowed and proteſted in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that for the future he would govern according to Law.*

To which it was replied; that if the PETITION OF RIGHT ſo ſolemnly ratified from the Throne, in preſence of both Houſes of Parliament, was ſo quickly broke through, what Dependance could be had upon the *Royal Promiſe?* For though the King himſelf might be a Prince of Virtue and Honour, yet his Speeches (ſays Mr. *Rapin*) were full of Ambiguities and ſecret Reſerves, that left room for different Interpretations; beſides, many Things were tranſacted without his Knowledge, and therefore ſo long as the *Queen* was at the Head of his Councils they looked upon his *Royal Word* but as the Promiſe of a Minor, or of a Man under ſuperior Direction, which was the moſt favourable Interpretation could be made of the many Violations of it in the Courſe of fifteen Years. The "*Queen*, who was directed by Popiſh Counſels (ſays "Biſhop *Burnet*) could, by her ſovereign Power, "make the King do whatſoever ſhe pleaſed."

4. It was further urged, *That the Parliament had invaded the Royal Prerogative, and uſurped the Legiſlative Power, without his Majeſty's Conſent, by claiming the Militia, and the Approbation of the chief Officers both Civil and Military, and by requiring Obedience to their Votes and Ordinances.*

This the two Houſes admitted, and inſiſted upon it as their Right, in Caſes of *Neceſſity* and *extreme Danger*; of which *Neceſſity* and *Danger*, they, as the Guardians of the Nation, and two Parts in three of the Legiſlature, were the proper Judges:

King Charles I. 1642.

" The Queſtion is not (ſay they) whether the " King be the Fountain of Juſtice and Prote- " ction? or, Whether the Execution of the Laws " belongs primarily to him? But if the King ſhall " refuſe to diſcharge that Duty and Truſt, and " ſhall deſert his Parliament, and in a manner ab- " dicate the Government, Whether there be not " a Power in the two Houſes to provide for the " Safety and Peace of the Kingdom? or, If there " be no Parliament ſitting, whether the Nation " does not return to a State of Nature, and is " not at liberty to provide for its own Defence by " extraordinary Methods?" This ſeems to have been the Caſe in the late Glorious Revolution of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, when the Conſtitution being broken, a Convention of the Nobility and Commonalty was ſummoned without the King's Writ, to reſtore the Religion and Liberties of the People, and place the Crown upon another Head.

5. But the King on his part maintained, That *there was* NO DANGER *from him, but that all the Danger was from a malignant Party in the Parliament, who were ſubverting the Conſtitution in Church and State. His Majeſty averr'd, That God and the Laws had intruſted him with the Guardianſhip and Protection of his People, and that he would take ſuch Care of them as he ſhould be capable of anſwering for it to God.*

With regard to *Dangers* and *Fears* the Parliament appealed to the whole World, Whether there were not juſt Grounds for them, after his Majeſty had broke through the PETITION OF RIGHT, and attempted to break up the preſent Parliament, by bringing the Army to *London*; after he had enter'd their Houſe with an armed Force, to ſeize five of their Members; after he had deſerted his Parliament, and reſolved to act no longer in Con-

cert with them; after his Majeſty had begun to raiſe Forces under pretence of an extraordinary Guard to his Perſon, and endeavoured to get the Forts and Ammunition of the Kingdom into his Poſſeſſion, againſt the Time when he ſhould receive Supplies from abroad; after they had ſeen the dreadful Effects of a bloody and unparallel'd Inſurrection and Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, and were continually alarmed with the Increaſe, and inſolent Behaviour of the *Papiſts* at home; and laſtly, after they found it impracticable, by their moſt humble Petitions and Remonſtrances, to remove the Queen and her Cabal of Papiſts from the Direction of the King's Councils; after all theſe Things (ſay they) *We muſt maintain the Grounds of our Fears to be of that Moment, that we cannot diſcharge the Truſt and Duty which lies upon us, unleſs we do apply our ſelves to the Uſe of thoſe Means, which God and the Laws have put into our Hands, for the neceſſary Defence and Safety of the Kingdom.*

King Charles I. 1642.

Rapin, P. 468.

There were certainly *ſtrong*, and, perhaps unreaſonable *Jealouſies*, *and Apprehenſions of Danger on both Sides.* The King complained, that he was driven from *Whitehall* by popular Tumults, where neither his Perſon nor Family were in Safety. He was jealous (as he ſaid) for the *Laws and Liberties* of his People, and was apprehenſive that his Parliament intended to change the Conſtitution, and to wreſt the Royal Scepter and Sword out of his Hands. On the other Side, the two Houſes had their *Fears and Diſtruſts of their own and the publick Safety*; they were apprehenſive, that if they put all the Forts and Garriſons of the Kingdom, with the Power of the Sword, into the King's Hand, when they were diſſolved, his Majeſty, by the Influence of his Queen and his old Counſellors, would return to his Maxims of arbi-

Jealouſies on both ſides.

King Charles I. 1642.

trary Power, and never call another Parliament; that he would take a ſevere Revenge upon thoſe Members that had expoſed his Government, and diſgraced his *Miniſters*; and, in a word, that he would break through the late Laws, as having been extorted from him by Violence and Force; but it was very much in the King's Power, even to the Treaty of *Uxbridge* in the Year 1644-5. to have remov'd their Diſtruſts, and thereby have ſaved both Church and Nation; for, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, "*The* "*Parliament took none of the Points of Controverſy leſs* "*to Heart, or were leſs united in any Thing than in* "*what concerned the Church.*" And with regard to the State, that *Many of them were for Peace, provided they might have Indemnity for what was paſſed, and Security for Time to come.* Why then was not this Indemnity, and Security offered? Which muſt neceſſarily have divided the Parliamentarians, and obliged the *moſt rigorous* to recede from their high and exorbitant Demands? And by Conſequence have reſtored the King to the peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Throne.

Vol. II. p. 581, 594.

The Concluſion.

Upon the whole, if we believe with the noble Hiſtorian, and the Writers on that Side, *That the King was driven by Violence from his Palace at* Whitehall, *and could not return with Safety; that all real and imaginary Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed; and that the Kingdom was ſufficiently ſecured from all future Inroads of Popery and arbitrary Power by the Laws in being*; then the Juſtice and Equity of the War was moſt certainly with the King. But if we believe, *That the King voluntarily deſerted his Parliament, and that it was owing alone to his Majeſty's own peremptory Reſolution, that he would not return* (as Lord *Clarendon* obſerves.) *If by this means the Conſtitution was broken, and the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice neceſſarily interrupted. If there were ſundry Grievances ſtill to be redreſſed, and the King reſolved to ſhelter him-*

himſelf under the Laws in being, and to make no further Conceſſions. If there were juſt Reaſons to fear, with Biſhop *Burnet* and Father *Orleans*, that the King *would abide by the late Laws no longer than he was under that Force that brought them upon him.* In a word, *if in the Judgment of the Majority of Lords and Commons, the Kingdom was in imminent Danger of the Return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and his Majeſty would not condeſcend ſo much as to a temporary Security for their Satisfaction*; then we muſt conclude, that the Cauſe of the Parliament, at the ſetting out of the War, and for ſome Years after, was not only *juſtifiable*, but *commendable and glorious*; eſpecially, if we may believe their moſt ſolemn Proteſtation, in the Preſence of Almighty God, to the Kingdom and the whole World; "That no private Paſſion or "Reſpect, no evil Intention to his Majeſty's Per- "ſon, no Deſigns to the Prejudice of his juſt Ho- "nour or Authority, had engaged them to raiſe "Forces, and take up Arms againſt the Authors "of this War in which the Kingdom is inflamed."

King Charles I. 1642.

Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 26.

The End of the Second VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

ARTICLES of RELIGION agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of *Ireland*, in the Convocation holden at *Dublin* in the Year of our Lord 1615. for the avoiding of Diverſities of Opinions, and the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion.

N. B. In theſe Articles are comprehended almoſt Word for Word the nine Articles agreed on at *Lambeth* the 20th of *November* 1595. This Mark ☞ in the Margin points at each of them, and their Number.

Of the Holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. THE Ground of our Religion, and the Rule of Faith, and all ſaving Truth, is the Word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture.

2. By the Name of Holy Scripture we underſtand all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, *viz.*

Of

Of the Old Teſtament.

The five Books of *Moſes*,
Joſhua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The firſt and ſecond of *Samuel*,
The firſt and ſecond of *Kings*,
The firſt and ſecond of *Chronicles*,
Ezra,
Nehemiah,
Eſther,
Job,
Pſalms,
Proverbs,
Eccleſiaſtes,
The Song of Solomon,
Iſaiah,
Jeremiah, *his Propheſy and Lamentation*,
Ezekiel,
Daniel,
The twelve leſs Prophets.

Of the New Teſtament.

The Goſpels according to *Matthew*,
Mark,
Luke,
John,
The Acts of the Apoſtles,
The Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans,
The firſt and ſecond *Epiſtle to the Corinthians*,
Galatians,
Epheſians,
Philippians,
Coloſſians,
The firſt and ſecond *Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*,
The firſt and ſecond *Epiſtle to Timothy*,
Titus,
Philemon,
Hebrews,
The Epiſtle of St. James,
The two Epiſtles of St. Peter,
The three Epiſtles of St. John,
St. Jude,
The Revelation of St. John.

All which we acknowledge to be given by the Inſpiration of God, and in that regard to be of moſt certain Credit and higheſt Authority.

3. The other Books, commonly called *Apocryphal*, did not proceed from ſuch Inſpiration, and therefore are not of ſufficient Authority to eſtabliſh any Point of Doctrine; but the Church doth read them as Books containing many worthy Things for Example of Life and Inſtruction of Manners.

Such

Such are theſe following;

The third Book of Eſdras,
The fourth Book of Eſdras,
The Book of Tobias,
The Book of Judith,
Additions to the Book of Eſther,
The Book of Wiſdom,
The Book of Jeſus the Son of Sirach, called Eccleſiaſticus,
Baruch, with the Epiſtle of Jeremiah,
The Song of the three Children,
Suſanna,
Bell and the Dragon,
The Prayer of Manaſſes,
The firſt Book of Maccabees,
The ſecond Book of Maccabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be tranſlated out of the original Tongues into all Languages, for the common Uſe of all Men. Neither is any Perſon to be diſcouraged from reading the Bible in ſuch a Language as he doth underſtand, but ſeriouſly exhorted to read the ſame with great Humility and Reverence, as a ſpecial Means to bring him to the true Knowledge of God, and of his own Duty.

5. Although there be ſome hard Things in the Scripture (eſpecially ſuch as have proper relation to the Times in which they were firſt uttered, and Propheſies of Things which were afterwards to be fulfilled) yet all Things neceſſary to be known unto everlaſting Salvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that Kind is ſpoken under dark Myſteries in one place, which is not in other Places ſpoken more familiarily and plainly to the Capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The Holy Scriptures contain all Things neceſſary to Salvation, and are able to inſtruct ſufficiently in all Points of Faith that we are bound to believe, and all good Duties that we are bound to practiſe.

7. All and every the Articles contained in the *Nicene Creed*, the *Creed* of *Athanaſius*, and that which is commonly called the *Apoſtles Creed*, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrant of Holy Scripture.

Of

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. THERE is but one Living and true God everlaſting, without Body, Parts, or Paſſions, of infinite Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs; the Maker and Preſerver of all Things, both viſible and inviſible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Perſons of One and the ſame Subſtance, Power and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

9. The Eſſence of the Father doth not beget the Eſſence of the Son; but the Perſon of the Father begetteth the Perſon of the Son, by communicating his whole Eſſence to the Perſon begotten from Eternity.

10. The Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree, and Predeſtination.

11 GOD from all Eternity did, by his unchangeable Counſel, ordain whatſoever in Time ſhould come to paſs; yet ſo, as thereby no Violence is offered to the Wills of the reaſonable Creatures, and neither the Liberty nor the Contingency of the ſecond Cauſes is taken away, but eſtabliſhed rather.

12. "By the ſame eternal Counſel God hath predeſti- I. ☜
"nated ſome unto Life, and reprobated ſome unto Death;
"of both which there is a certain Number, known only III. ☜
"to God, which can neither be increaſed nor dimi-
"niſhed."

13. Predeſtination to Life is the everlaſting Purpoſe of God, whereby before the Foundations of the World were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed in his ſecret Counſel, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting Salvation, as Veſſels made to Honour.

14. "The Cauſe moving God to predeſtinate unto II. ☜
"Life, is not the foreſeeing of Faith, or Perſeverance, or
"good Works, or of any Thing which is in the Perſon
"predeſtinated, but only the good Pleaſure of God him-
"ſelf." For all Things being ordained for the Manifeſtation of his Glory, and his Glory being to appear, both in the

the Works of his Mercy and of his Juſtice, it ſeemed good to his heavenly Wiſdom to chooſe out a certain Number, towards whom he would extend his undeſerved Mercy, leaving the reſt to be Spectacles of his Juſtice.

15. Such as are predeſtinated unto Life be called according unto God's Purpoſe (his Spirit working in due Seaſon) and through Grace they obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely; they be made Sons of God by Adoption; they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, they walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length by God's Mercy they attain to everlaſting Felicity. "But ſuch as are not predeſtinated to Salvation ſhall finally be condemned for their Sins." ☞ IV.

16. The godly Conſideration of Predeſtination, and our Election in Chriſt, is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable Comfort to godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the Working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the Works of the Fleſh, and their earthly Members, and drawing up their Minds to high and heavenly Things, as well becauſe it doth greatly confirm and eſtabliſh their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God; and on the contrary ſide, for curious and carnal Perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predeſtination, is very dangerous.

17. We muſt receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our Doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. IN the Beginning of Time, when no Creature had any Being, God by his Word alone, in the Space of ſix Days, created all Things; and afterwards by his Providence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his own Will.

19. The principal Creatures are Angels and Men.

20. Of Angels, ſome continued in that holy State wherein they were created, and are by God's Grace for ever eſtabliſhed therein; others fell from the ſame, and are reſerved in Chains of Darkneſs unto the Judgment of the great Day.

21. Man

21. Man being at the Beginning created according to the Image of God (which conſiſted eſpecially in the Wiſdom of his Mind, and the true Holineſs of his Free-Will) had the Covenant of the Law ingrafted in his Heart, whereby God did promiſe unto him everlaſting Life, upon Condition that he performed entire and perfect Obedience unto his Commandments, according to that Meaſure of Strength wherewith he was endued in his Creation, and threaten'd Death unto him if he did not perform the ſame.

Of the Fall of Man, original Sin, and the State of Man before Juſtification.

22. BY one Man Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and ſo Death went over all Men, for as much as all have ſinned.

23. Original Sin ſtandeth not in the Imitation of *Adam* (as the *Pelagians* dream) but is the Fault and Corruption of the Nature of every Perſon that naturally is ingender'd and propagated from *Adam*, whereby it cometh to paſs, that Man is deprived of original Righteouſneſs, and by Nature is bent unto Sin; and therefore in every Perſon born into the World it deſerveth God's Wrath and Damnation.

24. This Corruption of Nature doth remain even in thoſe that are regenerated, whereby the Fleſh always luſteth againſt the Spirit, and cannot be made ſubject to the Law of God. And howſoever, for Chriſt ſake, there be no Condemnation to ſuch as are regenerate and do believe; yet doth the Apoſtle acknowledge, that in it ſelf this Concupiſcence hath the Nature of Sin.

25. "The Condition of Man, after the Fall of *Adam* is IX.
"ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf, by his
"own natural Strength and good Works, to Faith, and
"Calling upon God." Wherefore we have no Power to do good Works, pleaſing and acceptable unto God, without the Grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good Will, and working with us, when we have that good Will.

26. Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the Inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſing unto God, for as much as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity; yea rather,

ther, for that they are not done in ſuch ſort as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are ſinful.

27. All Sins are not equal, but ſome far more heinous than others; yet the very leaſt is of its own Nature mortal, and without God's Mercy maketh the Offender liable unto everlaſting Damnation.

28. God is not the Author of Sin; howbeit he doth not only permit, but alſo by his Providence govern and order the ſame, guiding it in ſuch ſort by his infinite Wiſdom, as it turneth to the Manifeſtation of his own Glory, and to the good of his Elect.

Of Chriſt, the Mediator of the ſecond Covenant.

29. THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from Everlaſting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her Subſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the Godhead and Manhood, were inſeparably joined in one Perſon, making one Chriſt, very God and very Man.

30. Chriſt, in the Truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all Things, Sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his Life and in his Nature. He came as a Lamb without ſpot to take away the Sins of the World, by the Sacrifice of himſelf once made, and Sin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him. He fulfilled the Law for us perfectly; for our ſakes he endured moſt grievous Torments immediately in his Soul, and moſt painful Sufferings in his Body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a Sacrifice not only for original Guilt, but alſo for all our actual Tranſgreſſions. He was buried and deſcended into Hell, and the third Day roſe from the Dead, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth at the right Hand of his Father, until he return to judge all Men at the laſt Day.

Of

Of the communicating of the Grace of Chriſt.

31. THEY are to be condemned that preſume to ſay, that every Man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature; for Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt whereby Men muſt be ſaved.

32. "None can come unto Chriſt unleſs it be given VIII. "unto him, and unleſs the Father draw him. And all "Men are not ſo drawn by the Father, that they may "come unto the Son; neither is there ſuch a ſufficient VII. "Meaſure of Grace vouchſafed unto every Man, whereby "he is enabled to come unto everlaſting Life."

33. All God's Elect are in their Time inſeparably united unto Chriſt, by the effectual and vital Influence of the Holy Ghoſt, derived from him, as from the Head, unto every true Member of his myſtical Body. And being thus made one with Chriſt they are truly regenerated, and made Partakers of him and all his Benefits.

Of Juſtification and Faith.

34. WE are accounted Righteous before God, only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, applied by Faith, and not for our own Works or Merits. And this Righteouſneſs, which we ſo receive of God's Mercy and Chriſt's Merits, embraced by Faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full Juſtification.

35. Although this Juſtification be free unto us, yet it cometh not ſo freely unto us, that there is no Ranſom paid therefore at all. God ſhewed his great Mercy in delivering us from our former Captivity, without requiring of any Ranſom to be paid, or Amends to be made on our parts, which Thing by us had been unpoſſible to be done. And whereas all the World was not able of themſelves to pay any part towards their Ranſom, it pleaſed our heavenly Father, of his infinite Mercy, without any Deſert of ours, to provide for us the moſt precious Merits of his own Son, whereby our Ranſom might be fully paid, the Law fulfilled, and his Juſtice fully ſatisfied; ſo that Chriſt is now the Righteouſneſs of all them that truly believe in him:

He

He for them paid their Ranſom by his Death; he for them fulfilled the Law in his Life; that now in him, and by him, every true Chriſtian Man may be called a Fulfiller of the Law; for as much as that which our Infirmity was not able to effect, Chriſt's Juſtice hath performed; and thus the Juſtice and Mercy of God do embrace each other, the Grace of God not ſhutting out the Juſtice of God in the Matter of our Juſtification, but only ſhutting out the Juſtice of Man (that is to ſay, the Juſtice of our own Works) from being any Cauſe of deſerving our Juſtification.

36. When we ſay, that we are juſtified by Faith only, we do not mean, that the ſaid juſtifying Faith is alone in Man without true Repentance, Hope, Charity, and the Fear of God (for ſuch a Faith is dead and cannot juſtify); neither do we mean, that this our Act to believe in Chriſt, or this our Faith in Chriſt, which is within us, doth of it ſelf juſtify us, or deſerve our Juſtification unto us (for that were to account our ſelves to be juſtified by the Virtue or Dignity of ſomething that is within our ſelves;) but the true Underſtanding and Meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's Word and believe it; although we have Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, and the Fear of God within us, and add never ſo many good Works thereunto, yet we muſt renounce the Merit of all our ſaid Virtues, of Faith, Hope, Charity, and all our other Virtues and good Deeds, which we either have done, ſhall do, or can do, as Things that be far too weak and unperfect, and unſufficient to deſerve Remiſſion of our Sins and our Juſtification; and therefore we muſt truſt only in God's Mercy, and the Merits of his moſt dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour and Juſtifier, Jeſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſs, becauſe Faith doth directly ſend us to Chriſt for our Juſtification, and that by Faith, given us of God, we embrace the Promiſe of God's Mercy, and the Remiſſion of our Sins (which Thing none other of our Virtues or Works properly doth) therefore the Scripture uſeth to ſay, that *Faith without Works*, and the antient Fathers of the Church to the ſame purpoſe, that *only Faith* doth juſtify us.

37. By juſtifying Faith we underſtand not only the common Belief of the Articles of Chriſtian Religion, and a Perſwaſion of the Truth of God's Word in general, but alſo a particular Application of the gracious Promiſes of the

the Goſpel to the Comfort of our own Souls, whereby we lay hold on Chriſt with all his Benefits, having an earneſt Truſt and Confidence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's ſake. " So that a true Believer VI.
" may be certain, by the Aſſurance of Faith, of the For-
" giveneſs of his Sins, and of his everlaſting Salvation by
" Chriſt."

38. " A true lively juſtifying Faith, and the ſanctifying V.
" Spirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, nor vaniſheth away
" in the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanctification and good Works.

ALL that are juſtified are likewiſe ſanctified, their Faith being always accompanied with true Repentance and good Works.

40. Repentance is a Gift of God, whereby a godly Sorrow is wrought in the Heart of the Faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former Tranſgreſſions, together with a conſtant Reſolution for the Time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new Life.

41. Albeit that good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Juſtification, cannot make Satisfaction for our Sins, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleaſing to God, and accepted of him in Chriſt, and do ſpring from a true and lively Faith, which by them is to be diſcerned, as a Tree by the Fruit.

42. The Works which God would have his People to walk in, are ſuch as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not ſuch Works as Men have deviſed out of their own Brain, of a blind Zeal and Devotion, without the Warrant of the Word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the Law of God perfectly in this Life, for in many Things we offend all; *and if we ſay we have no Sin we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us.*

44. Not every heinous Sin willingly committed after Baptiſm, is Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt and unpardonable; and therefore to ſuch as fall into Sin after Baptiſm place for Repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary Works, beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety;

for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden Duty is required.

Of the Service of God.

46. OUR Duty towards God is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all our Heart, with all our Mind, and with all our Soul, and with all our Strength; to worſhip him and to give him Thanks, to put our whole Truſt in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his Word, and to ſerve him truly all the Days of our Life.

47. In all our Neceſſities we ought to have recourſe unto God by Prayer, aſſuring our ſelves, that whatſoever we ask of the Father in the Name of his Son (our only Mediator and Interceſſor) Chriſt Jeſus, and according to his Will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our Hearts before we pray, and underſtand the Things that we ask when we pray, that both our Hearts and Voices may together ſound in the Ears of God's Majeſty.

49. When Almighty God ſmiteth us with Affliction, or ſome great Calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty Cauſe ſo requireth, it is our Duty to humble our ſelves in faſting, to bewail our Sins with a ſorrowful Heart, and to addict our ſelves to earneſt Prayer, that it might pleaſe God to turn his Wrath from us, or ſupply us with ſuch Graces as we greatly ſtand in need of.

50. Faſting is a with-holding of Meat, Drink, and all natural Food, with other outward Delights, from the Body, for the determined Time of Faſting. "As for "thoſe Abſtinencies which are appointed by publick Or- "der of our State, for eating of Fiſh, and forbearing of "Fleſh at certain Times and Days appointed, they are "no ways meant to be religious Faſts, nor intended for "the Maintenance of any Superſtition in the Choice of "Meats, but are grounded meerly upon politick Conſi- "derations, for Proviſion of Things tending to the bet- "ter Preſervation of the Commonwealth."

51. We muſt not faſt with this Perſwaſion of Mind, that our faſting can bring us to Heaven, or aſcribe outward Holineſs to the Work wrought; for God alloweth not our Faſt for the Work's ſake (which of it ſelf is a Thing meerly

meerly indifferent) but chiefly reſpecteth the Heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requiſite, that firſt before all Things we cleanſe our Hearts from Sin, and then direct our Faſt to ſuch Ends as God will allow to be good; that the Fleſh may thereby be chaſtiſed, the Spirit may be more fervent in Prayer, and that our Faſting may be a Teſtimony of our humble Submiſſion to God's Majeſty, when we acknowledge our Sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with ſorrowfulneſs of Heart, bewailing the ſame in the Affliction of our Bodies.

52. All Worſhip deviſed by Man's Fantaſy, beſides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandring on Pilgrimages, ſetting up of Candles, Stations, and Jubilies, Phariſaical Sects, and fained Religions, praying upon Beades, and ſuch like Superſtition) hath not only no Promiſe of Reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe Threatnings and Maledictions.

53. All manner of expreſſing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in an outward Form, is utterly unlawful; as alſo all other Images deviſed or made by Man to the Uſe of Religion.

54. All religious Worſhip ought to be given to God alone, from whom all Goodneſs, Health and Grace ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very Author and Giver of the ſame, and from none other.

55. The Name of God is to be uſed with all Reverence and holy Reſpect, and therefore all vain and raſh Swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithſtanding upon lawful Occaſions an Oath may be given and taken, according to the Word of God, *Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.*

56. The firſt Day of the Week, which is the *Lord's Day*, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to reſt from our common and daily Buſineſs, and to beſtow that Leiſure upon holy Exerciſes, both publick and private.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

57. THE King's Majeſty under God hath the Sovereign and chief Power, within his Realms and Dominions, over all manner of Perſons, of what Eſtate, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ſoever they be, ſo as no other foreign Power hath or ought to have any Superiority over them.

58. We do profeſs, that the ſupreme Government of all Eſtates within the ſaid Realms and Dominions, in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, doth of right appertain to the King's Highneſs. Neither do we give unto him hereby the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, or the Power of the Keys, but that Prerogative only which we ſee to have been always given unto all godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himſelf; that is, that he ſhould contain all Eſtates and Degrees committed to his Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, within their Duty, and reſtrain the Stubborn and Evil-Doers with the Power of the Civil Sword.

59. The Pope neither of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of *Rome*, or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the King, or diſpoſe any of his Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any other Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majeſty, or to give Licenſe or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raiſe Tumult, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Royal Perſon, State or Government, or to any of his Subjects within his Majeſty's Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be depoſed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever, is impious Doctrine.

61. The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

62. It is lawful for Chriſtian Men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to bear Arms, and to ſerve in juſt Wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. OUR Duty towards our Neighbours, is to love them as our ſelves, and to do to all Men as we would they ſhould do to us; to honour and obey our Superiors, to preſerve the Safety of Mens Perſons, as alſo their Chaſtity, Goods and good Names; to bear no Malice nor Hatred in our Hearts; to keep our Bodies in Temperance, Soberneſs and Chaſtity; to be true and juſt in all our Doings; not to covet other Mens Goods, but labour truly to get our own Living, and to do our Duty in that

that Eſtate of Life unto which it pleaſeth God to call us.

64. For the Preſervation of the Chaſtity of Mens Perſons, Wedlock is commanded unto all Men that ſtand in need thereof. Neither is there any Prohibition by the Word of God, but that the Miniſters of the Church may enter into the State of Matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's Law, either to vow the Eſtate of ſingle Life, or to abſtain from Marriage; therefore it is lawful alſo for them, as well as for all other Chriſtian Men, to marry at their own Diſcretion, as they ſhall judge the ſame to ſerve better to Godlineſs.

65. The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain Anabaptiſts falſly affirm; notwithſtanding every Man ought of ſuch Things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidels.

67. The Popiſh Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reſervation is moſt ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the Subverſion of all human Society.

Of the Church, and outward Miniſtry of the Goſpel.

68. THERE is but one Catholick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) containing the univerſal Company of all the Saints that ever were, are, or ſhall be, gathered together in one Body, under one Head, Chriſt Jeſus; part whereof is already in Heaven *triumphant*, part as yet *militant* here upon Earth. And becauſe this Church conſiſteth of all thoſe, and thoſe alone, which are elected by God unto Salvation, and regenerated by the Power of his Spirit, the Number of whom is known only unto God himſelf, therefore it is called the *Catholick* or Univerſal, and the *Inviſible* Church.

69. But particular and viſible Churches (conſiſting of thoſe who make Profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, and live under the outward Means of Salvation) be many in Number; wherein, the more or leſs ſincerely, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, the Word of God is taught, the Sacraments are adminiſter'd, and the Authority of the Keys is uſed, the more or leſs pure are ſuch Churches to be accounted.

70. Although in the viſible Church the Evil be ever mingled with the Good; and ſometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments, yet for as much as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but in Chriſt's, and miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in Hearing the Word, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Chriſt's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedneſs, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch, as by Faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments miniſtred unto them, which are effectual, becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, although they be miniſter'd by evil Men. Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that Inquiry be made of evil Miniſters, and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have Knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found guilty, by juſt Judgment, be depoſed.

71. It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or miniſtring the Sacraments of the Church, unleſs he be firſt lawfully called, and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given them in the Church, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.

72. To have publick Prayer in the Church, or to adminiſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtood of the People, is a Thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church.

73. That Perſon which by publick Denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and Publican, until by Repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the Church, by the Judgment of ſuch as have Authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given Power to his Miniſters not ſimply to forgive Sins (which Prerogative he hath reſerved only to himſelf) but in his Name to declare and pronounce unto ſuch as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Goſpel, the Abſolution and Forgiveneſs of Sins. Neither is it God's Pleaſure, that his People ſhould be tied to make a particular Confeſſion of all their known Sins unto any mortal Man; howſoever, any Perſon grieved in his Conſcience upon any ſpecial Cauſe, may well reſort unto

unto any godly and learned Miniſter, to receive Advice and Comfort at his Hands.

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Biſhop of Rome.

75. IT is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is contrary to God's Word; neither may it ſo expound one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a Witneſs, and a Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any Thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any Thing to be believed upon Neceſſity of Salvation.

76. General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an Aſſembly of Men not always governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, even in Things pertaining to the Rule of Piety; wherefore Things ordained by them as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unleſs it may be ſhewed that they be taken out of Holy Scriptures.

77. Every particular Church hath Authority to inſtitute, to change, and clean to put away Ceremonies and other Eccleſiaſtical Rites, as they be ſuperfluous, or be abuſed, and to conſtitute other, making more to Seemlineſs, to Order, or Edification.

78. As the Churches of *Jeruſalem*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch* have erred, ſo alſo the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in thoſe Things which concern Matters of Practice and Point of Ceremonies, but alſo in Matters of Faith.

79. The Power which the Biſhop of *Rome* now challengeth, to be the ſupreme Head of the univerſal Church of Chriſt, and to be above all Emperors, Kings and Princes, is an uſurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church, and therefore is for moſt juſt Cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, within the King's Majeſty's Realms and Dominions.

80. The Biſhop of *Rome* is ſo far from being the ſupreme Head of the univerſal Church of Chriſt, that his Works and Doctrine do plainly diſcover him to be *that*

Man of Sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, *whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and aboliſh with the Brightneſs of his Coming.*

Of the State of the Old and New Teſtament.

81. IN the Old Teſtament the Commandments of the Law were more largely, and the Promiſes of Chriſt more ſparingly and darkly propounded; ſhadowed with a Multitude of Types and Figures, and ſo much the more generally and obſcurely delivered as the manifeſting of them was farther of.

82. The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man; wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes, for they looked for all the Benefits of God the Father through the Merits of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as we now do; only they believed in Chriſt which ſhould come, we in Chriſt already come.

83. The New Teſtament is full of Grace and Truth, bringing joyful Tidings unto Mankind, that whatſoever formerly was promiſed of Chriſt is now accompliſhed; and ſo inſtead of the ancient Types and Ceremonies exhibiteth the Things themſelves, with a large and clear Declaration of all the Benefits of the Goſpel. Neither is the Miniſtry thereof reſtrained any longer to one circumciſed Nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all People, whether they be *Jews* or *Gentiles*; ſo that there is now no Nation which can truly complain, that they be ſhut forth from the Communion of Saints, and the Liberties of the People of God.

84. Although the Law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites be aboliſhed, and the civil Precepts thereof be not of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding, no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is freed from the Obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.

Of

Of the Sacraments of the New Teſtament.

85. THE Sacraments ordained by Chriſt be not only Badges or Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion, but rather certain ſure Witneſſes, and effectual or powerful Signs of Grace and God's Good-Will towards us, by which he doth work inviſibly in us, and not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

86. There be two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, *Baptiſm* and the *Lord's Supper*.

87. Thoſe five which by the Church of *Rome* are called Sacraments, to wit, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony* and *Extreme Unction*, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have partly grown from corrupt Imitation of the Apoſtles, partly are States of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with *Baptiſm* and the *Lord's Supper*, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God, together with a Promiſe of ſaving Grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome Effect and Operation; but they that receive them unworthily thereby draw Judgment upon themſelves.

Of Baptiſm.

89. BAptiſm is not only an outward Sign of our Profeſſion, and a Note of Difference, whereby Chriſtians are diſcerned from ſuch as are no Chriſtians; but much more a Sacrament of our Admiſſion into the Church, ſealing unto us our new Birth (and conſequently our Juſtification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the Communion which we have with Jeſus Chriſt.

90. The Baptiſm of Infants is to be retained in the Church as agreeable to the Word of God.

91. In the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, *Exorciſm*, *Oil*, *Salt*, *Spittle*, and ſuperſtitious *hallowing of the Water*, are for juſt Cauſes aboliſhed; and without them the Sacrament is fully and perfectly adminiſter'd, to all Intents

and Purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

Of the Lord's Supper.

92. THE Lord's Supper is not only a Sign of the mutual Love which Chriſtians ought to bear one towards another, but much more a Sacrament of our Preſervation in the Church, ſealing unto us our ſpiritual Nouriſhment, and continual Growth in Chriſt.

93. The Change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine into the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, commonly called *Tranſubſtantiation*, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to plain Teſtimonies of the Scripture, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occaſion to moſt groſs Idolatry and manifold Superſtitions.

94. In the outward Part of the Holy Communion the Body and Blood of Chriſt is in a moſt lively Manner *repreſented*, being no otherwiſe preſent with the viſible Elements than Things ſignified and ſealed are preſent with the Signs and Seals; that is to ſay, ſymbolically and relatively. But in the inward and ſpiritual Part, the ſame Body and Blood is really and ſubſtantially *preſented* unto all thoſe who have Grace to receive the Son of God, even to all thoſe that believe in his Name. And unto ſuch as in this manner do worthily and with Faith repair unto the Lord's Table, the Body and Blood of Chriſt is not only ſignified and offered, but alſo truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The Body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, only after an heavenly and ſpiritual Manner; and the Mean whereby the Body of Chriſt is thus received and eaten, is *Faith*.

96. The Wicked, and ſuch as want a lively Faith, although they do carnally and viſibly (as St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh) preſs with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, yet in no wiſe are they made Partakers of Chriſt, but rather to their Condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a Thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Practice of the ancient Church, ought to be miniſter'd unto all God's People; and

and it is plain Sacrilege to rob them of the myſtical Cup for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood.

98. The Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* was not by Chriſt's Ordinance reſerved, carried about, lifted up, or worſhipped.

99. The Sacrifice of the Maſs, wherein the Prieſt is ſaid to offer up Chriſt for obtaining the Remiſſion of Pain or Guilt for the Quick and the Dead, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apoſtolick; but contrariwiſe moſt ungodly, and moſt injurious to that All-ſufficient Sacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt, offered once for ever upon the Croſs, which is the only Propitiation and Satisfaction for all our Sins.

100. Private Maſs, that is the receiving of the *Euchariſt* by the Prieſt alone, without a competent Number of Communicants, is contrary to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Reſurrection and the laſt Judgment.

101. AFter this Life is ended, the Souls of God's Children be preſently received into Heaven, there to enjoy unſpeakable Comforts; the Souls of the Wicked are caſt into Hell, there to endure endleſs Torments.

102. The Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning *Limbus Patrum*, *Limbus Puerorum*, *Purgatory*, *Prayer for the Dead*, *Pardons*, *Adoration of Images and Relicks*, and alſo *Invocation of Saints*, is vainly invented, without all Warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary to the ſame.

103. At the End of this World the Lord Jeſus ſhall come in the Clouds with the Glory of his Father; at which Time, by the Almighty Power of God, the Living ſhall be changed, and the Dead ſhall be raiſed, and all ſhall appear both in Body and Soul before his Judgment Seat, *to receive according to that which they have done in their Bodies, whether good or evil.*

104. When the laſt Judgment is finiſhed Chriſt ſhall deliver up the Kingdom to his Father, and God ſhall be all in all.

The DECREE *of the* SYNOD.

IF any Minister, of what Degree or Quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any Doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon; if after due Admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the Peace of the Church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual Promotions he doth enjoy.

INDEX.

A.

ABBOT, *Dr. made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *and Lord* Clarendon's *Account of him*, Page 93. *His Zeal for the Proteſtant Cauſe in* Bohemia, p. 127. *He accidentally kills a Man, and retires from Court*, p. 138. *Writes to the King againſt the Articles of the* Spaniſh *Match*, p. 142. *Is ſuſpended for refuſing to licenſe* Sibthorp's *Sermon*, &c. p. 175. *He favours the Lecturers*, p. 207. *His Death and Character*, p. 242.

Accommodation, *vide* Committee.

Adamſon, *Mr.* Patrick, *his Confeſſion*, p. 88.

Ainſworth, *Reverend Mr. an Account of him, of his Writings and Death*, p. 47, 48.

Allegiance, *Oath of*, p. 53.

Ames, *Reverend Dr.* William, *ſettles at the* Hague, p. 147. *His Death and Character*, p. 265.

Anabaptiſts, *vide* Baptiſts.

Antrim, *Marquis of, his Caſe*, p. 506. Charles *the Second's Letter to the Duke of* Ormond *about him*, p. 507.

Apocryphal Writings, *the Puritans againſt reading them in the Church*, p. 56.

Apprentices *Petition*, p. 522.

Arbitrary *Methods of Government*, p. 204.

Archy, *his Jeſt upon Prince* Charles's *going to* Spain, p. 143. *Upon Archbiſhop* Laud, *for which he is diſcharg'd the King's Service*, p. 322.

Arminian *Controverſy, Progreſs of it in* Holland, p. 111.

Arminianiſm, *State of it at King* Charles's *Acceſſion*, p. 160. *Reſtraint of the Preſs in favour of it*, p. 171. *Jeſuit's Letter about the*

the Growth of it, p. 182. *Proteſtation of the Commons againſt it*, p. 193. *Miniſters expell'd the Univerſity for preaching againſt it*, p. 226.

Arminians, *Riſe of them at Court*, p. 132. *Conferences between them and the* Calviniſts, p. 170.

Arminius, *his Death and Character*, p. 79.

Army, *the Parliament vote the raiſing of one*, p. 586. *Character of it*, p. 594.

Army, *the King's*, *Character of it*, p 602.

Articles *to be ſubſcribed by the Clergy, and in what Form*, p. 38. Lincolnſhire *Miniſters Reaſons againſt them*, p. 55. *They occaſion a ſecond Separation*, p. 62.

Articles *of the Church of* Ireland, p. 105. *Remarks upon them*, p. 106. *The Articles at large in the* Appendix, p. 616.

Articles, *the five of* Perth, p. 118. *Ratified in Parliament*, p. 119.

Articles *of the* Spaniſh *Match*, p. 140. *Sworn to by the King and Prince*, p. 141, 142.

Articles, *the Thirty nine, King's Declaration before them*, p. 188. *They are received in* Ireland, p. 266.

Articles *of Viſitation by the Biſhops*, p. 283, 285, 351. *Miſchief of them*, p. 286.

Auricular Confeſſion, *Expediency of it maintain'd*, p. 302.

B.

BAgſhaw's *Readings againſt the Biſhops*, p. 338. *His Speech againſt the Order*, p. 420.

Ball, *Reverend Mr. his Death and Character*, p. 358.

Bancroft, *Biſhop, his Behaviour in the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 15. *He anſwers* Raynolds's *Objections*, p. 16. *Is againſt a Preaching Miniſtry*, p. 17. *Flatters King* James, p. 20. *Is Preſident of the Convocation*, p. 29. *Made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, p 40. *His Temper and furious Proceedings*, p. 41. *He revives the Perſecution of the Puritans*, ibid. *His Letter to the Biſhops about Conformity and Subſcription*, p. 45. *His Death and Character*, p. 91.

Band *of Defence of the* Scots *Nation*, p. 319.

Baptiſt Congregation, *the firſt in* England, p. 392.

Baronets, *their Inſtitution*, p. 102.

Baſtwick, *Dr. his Sufferings*. p. 263. *His ſecond Sufferings*, p. 291. *See* Prynne.

Baxter, *Reverend Mr. his Character of the Parliament Party*, p. 595. *Of the Puritan Clergy*, p. 597.

Baynes, *Reverend Mr. his Death and Character*. p. 110.

Beckington, *Sufferings of the Church Wardens there*, p. 274.

Bedford, *Earl of. his Character*, p. 364.

Bernard, *Reverend Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 208.

Bible, *Account of the ſeveral* Engliſh *Tranſlations of it*, p. 94, &c. *Firſt Edition of it*, p. 94. *Laſt Tranſlation of it*, p. 97.

Bid Ales, p. 249.
Biſhops, *their early Application to King* James I. p. 4. *They endeavour to prepoſſeſs him againſt the Puritans*, p. 9, 10. *They intreat againſt any Alterations in the Church, and their Reaſons for it*, p. 14. *They are for making the King abſolute*, p. 29, 78. *Speech in Parliament againſt them and their Courts*, p. 86. *Dr* Leighton *writes againſt them*, p. 217. *Their Articles of Viſitation illegal*, p. 283. *Their uninterrupted Succeſſion maintained*, p. 301. *Their Power attack'd by* Bagſhaw, p. 338. *They preſs the Et Cætera Oath in the Canons*, p. 354. *They become odious*, p. 357. *Lord* Digby's *Speech againſt them*, p. 368. *Several other Speeches againſt them*, p. 419, &c. *Bill for depriving them of their Votes in Parliament*, p. 444, &c. *Whether they are one of the three Eſtates*, p. 448. *Thirteen of them impeach'd*, p. 478. *They fall into Neglect*, ibid. *Iſſue of the Impeachment*, p. 520. *Petitions for and againſt them*, p. 521, 522. *They are inſulted*, p. 527. *Their Proteſtation*, p. 528. *They are impeach'd*, p. 530. *Apology for them*, p. 531. *Not brought to their Trial, but depriv'd of their Votes in Parliament*, p. 537. *The Act for that Purpoſe*, p. 539. *Remarks upon it*, p. 540.
Biſhops Bible, p. 96.
Biſhops and Presbyters, *of the Diſtinction between them*, p. 403. *Of the ſole Right of Ordination by the former*, p. 404. *Of their Right of Juriſdiction*, p. 408.
Blackwood, *Dr. his Slaviſh Poſition*, p. 79.
Bohemia, *State of the Proteſtant Religion there*, p. 125, &c.
Bohemia, *Queen-of, King* James's *Daughter, and Anceſtor to his preſent Majeſty King* George, *the Delight of the Puritans*, p. 108, 127. *Reduced with her numerous Family to great Neceſſities*, p. 128. *Long Parliament zealous in her Intereſts, for which ſhe returns them Thanks*, p. 477. *Neglected by her Brother King* Charles I. *and by Archbiſhop* Laud *and his Party*, p. 270, 271. *vide* Palatine.
Bolton, *Reverend Mr.* Robert, *his Death and Character*, p. 229.
Book *of Sports publiſh'd*, p. 122. *Subſtance of it*, p. 123. *Remarks*, p. 124. *Inforc'd anew*, p. 249.
Bookſellers, *their Complaints*, p. 172.
Bowing *at the Name of Jeſus enforc'd*, p. 255.
Bowing *towards the Altar*, p. 258.
Bradſhaw, *Reverend Mr. publiſhes his* Engliſh Puritaniſm, p. 64. *His Death and Character*, p. 121.
Brethren *of the ſecond Separation*, p. 63.
Bridge, *Reverend Mr* William, *retires to* Holland, p. 333.
Brightman, *Reverend Mr. his Death and Character*, p. 78.
Browniſts, *their Hiſtory carried on*, p. 47. *Their Opinion of the Church of* England, p. 51, 63.
Buckingham, *Duke of, a bad Miniſter*, p. 155. *Stab'd by* Felton, p. 187.

Bulkley, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 276.
Burges, *Reverend Dr. his Speech againſt Cathedrals*, p. 456.
Burroughs, *Reverend Mr.* Jer. *retires to* Holland, p. 333.
Burton, *Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 263. *His ſecond Sufferings*, p. 291. *See* Prynne.
Byfield, *Reverend Mr. his Death and Character*, p. 139.

C.

CAlviniſm *diſcountenanced at Court*, p. 137, 138.
Cambridge, *vide* Univerſity.
Canne, *Mr.* p. 48, 392.
Canons *of* 1603. *an Abſtract of them*, p. 34, 37. *Concluſion and Ratification of them*, p. 39. *Biſhops oblig'd to relax the Rigor of them for a Time*, p. 45.
Canons *of* 1640. p. 346, &c. *Unacceptable to the Clergy*, p. 353. *The Execution of them ſuſpended*, p. 354. *Speeches in Parliament againſt them*, p. 368. *Reſolutions of Parliament thereupon*, p. 369. *Remarks*, p. 370. *Objections of the Commons againſt them*, p. 374. *They are juſtified by* Laud, p. 377.
Canons, *Book of, for* Scotland, p. 277, 278. *Remarks*, 279.
Canterbury *Cathedral, its Decorations*, p. 224. *Furniture of its Altar conſecrated*, p. 259.
Carter, *Reverend Mr.* John, *his Death and Character*, p. 272.
Cartwright, *Reverend Mr. his Death and Character*, p. 24.
Cathedrals, *Decorations of them*, p. 224. *Dr.* Hackett's *Defence of them*, p. 454. *Dr.* Burges's *Speech againſt them*, p. 456. *Memorandums for reforming them*, p. 463. *Their State at the beginning of the Civil War*, p. 590.
Cenſures *of the Church, Puritans Opinion concerning them*, p. 67.
Ceremonies *objected againſt by the Puritans*, p. 18, 57. *Defended by Biſhop* Moreton, &c. p. 62. *See* Rites.
Chadderton, *Reverend Dr. his Death and Character*, p. 359.
Chancellors *Patents, and Cenſures, Canons about them*, p. 352.
Charles I. *when Prince of* Wales, *his Oath to obſerve the Articles of the* Spaniſh *Match*, p. 142. *His Journey to* Madrid, *and Letter to the Pope*, p. 143. *His Acceſſion and Character*, p. 153. *His Marriage, and Character of his Queen*, p. 154. *Character of his Miniſters*, p. 155, &c. *His Speech to his firſt Parliament*, p. 161. *His Anſwer to the Commons Petition*, p. 162. *He favours the Papiſts*, p. 163. *Contributes to the Loſs of* Rochel, p. 164. *Diſſolves the Parliament*, p. 167. *Raiſes Money by arbitrary Methods*, ibid. *and* p. 173. *His Coronation*, p. 168. *His ſecond Parliament*, p. 169. *He diſſolves them*, p. 170. *His Proclamation for putting an End to the Diſputes between* Calviniſts *and* Arminians, p. 171. *He enters into a War with* France, p. 177. *His third Parliament, and Speech to them*, p. 178. *He paſſes the* Petition of Right, p. 179. *Prorogues the Parliament, and anſwers their Remonſtrance*, p. 180, 181. *His Declaration before the Thirty nine Articles*,

cles, p. 188. His arbitrary Proceedings, p. 195, 204. His Speech in dissolving his third Parliament, p. 197. His Reasons for dissolving them, p. 198. His Proclamation against prescribing a Time for calling Parliaments, p. 199. His Instructions about Lecturers, p. 200. His Progress into Scotland, p. 238. His Usage of the Scots Parliament, p. 239. He revives the Book of Sports, p. 249. Forbids the Puritans to transport themselves, p. 300. His Reasons for compiling the Scots Liturgy, p. 312. He threatens the Scots, p. 321. His Concessions, p. 322, 324. He resolves upon a War against the Scots, p. 328. Marches against them, but agrees to a Pacification, p. 334. His Instructions to his High Commissioner, p. 335. He refuses to confirm the Scots Acts of Parliament, p. 336. He calls an English Parliament, and dissolves them in Anger, p. 340, 341. Continues to raise Money by the Prerogative, p. 341. Marches a second Time against the Scots, but is unsuccessful, p. 356. Opens the Long Parliament, p. 367. His Speech in favour of the Hierarchy, p. 418. He favours the Papists, p. 432. His Answer to the Commons Remonstrance against them, p. 433. Remarks on it, p. 434. His Design of bringing the Army to London, p. 436. His Ministers terrified, p. 440. He passes the Act for continuing the Parliament, p. 441. His Conduct at passing the Bills for abolishing the High Commission and Star Chamber, p. 473. He resolves on a Progress into Scotland, p. 479. His Concessions there, p. 484. He repents of them, p. 485. His imprudent Conduct, p. 502. His Letter in favour of the Hierarchy, p. 511. He fills up vacant Bishopricks, ibid. The Commons grand Remonstrance presented to him, p. 514. His Answer to their Petition, p. 517. And to the Remonstrance, p. 519. He goes to the House to seize five of their Members, p. 532. He leaves Whitehall, p. 536. Passes the Act to take away the Bishops Votes, p. 539. Resolutions of his Cabinet Council at Windsor, p. 543. He refuses the Scots Mediation, p. 553. His high Language to his Parliament, p. 555. He is denied Entrance into Hull, and his Proceedings in the North, p. 556. He orders the Courts of Justice to follow him, p. 557. His Answer to the Parliament's Memorial, p. 560. And to their Propositions, p. 564. His Preparations for War, p. 566. His Proposals for borrowing Money, &c. p. 569. He applies to the Papists, p. 576. His Letter to the Council of Scotland, p. 582. He sets up his Standard at Nottingham, p. 587. Of his Clergy, p. 600. Of his Army, p. 602. His Proclamation for the better governing it, p. 603. His evil Counsellors, p. 606.

Charles II. his Letter about the Marquis of Antrim, p. 307.

Chauncey, Reverend Mr. his Sufferings, p. 209. His Recantation, p. 273. Repents of it, and retires to New England, p. 274, 334.

Church, Puritans Opinion concerning it, p. 65.

Church of England, King James I. declares against its Service when in Scotland, p. 2. What the Puritans wanted to have reformed in

in it, p. 5, 6, 15, &c. *Conformity to it inforced*, p. 23. *Its Canons*, p. 34. *Lawfulness of Separation from it argued*, p. 50. *Persons obliged under a Penalty to come to it*, p. 54. *Second Separation from it*, p. 62. Laud's *Scheme for governing it*, p. 205. *Its Splendor*, p. 288. *Its Approaches towards Popery*, p. 301. *Design of uniting it to the Church of* Rome, p. 303. *Its Service neglected*, p. 391. *Condition of it at the beginning of the Civil War*, p. 589.

Church Ales, p. 248.

Church-Government, *Oath to prevent Alterations in it*, p. 349. *Several Schemes of it*, p. 465, &c.

Church-Livings, *what the Puritans would have reformed concerning them*, p. 6.

Church-Ornaments, *Ministers suffer for preaching against them*, p. 232.

Church-Wardens *Oath*, p. 284.

Churches, *Proclamation for repairing them*, p. 222.

Civil Liberties *of* England *destroy'd*, p. 307.

Civil Magistrate, *Puritans Opinion concerning him*, p. 68, 69.

Civil War, *Preparations for it*, p. 566, 567. *It opens*, p. 586. *The Authors of it*, p. 604. *Grounds and Reasons on which it proceeded*, p. 609.

Clarendon, *Lord, his Account of the Papists*, p. 305. *His Representation of the Times*, p. 308. *Remarks upon it*, p. 309.

Clarke, *Reverend Mr.* Hugh, *his Death and Character*, p. 272.

Clergy, Selden's *Character of them*, p. 149. *Their Pride and Ambition*, p. 289. *Their Approach towards Popery*, p. 301. *Canon concerning their Conversation*, p. 351.

Clerk Ales, p. 248.

Committee *of Accommodation*, p. 459. *The Sub-Committee*, p. 460. *Their Names*, p. 461. *Their Propositions and Queries*, ibid. *They break up*, p. 468. *Remarks*, p. 469.

Committee *for preaching Ministers, and for scandalous ones*, p. 488.

Common Prayer, *Book of, Puritans Objections to it*, p. 56. *Queries concerning it*, p. 463.

Communion Tables, *Canon about them*, p. 39. *Turn'd into Altars*, p. 255. *Arguments for and against it*, p. 257. *Votes about them*, p. 487.

Commutation *of Penance*, p. 352.

Conformity, *Proclamation for inforcing it*, p. 23. Bancroft's *Letter about pressing it*, p. 45.

Connecticut Colony *founded*, p 329.

Convocation *of* 1603. *their Proceedings*, p. 29, &c. *Their Book of Canons*, p. 34. *They denounce Excommunication against all who reflect upon them, or call their Authority in question*, p. 39.

Convocation *of* 1640. *their Proceedings*, p. 343, 345. *Continued after the Dissolution of the Parliament*, p. 343. *Remarks upon it*, p. 345. *Their Book of Canons*, p. 346. *Objections of the Commons to them*, p. 373, 374.

Convocation, *the last in King* Charles's *Time*, p. 371. *They disperse*, p. 373.
Cook, *Mr. Secretary, his Speech in Parliament*, p. 193.
Cosins, *Reverend Dr. his Book savouring of Popery*, p. 302. *He is censur'd in Parliament*, p. 387.
Cotton, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 263.
Council Table, *its arbitrary Proceedings*, p. 157.
Cowel, *Dr. his extravagant Positions concerning the Prerogative*, p. 78.
Cranmer's *Bible*, p. 95.
Creed Church, *the Manner of its Consecration by* Laud, p. 219.
Cromwell, Oliver, p. 190. *Designs for* New England, p. 331, 513, 575, 594.
Cross in Baptism, *Bishop* Rudd's *moderating Speech about it*, p. 30. *Puritans Objections to it*, p. 57, 60.
Crowder, *Mr. his hard Treatment*, p. 227.

D.

DAvenant, *Bishop, censured*, p. 215. *His Death and Character*, p. 498.
Davenport, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 264.
Deans and Chapters, *&c. Bill for abolishing them*, p. 451. *Dr.* Hacket's *Defence of them*, p. 454. *Several Speeches against them*, p. 456, &c. *Original of them*, p. 456. *Resolutions of the Commons against them*, p. 459.
Deering, *Sir* Edward, *His Speech against the Hierarchy*, p. 452.
Devon *and* Cornwal *Ministers Protestation of their Loyalty*, p. 73.
Digby, *Lord, his Speech against the Bishops, and the new Canons*, p. 368. *Another Speech of his for reforming the Hierarchy*, p. 427. *His Speech against the Earl of* Strafford, p. 439.
Discipline, *what the Puritans wanted to have reformed in it*, p. 6. *Innovations in it*, p. 462. *Bishop* Williams's *Scheme of it*, p. 465.
Distractions *in the State*, p. 496.
Doctrine, *Reformation of it desir'd in the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 15. *Innovations in it*, p. 461.
Dort. *Vide* Synod.
Dublin *University founded*, p. 103.
Dutch *and* French *Churches, their Address to King* James I. *and his Answer*, p. 4. *Their Address to the Bishop of* London, *and his Answer*, p. 40. Laud *obliges them to Conformity*, p. 268. *His Injunctions to them*, p. 269. *They are broken up*, p. 270.

E.

EAton, *Reverend Mr.* John, *his Death and Character*, p. 500.
Ecclesiastical Courts, *their Power extended by* Laud, p. 280. *Held in the Bishops own Names*, p. 281.
Edgehill *Fight*, p. 588.
Elders, *Puritans Opinions concerning them*, p. 67.

Elizabeth, *Princeſs, married to the Elector* Palatine, p. 101.
Elliot, *Sir* John, *his Speech in Parliament*, p. 192. *He dies in Priſon*, p. 198.
Elliot, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 227.
Engliſh Puritaniſm, *Abſtract of it*, p. 64.
Epiſcopacy *reſtor'd in* Scotland, p. 87, &c.
Epiſcopacy, *Pamphlets for and againſt it*, p. 397. *Biſhop* Hall's *Defence of it*, p. 403. *Anſwer'd by* Smectymnuus, p. 405. *Remarks*, p. 409. *Bill for aboliſhing it*, p. 584. *Remarks*, p. 585.
Eſſex, *Earl of, his Character*, p. 364. *Character of his Party*, p. 366.
Et Cetera Oath, p. 349. *Objections againſt it*, p. 375.
Excommunication *in the* Spiritual Courts, *terrible Conſequences of it*, p. 37. *Canon about it*, p. 352.

F.

FActories, Engliſh, *in* Holland, *Regulations of them projected by* Laud, p. 237.
Falkland, *Lord, his Speech for Reformation of the Hierarchy*, p. 425. *Againſt the Earl of* Strafford, p. 439.
Feaſts *of Dedication*, p. 248.
Feoffees *cenſur'd in the* Star Chamber, p. 230.
Finch, *Lord Chief Juſtice, his Character*, p. 156.
Five Members, *King goes to the Houſe to ſeize them*, p. 532. *The Authors of that Project*, p. 534.
Foreign Proteſtant *Churches diſown'd*, p. 270.
France, *War with it*, p. 177.
Frederick, *Elector* Palatine, *marries the Princeſs* Elizabeth, p. 101. *Choſen King of* Bohemia, p. 126. *Defeated and driven out of his Kingdom*, &c. p. 128.
French Match, p. 146. *Completed, and the Conſequences of it to the Nation*, p. 154, 155.
French Church. *See* Dutch.
Fuller, *Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 46, 47.

G.

GAlloway, *P. his Account of the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 14.
General Aſſembly *in* Scotland, *their Proteſtation againſt ſetting up Biſhops there*, p. 88.
General Aſſembly *at* Glaſgow, p. 323. *Diſſolv'd, but continues ſitting, and their Reaſons for it*, p. 325. *Their Acts*, p. 327. *They depoſe the Biſhops*, ibid.
General Aſſembly *at* Edinburgh, p. 335.
Geneva *Bible*, p. 96.
Giles (*St.*) *Church, conſecrated by Biſhop* Laud, p. 221.
Goodman, *a Prieſt, repriev'd by the King*, p. 432, 434.

Goodwin, *Reverend Dr.* Thomas, *retires to* Holland, p. 332.
Grievances *in the State*, p. 81. *Sundry Petitions about them*, p. 82, &c.
Grievances *of Religion*, p. 514.
Grimſtone, *Sir* Harbottle, *his Speech againſt Archbiſhop* Laud, p. 381.
Guernſey *and* Jerſey *reduc'd to Conformity*, p. 74, &c.
Gun-Powder Plot, p. 52. *To be father'd on the Puritans*, p. 53.

H.

HAcket, *Reverend Dr. his Defence of Deans and Chapters*, p. 454.
Hall, *Biſhop, his* Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, p. 337. *Reviſed and alter'd by* Laud, p. 338. *His Defence of Liturgies*, p. 398. *Anſwer'd by* Smectymnuus, p. 399. *His Conceſſions about Liberty of Prayer*, p. 402. *His farther Defence of Epiſcopacy*, p. 403.
Hamilton, *Marquis of, ſent High Commiſſioner into* Scotland, p. 321. *Declares againſt Lay-Elders*, p. 324.
Hampden, *Mr. his Character*, p. 366.
Hampton-Court *Conference, Proclamation for it*, p. 9. *Perſons concern'd in it on both ſides*, p. 10. *Partial Accounts of it*, p. 11, 22. *Firſt Day's Conference*, ibid. *Remarks on it*, p. 14. *Second Day's Conference*, ibid. *Remarks upon it*, p. 19. *Third Day's Conference*, p. 21. *Remarks upon the whole*, ibid. *Puritans refuſe to be concluded by it, and their Reaſons*, p. 22.
Hayden, *Reverend Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 232.
Henry, *Prince, his Death and Character*, p. 101.
Heywood, *Juſtice, ſtabb'd by a Papiſt*, p. 431.
Hierarchy, *Petitions againſt it*, p. 410, 411, 413. *Petitions in favour of it*, p. 412, 414. *Miniſters Petition for reforming it*, p. 417. *King interpoſes in favour of it*, p. 418. *Speeches againſt it*, p. 419, &c. *Speeches for reforming it*, p. 423. *More Speeches for and againſt it*, p. 452, 454, &c.
High Commiſſion Court, *their Proceedings againſt the Puritans*, p. 46. *Petition of the Parliament againſt it*, p. 84. *Grievances in the Execution of it*, p. 86. *Summary Account of their arbitrary Proceedings*, p. 158. *Farther Account of them*, p. 329. *Act for aboliſhing it*, p. 474.
Hilderſham, *Reverend Mr.* Arthur, *his Death and Character*, p. 218.
Hollis, Denzil, *Eſq; his Character*, p. 365.
Hooker, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 265.
Hotham, *Sir* John, *his Character*, p. 366. *Proclaim'd a Traitor by the King*, p. 556.
Howe, *Mr.* Samuel, p. 393.
Hull, *the King deny'd Entrance there*, p. 556.

I.

JAcob, *Mr.* Henry, p. 50. *Sets up Independancy in* England, p. 107. James I. *his Children*, p. 2. *His Behaviour in* Scotland *before his coming to* England, *and Declaration in the General Aſſembly there, in favour of the Kirk*, ibid. *His ſudden Change upon coming into* England, p. 3. *Application of the Papiſts to him*, ibid. *Of the Biſhops, and the* Dutch *and* French *Churches*, p. 4. *His Anſwer to the latter*, ibid. *Application of the Puritans to him*, p. 5. *His Proclamation for the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 9. *His Behaviour in it*, p. 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22. *His Speech at the firſt Day's Conference with the Biſhops*, p. 11. *He is ſatisfied about ſome little Scruples*, p. 12. *His Reaſon for permitting Popiſh Books*, p. 17. *His Speech about Uniformity*, p. 18. *And againſt Presbytery*, p. 19. *He is flatter'd by the Biſhops*, &c. p. 20. *His Letter to Mr.* Blake *about the Puritans*, ibid. *He reſolves to inforce Conformity*, p. 21. *Publiſhes a Proclamation for that Purpoſe*, p. 23. *His Proclamations againſt the Jeſuits and Puritans*, p. 27. *His Speech to his Parliament*, ibid. *Remarks upon it*, p. 28. *His arbitrary Proceedings*, ibid. *and* 79, 87. *He ratifies the Canons*, p. 39. *Demands the Opinion of the twelve Judges in relation to Proceedings againſt the Puritans*, p. 42. *His ſolemn Proteſtation againſt favouring Popery*, p. 44. *How the Gun-Powder Plot was diſcover'd to him*, p. 53. *His ſevere Speech againſt the Puritans*, ibid. *His Tenderneſs and Reſpect to the Papiſts*, p. 54. *He confirms the Church Government of* Jerſey *and* Guernſey, *but afterwards breaks in upon it and deſtroys it*, p. 75, 76. *His Prerogative advanc'd above all Law by the Biſhops Creatures*, p. 78, 79. *He ſummons the Parliament to* Whitehall, *and makes an arbitrary Speech to them*, p. 82. *Their Remonſtrance to him thereupon*, ibid. *Their Petition to him in favour of the Puritans*, p. 83. *And againſt the High Commiſſion*, p. 84. *He diſſolves them in Anger*, p. 87. *His Project of reſtoring Epiſcopacy in* Scotland, ibid, &c. *Tranſlation of the Bible in his Reign*, p. 97. *His Zeal againſt* Vorſtius, p. 98, 99. *State of his Court*, p. 100. *He marries his Daughter to the Elector* Palatine, p. 101. *Calls a Parliament, and diſſolves them in Anger*, p. 102. *His Diſcourſe in the* Star Chamber, p. 108. *His Progreſs into* Scotland, *and Behaviour there*, p. 118. *His weak Management in the Affair of* Bohemia, p. 127. 128. *Of a zealous* Calviniſt *he becomes a Favourer of the* Arminians, p. 132. *His Speech to his Parliament*, p. 133. *He adjourns them*, ibid. *He writes to the Speaker, and diſſolves them*, p. 134. *Relaxes the Laws againſt Papiſts*, p. 135, 147. *His Injunctions to reſtrain preaching* Calviniſm, p. 136. *His Proceedings in the* Spaniſh *Match*, p. 140, &c. *His Speech to his Parliament*, p. 144. *His remarkable Anſwer to their Petition*, p. 145. *His Letter to the Pope*, p. 146. *He dies*, p. 147. *Summary State of Religion in his Reign*, ibid. *Character of him and his Court*, p. 150.

Jeſuit's

Jesuit's *Letter about the Growth of* Arminianism, p. 182.
Jesuits, *Proclamation against them*, p. 27.
Independants, *who was the first of them*, p. 50. *Rise of them in* England, p. 107. *Their Manner of erecting a Church*, p. 108. *Their History continu'd*, p. 391. *They appear in publick*, p. 393.
Informers, p. 275.
Injunctions *of King* James *to restrain preaching* Calvinism, p. 136. *Remarks*, p. 137.
Injunctions *against Lecturers*, p. 260.
Innovations *in the Church* p. 219. *The Authors of them censur'd in Parliament*, p. 387. *Votes against them*, p. 394. *Committee for considering of them*, p. 459, &c.
Invocation *of Saints favour'd by the Clergy*, p. 301.
Johnson, *Mr. a rigid Brownist*, p. 47, 48.
Ireland, *Abstract of the Reformation there*, p. 103. *Scots Settlements there*, ibid. *State of Religion there*, p. 184. *The Thirty nine Articles receiv'd there*, p. 266.
Irish *Insurrection and Massacre*, p. 501. *Spreads Terror over* England, p. 502. *The Authors of it*, p. 503. *Concern of the* English *Court in it*, p. 504. *Earl of* Essex's *Account of it*, p. 505. *And the Marquis of* Antrim's, p. 506. *Proceedings of Parliament upon it*, p. 508. *Remarks*, p. 510.
Judges, *their Opinion about Deprivations, Prohibitions, and Petitions*, p. 42, 43. *Remarks thereupon*, p. 43. *Their Character*, p 156. *Their Opinion of the Convocation's sitting after the Dissolution of the Parliament*, p. 344.
Jurisdiction *of Bishops*, p. 408. *Of Presbyters*, ibid.
Juxon, *Bishop, made Lord High Treasurer*, p. 288.

K.

Kimbolton, *Lord, his Character*, p. 364.
Kingly Power, *Canons about it*, p. 346.
King's *Inauguration Day, Canon about it*, p. 347.
Kirk *of* Scotland, *King* James I. *declares solemnly in favour of it*, p. 2. *But afterwards deserts it*, p. 3.
Kneeling *at the Sacrament, Puritans Objections against it*, p. 58, 60.
Knight, *Reverend Mr. his Sermon against the Prerogative*, p. 135. *His bold Answer upon being questioned by the Court*, p. 186.

L.

LAD, *Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 46.
Lambeth Chapel, *superstitious Pictures in it*, p. 225.
Lathorp, *Mr. Account of him*, p. 391.
Laud, *Bishop, his Temper and Principles*, p. 155, 160. *Made Bishop of* London, p. 187. *Becomes prime Minister* p. 188. *His Answer to the Commons Remonstrance, and Remarks upon it*, p. 194. *Libels against him*, p. 198. *His Scheme for governing the Church*, p. 205. *His Behaviour at passing Sentence on Dr.* Leighton,

Leighton, p. 218. *His Conſecration of* Creed Church, &c. p. 219. *His Care of the Preſs*, p. 236. *His Behaviour in* Scotland, p. 240. *His Regulation of the King's Chapel at* Edinburgh, p. 241. *He is made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, p. 245. *His Letter about Wakes and Revels*, p. 247. *He makes Alterations in the Service-Book*, p. 254. *His Account of the State of his Province*, p. 260. *He obliges the* French *and* Dutch *Churches to Conformity*, p. 268. *His Exceptions to the Brief for the* Palatine *Miniſters*, p. 271. *His farther Account of the State of his Province*, p. 275. *He increaſes the Power of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, p. 280, 281. *Makes new Statutes for* Oxford, p. 282. *His Speech in the* Star Chamber, p. 293. *More Libels againſt him*, p. 298. *He complains againſt the King's Jeſter*, p. 322. *Stirs up the King to haſten his Preparations againſt the* Scots, p. 326. *Excites the Clergy to contribute towards the War*, p. 328. *Reviſes and alters Biſhop* Hall's *Book of Epiſcopacy*, p. 338. *Is inſulted by the Populace*, p. 342. *The Secretary's Letter to him againſt preſſing the* Et Cætera *Oath in the Book of Canons*, p. 355. *He juſtifies the Canons*, p. 377. *He is impeach'd of High Treaſon*, p. 378. *The* Scots *Charge againſt him*, p. 379. *His Reply*, p. 380. *Sir* H. Grimſtone's *Speech againſt him*, p. 381. *He is committed to the Black Rod*, p. 382. *Heads of his Impeachment*, ibid. *He ſpeaks for himſelf*, p. 383. *Is ſent to the* Tower, p. 384. *Suſpended from his Juriſdiction*, p. 495.

Lecturers, *King's Inſtructions about them*, p. 206. *Their Character, and Proceedings againſt them*, p. 207. *Injunctions againſt them*, p. 260. *Biſhop* Montague's *Articles of Enquiry concerning them*, p. 287. *Biſhop* Pierſe's *Uſage of them*, p. 288.

Legate, Barth. *burnt for* Arianiſm, p. 99.

Leighton, *Dr. writes againſt the Biſhops*, p. 217. *His Sentence, Sufferings, and Character*, p. 218. *His Petition to the Long Parliament, and Releaſe*, p. 385.

Lenthal, William, *Eſq; his Character*, p. 365.

Libellous Pamphlets, p. 555.

Liberty *of Prayer, Defence of it*, p. 399. *Biſhop* Hall's *Conceſſions about it*, p. 402.

Licences *to marry*, p. 353.

Lilburne, *Mr. his Sentence and Sufferings*, p. 297.

Lincolnſhire *Miniſters Reaſons for not ſubſcribing*, p. 55, &c. *Anſwers to them*, p. 62.

Liturgies, *Abſtract of the Controverſy upon the Antiquity of them*, p. 398.

Loan, *a Method of raiſing Money*, p. 167. *Perſons impriſon'd on Account of it*, p. 173.

Londonderry *built*, p. 104.

Long Parliament. *See* Parliament.

Lords *diſagree with the Commons*, p. 489.

Lord's

Lord's Day, *Wakes and Revels on it countenanc'd*, p. 246. *Declaration for Sports on it*, p. 249. *Of its Morality*, p. 250. *Votes for the ſtrict Obſervance of it*, p. 489. *It was ſtrictly obſerv'd by the Parliament Party*, p. 591.

M.

MAdye, *Reverend Mr. &c. cenſur'd for preaching on Predeſtination*, p. 217.
Manwaring, *Dr. his Sermon*, p. 174. *His ſevere Sentence*, p. 179. *He is pardon'd and preferr'd*, p. 180.
Maſs *and Real Preſence aſſerted*, p. 302.
Maſſachuſet-Bay *Colony, Riſe of it*, p. 209. *Their Church Covenant*, p. 211. *Their Hardſhips*, p. 212. *Their farewel Requeſt to the Church of* England, p. 213. *Numbers that went over*, p. 214.
Mather, *Reverend Mr.* Richard, *removes to* New-England, p. 276.
Mathew's *Bible*, p. 94.
Maunſel, *Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 46.
Members *of Parliament committed to Priſon*, p. 102, 135, 197, 341. *They are fin'd*, p. 198.
Merit *maintain'd*, p. 302.
Midwife's *Oath*, p. 12.
Militia, *Debates about it*, p. 544, 545. *Ordinance of both Houſes for diſpoſing of it*, p. 547.
Millenary *Petition of the Puritans*, p. 5.
Miniſters, *what the Puritans wanted to have reformed concerning them*, p. 6, 17.
Miniſters *ſilenc'd or depriv'd for Non-Conformity*, p. 41, 44, 276, 286, 290, 329.
Miniſters *retire to* Holland, p. 47, 332.
Miniſters of the Word, *Puritans Opinion concerning them*, p. 66.
Miniſters *Petition for reforming the Hierarchy*, p. 417. *Speeches on it*, p. 423.
Mobbings, p. 342, 390, 492, 525, 526.
Money, *new Methods of raiſing it*, p. 102, 167, 341.
Monopolies, *Grievances by them*, p. 79, 87.
Montague, *Dr. his Book favouring Popery*, p. 148. *He is cited before the Commons*, p. 165. *He is cenſur'd by them*, *Letter ſigned by ſeveral Biſhops in his Favour*, p. 166. *Articles againſt him*, p. 169. *Made Biſhop of* Chicheſter, p. 180. *His Articles of Enquiry concerning Lectures*, p. 287. *His ſcribler favouring of Popery*, p. 301. *His Death and Character*, p. 499.
Monthly Faſt, p. 592.
More, *Mr.* Stephen, p. 393.
Morning Lecture, *the Riſe of it*, p. 592.

N.

NAtion, *distracted State of it*, p. 496, 543. *Petitions to the Parliament to provide for the Safety of it*, p. 544.
Negative Oath, p. 554.
Neile, *Archbishop, his Death and Character*, p. 359.
New England, *Puritans settle there*, p. 128, &c. 209, &c. 227, 263, 267, 276, 329, 330.
New Haven *Colony*, p. 264, 379.
Newman, *Reverend Mr.* Samuel, *removes to* New England, p. 331.
New Plimouth, *Colony of*, p. 131.
Non-Conformity, *Sufferings for it*, p. 273, 274.
Non-Subscribers, *Number of them*, p. 44, 45.
Norton, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 268.
Noy, *Mr. Attorney General, his Character*, p. 156.
Nye, *Reverend Mr.* Philip, *removes to* Holland, p. 333.

O.

OATH ex Officio, *Puritans Opinion of it*, p. 69.
Oath *for Church Wardens*, p. 284.
Oath *call'd* Et Cætera, p. 349.
Ordination, *Episcopal*, p. 404. *Presbyterian*, p. 405.
Osbaldeston, *Mr. his Sentence*, p. 296. *He is releas'd by the Long Parliament*, p. 387.
Oxford Decree, p. 136. *New Statutes for that University*, p. 282. *Vide* University.

P.

PAlatine, *Elector, marries King* James's *Daughter, to the great Satisfaction of the Puritans*, p. 101. *Is chosen King of* Bohemia, p. 126. *Is beaten and turn'd out of his Kingdom and Electorate, being basely deserted by his Father-in-Law*, p. 127, 128.
Palatine Family, *Manifesto in favour of it*, p. 476.
Palatine Ministers, *Brief for them*, p. 270. Laud's *Exceptions to it*, p. 271.
Papists, *their Expectations from King* James I. p. 3. *His Tenderness towards them, and Offers to meet them half way*, p. 27, 28. *Remonstrance of the Parliament against them*, p. 134. *Laws against them relaxed*, p. 135. *Articles in their Favour in the* Spanish *Match*, p. 140, 141. *And in the* French *Match*, p. 147. *Their Boldness in* Ireland, p. 185, 186. *Laws against them suspended*, p. 304. *They are favour'd, and promoted at Court*, p. 305. *Their Numbers and Influence*; *and Lord* Clarendon's *Account of them*, ibid. *Proceedings against them*, p. 430. *The King favours them*, p. 432. *Applies to them to assist him in the War*, p. 576.

Parker, *Reverend Mr.* Robert, *retires to* Amſterdam, p. 47. *His Sufferings before, and wonderful Preſervation*, p. 77.

Parliament, *firſt Seſſion of King* James's *Firſt, and his Speech to them, with Remarks upon it*, p. 27. *Their Proceedings*, p. 29. *Proceedings in another Seſſion*, p. 80, &c. *King's Speech to them*, p. 82. *Their Petitions about Grievances*, ibid. &c. *They are diſſolv'd*, p. 87. *Another* Parliament *call'd and diſſolv'd*, p. 102. *Another* Parliament, *and the King's Speech to them*, p. 133. *Their Declaration*, ibid. *Their Remonſtrance againſt Papiſts*, p. 134. *Their Petition and Proteſtation*, ibid. *They are diſſolv'd*, ibid. *Another* Parliament, *and the King's Speech to them*, p. 144. *Their Petition againſt Papiſts, and the King's Anſwer*, p. 145.

Parliament, *the firſt of King* Charles I. p. 161. *Their Petitions againſt Papiſts, and the King's Anſwer*, p. 162. *They are diſſolv'd*, p. 167. *His ſecond Parliament*, p. 169. *His third*, p. 178. *Their Remonſtrance, and the King's Anſwer*, p. 181. *Their farther Proceedings*, p. 190. *They keep the Speaker in the Chair whilſt they make a Proteſtation*, p. 196. *They are diſſolv'd*, p. 197. *The* Short Parliament, p. 340.

Parliament, *the* Long one, *ſad Condition of the Court at the Calling of it*, p. 357. *Its general Character*, p. 361. *Character of the leading Members in both Houſes*, p. 364, 365. *The Opening of it*, p. 367. *They appoint Committees*, p. 368. *Speeches in it againſt the late Canons*, p. 368. *Their Reſolutions againſt them*, p. 369. *Their Objections to them*, p. 374. *Their Proceedings againſt* Laud, p. 378. &c. *They ſet the Priſoners of the Prerogative at Liberty*, p. 384. *Cenſure the Authors of the Innovations in the Church*, p. 387. *Vote thoſe Innovations down*, p. 394. *Several Petitions to them for and againſt the Hierarchy*, p. 410, &c. *King's Speech to them thereupon*, p. 418. *Several Speeches in the Houſe upon thoſe Petitions*, p. 419, &c. *Their Reſolutions thereupon*, p. 430. *Their Proceedings againſt Papiſts*, ibid. *Their Remonſtrance againſt them*, p. 432. *Their Proceedings againſt the Earl of* Strafford, p. 435. *Plot of the Court againſt them*, p. 436. *Act for its Continuance*, p. 441. *Their ſolemn Vow and Proteſtation*, p. 442. *They debate on the Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes*, p. 444, 445. *And on the Bill for aboliſhing Deans and Chapters*, &c. p. 451, &c. *They aboliſh the High Commiſſion Court and Star Chamber*, p. 473. *Impeach thirteen Biſhops*, p. 478. *Their Declaration concerning ſitting on a Sunday*, p. 480. *Their Proceedings upon the* Iriſh *Inſurrection*, p. 508. *Their Grand Remonſtrance*, p. 512, 514. *Declaration of their Intentions*, p. 516. *Their Petition preſented with the Remonſtrance*, p. 517. *King goes to ſeize five of their Members*, p. 532. *City of* London *for them*, p. 535. *They take away the Biſhops Votes*, p. 537. *King reſolves to break with them*, p. 543. *Petitions to them*, p. 544. *Their Proceedings*, p. 545. *Their Reſolutions*, p. 548. *The King's Reply, and their Anſwer*,

Anſwer, p. 549, 550. *Remarks*, ibid. *They accept the* Scots *Mediation*, p. 553. *Their Declaration concerning Reformation*, ibid. *They appoint a Negative Oath*, p. 554. *Their farther Proceedings*, p. 557. *Their Memorial*, p. 558. *Their nineteen Propoſitions*, p. 562. *Their Preparations for War*, p. 567. *They borrow Money and Plate of the Citizens*, p. 569. *They confederate with the* Scots, p. 578. *Their Reply to the General Aſſembly's Letter*, p. 581. *They aboliſh Epiſcopacy*, p. 584. *They vote the raiſing of an Army*, p 586. *Character of thoſe who took part with it*, p. 595. *Some warm Spirits among them*, p. 607.

Parliaments, *whether the King may adjourn them*, p. 197.

Paul's (*St.*) *Church repaired*, p 223.

Perth, *five Articles of*, p. 118, 119.

Petition *of the Puritans for Liberty of Conſcience*, p. 72. *Petition of the Parliament in favour of them*, p. 83. *And againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, p. 84. *Againſt the Growth of Popery*, p. 162. *Of the* Calviniſts *againſt the King's Declaration*, p. 189. *Of the* Scots *againſt the Liturgy*, p. 316. *Of Dr.* Leighton *to the Long Parliament*, p. 385. *Of the ſaid Parliament to the King*, p. 517. *Of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the Parliament*, p. 522. *Of the* London *Apprentices*, ibid. *Of the Puritan Clergy for Reformation*, p. 523.

Petition of Right, p. 179.

Petitions *for and againſt the Hierarchy*, p. 410, &c. p. 522, 523.

Pierſe, *Biſhop, his Uſage of the Lecturers*, p. 288.

Plays, *&c. put down*, p. 591.

Plot *againſt the Long Parliament*, p. 436. *Conſequences of it*, p. 437.

Pluralities, *Puritans complain of them*, p. 17.

Pocklington, *Dr. cenſur'd in Parliament*, p. 389.

Popery, *Advances towards it in King* James *the Firſt's Reign*, p. 147. *In King* Charles *the Firſt's Reign, and the Cauſes of it*, p. 161. *Its Increaſe in* Ireland, p. 184, 185, 186. *Advances of the Church of* England *towards it*, p. 301. *It increaſes greatly*, p. 305, 306. *Canons againſt it*, p. 347.

Popiſh Lords, *Petitions againſt them*, p. 522.

Preaching Miniſters *deſir'd by the Puritans*, p. 17.

Preaching *for Conformity*, p. 351.

Preaching, *Votes for encouraging it*, p. 488.

Prerogative, *advances of it*, p. 78. Sibthorp's *Sermon for it*, p. 174. *And* Manwaring's, ibid.

Presbyterian Churches, Engliſh, *in* Holland, p. 47.

Presbyters, *Ordination by them defended*, p. 405. *Their Juriſdiction*, p. 408.

Preſs, *Reſtraint of it, in favour of Arminianiſm and Popery*, p. 171, 172. *Biſhop* Laud's *Care of it*, p. 236. *Farther Reſtraint of it*, p. 299.

Preſton,

Preſton, *Reverend Dr.* John, p. 144, 160. *His Death and Character*, p. 200.

Priſoners *of the Prerogative releas'd by the Long Parliament*, p. 384.

Proclamation *for the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 9. *To enforce Conformity*, p. 23. *Againſt Jeſuits and Puritans*, p. 27. *Againſt Papiſts in* Ireland, p. 186. *Againſt preſcribing a Time for calling Parliaments*, p. 199. *For Repairing Churches*, p. 222. *For hindering the Puritans tranſporting themſelves*, p. 300. *For the better Government of the King's Army*, p. 603.

Proteſtant Intereſt *in* Germany *ruined by King* James, p. 128.

Proteſtation *of Puritan Miniſters concerning the King's Supremacy*, p. 70. *Of the Miniſters of* Devon *and* Cornwal, *concerning their Loyalty*, p. 73. *Of the General Aſſembly in* Scotland *againſt Epiſcopacy*, p. 88. *Of the Commons againſt* Arminianiſm, p. 193. *Againſt that, and Tonnage and Poundage*, p. 196, 197. *Of the* Scots *againſt impoſing the Liturgy*, p. 317. *Of the Long Parliament*, p. 442. *Of the Biſhops*, p. 528. *Objections againſt it*, p. 531.

Prynne, Baſtwick *and* Burton, *their Sentence in the* Star Chamber, p. 262. *Their ſecond Sentence*, p. 292. *The Nation diſguſted at it*, p. 294. *They are releas'd by the Long Parliament*, p. 385.

Puritans, *their Expectations from King* James I. p. 2. *Their* Millenary Petition, p. 5. *Anſwer'd by the Univerſity of* Oxford, p. 7. *Conference between them and the Biſhops*, &c. *at* Hampton-Court, p. 9, &c. *How they were treated in it*, p. 19, 20, 21, 22. *They refuſe to be concluded by it, and their Reaſons*, p. 22. *Offer to give an Anſwer in Writing*, p. 23. *Proclamation againſt them*, p. 27. *Their Struggles in Convocation to no purpoſe*, p. 29. *Biſhop* Rudd *ſpeaks in their Favour*, p. 30, &c. *Canons againſt them*, p. 34, &c. *They are to ſuffer Excommunication*, p. 37. *Perſecution of them reviv'd*, p. 41. *And furiouſly carried on*, p. 44. *Many of them retire to* Holland, p. 47. *They differ about the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of ſeparating from the Church*, p. 50. *The Gun-Powder Plot to be father'd on them*, p. 53. *Their Arguments returned upon that of the Biſhops againſt tolerating them*, p. 55. *They offer a publick Diſputation*, ibid. *Their Arguments againſt ſubſcribing the Book of Common-Prayer*, p. 56. *Againſt the Ceremonies, and particularly againſt the Surplice*, p. 57. 59. *Againſt the Croſs in Baptiſm*, ibid. *and* p. 60. *Againſt kneeling at the Sacrament*, p. 58, 60. *Againſt impoſing the Ceremonies*, p. 58. *They remove farther from the Church, and the Occaſion of it*, p. 62, 63. *Their Principles about Religion in general*, p. 64. *Concerning the Church*, p. 65. *Miniſters of the Word*, p. 66. *Elders, and Church Cenſures*, p. 67. *And concerning the Civil Magiſtrate*, p. 69. *Their Proteſtation concerning the King's Supremacy*, p. 70. *And Petition for Liberty*

berty of Conſcience, p. 72. *They proteſt their Loyalty*, p. 73. *The Unreaſonableneſs of perſecuting them*, p. 74. *Petition of the Parliament in their favour*, p. 83. *Several remove to* Ireland, p. 104. *They rejoice at the Elector* Palatine's *being choſen King of* Bohemia, p. 127. *They ſettle in* New England, p. 128. *The Diſtinction of* Church *and* State Puritans, p. 132. *Doctrinal* Puritans, p. 138. *They gain Ground*, p. 149. *Biſhop* Williams *favourable to them*, p. 176. *More go to* New England, p. 209, 263, 267, 329. *Their Hardſhips in relation to the Book of Sports*, p. 251. *Their indiſcreet Zeal*, p. 275. *Their Courage*, p. 297. *They are forbid to go out of the Kingdom*, p. 300. *Remarks on that Severity*, ibid. *They increaſe*, p. 301. *What they aim'd at in K.* Charles *the Firſt's Time*, p. 470. *Their Petition for Reformation*, p. 523.

Puritan Clergy, *their Character*, p. 596. *Their Political Behaviour*, p. 598. *Their Vindication*, p. 599.

Pury, *Alderman, his Speech againſt Deans and Chapters*, p. 457.

Pym, *Mr. his Speech in Parliament*, p. 191. *His Character*, p. 365.

Q.

QUeen *of King* Charles I. *her Character, and Influence over the King*, p. 154, 155, 605. *Her Negotiations in* Holland, p. 543, 566. *A chief Inſtrument in bringing on the* Civil War, p. 605.

Queen *of* Bohemia. *Vide* Bohemia.

R.

RApin, *Mr. ſome Remarks on him*, p. 470.

Raynolds, *Dr. his part in the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 15, &c. *His Death and Character, remarkable Caſe of him and his Brother*, p. 77.

Reformation *of Doctrine requeſted in the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 15.

Reformation *of Manners in the People, remarkable in the Parliament Times*, p. 593. *And in their Army*, p. 594.

Religion, *Puritans Opinion of it*, p. 65. *Unſettled State of it*, p. 487, 492. *Parliament's Propoſitions relating to it*, p. 563.

Remonſtrance *of the Parliament againſt Papiſts*, p. 134. Remonſtrance *of King* Charles's *third Parliament*, p. 181, 184. *Remonſtrance of the Long Parliament againſt Papiſts*, p. 432. *Their Grand Remonſtrance*, p. 512, 514. *Petition preſented with it*, p. 517.

Revels. *Vide* Wakes.

Rhemiſt *Teſtament and Bible*, p. 96, 97.

Rippon. *Vide* Treaty.

Rites and Ceremonies, *Canon about them*, p. 350.

Robinſon, *Reverend Mr.* John, *the firſt Independant*, p. 49. *His parting Speech to his Congregation at their going for* New England, p. 129. *He takes leave of them*, p. 130.

Rochel, *Siege of*, p. 164.
Rogers, *Reverend Mr.* John, *his Sufferings*, p. 290.
Rogers, *Reverend Mr.* Nathaniel, *retires to* New England, p. 291.
Rogers, *Reverend Mr.* Ezekiel, *removes to* New England, p. 330.
Root and Branch *Petition*, p. 413. *Counter Petition to it*, p. 414. *Speeches for the former*, p. 419.
Roundhead and Cavalier, *Original of the Names*, p. 525.
Rouſe, *Mr. his Speech in Parliament*, p. 191.
Rudd, *Biſhop, his Speech in Convocation about the Croſs in Baptiſm, and in favour of the Puritans*, p. 30.

S.

SAville, *Lord, his Letter to encourage the* Scots, p. 340.
Scotland, *King* James *the Firſt's Behaviour there, before his Acceſſion to the* Engliſh *Crown*, p. 2. *Epiſcopacy reſtor'd there againſt the Senſe of the Nation*, p. 87, &c. *King* James's *Progreſs thither, and farther Proceedings there*, p. 118, 119. *King* Charles's *Progreſs thither*, p. 238. Laud's *Behaviour there*, p. 240. *Book of Canons for that Kingdom*, p. 277, 278. *And Liturgy*, p. 312. *See* Scots. *King* Charles's *ſecond Progreſs thither*, p. 484.
Scots *Biſhops conſecrated*, p. 90. *Their Declinator againſt the General Aſſembly*, p. 323. *They are depos'd*, p. 326.
Scots Liturgy, p. 312. *Impos'd by the Prerogative*, p. 313. *Occaſions Tumults*, p. 314, 316. *Reaſons againſt it*, p. 315. *Petitions againſt it*, p. 316. *And a Proteſtation*, p. 317.
Scots Parliament, p. 336.
Scots Settlements *in* Ireland, p. 103. *Their Diſcipline*, p. 104. *Their Ordinations*, p. 105.
Scots Tables, p. 318. *The ſolemn League and Covenant of the* Scots, ibid. *Their Band of Defence*, p. 319. *King's Conceſſions to them*, p. 322, 324. *Preparations of the* Engliſh *Court againſt them*, p. 326. *They are encourag'd by the* Engliſh, p. 340. *Their Charge againſt Archbiſhop* Laud, p. 379. *Abſtract of the Pacification with them*, p. 480. *They are declar'd to be the King's faithful Subjects*, p. 486. *They offer their Mediation between the King and the* Engliſh *Parliament*, p. 552. *Their Letter to the Parliament*, p. 580.
Scots War, *the firſt*, p. 328, 334. *The ſecond*, p. 356.
Sectaries, *Canon againſt them*, p. 349.
Selden, *Mr. his Recantation*, p. 120.
Separation, *Archbiſhop* Laud's *Sentiments of it*, p. 51. *A ſecond* Separation *from the Church*, p. 62.
Service of the Church, *what the Puritans wanted to have reformed in it*, p. 5, 18.
Service Book, Laud's *Alterations in it*, p. 254.

Sheppard,

Sheppard, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 287.
Sherfield, *Mr. tried in the Star Chamber*, p. 233. *His Defence*, p. 234. *Sentence againſt him*, p. 236.
Sibbs, *Dr. his Death and Character*, p. 280.
Sibthorp's *Sermon*, p. 174. *He is preferr'd*, p. 180.
Smart, *Reverend Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 209.
Smectymnuus, *who*, p. 398. *They reply to Biſhop* Hall's *Defence of Liturgies*, p. 399. *And of the* Engliſh *Liturgy*, p. 401. *They are for Ordination by Presbyters*, p. 405. *Their Petition about Epiſcopacy and the Liturgy*, p. 409.
Smith, *Mr. the Browniſt, odd Story of him*, p. 49.
Snelling, *Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 253.
Socinianiſm, *Canon againſt it*, p. 348.
Solemn League and Covenant *renew'd*, p. 318.
Solemn *Vow and Proteſtation of the Long Parliament*, p. 442. *Order'd to be taken all over* England, p. 443. *Remarks*, p. 444.
Spaniſh Match, p. 140. *Articles of it*, ibid. *The* Match *broke off*, p. 144.
Speeches *of King* James I. *to his Parliaments*, p. 27, 82, 133, 144.
Speech *of Biſhop* Rudd *about the Croſs in Baptiſm, and in favour of the Puritans*, p. 30. Speech *in Parliament againſt the Biſhops, and their Courts*, &c. p. 80. *Several other* Speeches *in Parliament*, p. 191, &c. 368, 381, 419, &c. 439, 452, 454, &c. 476.
Speech *of King* Charles I. *at diſſolving his third Parliament*, p. 197. *In favour of the Hierarchy*, p. 418.
Star Chamber, *Account of that Court*, p. 158. *Act for aboliſhing it*, p. 475.
Strafford, *Earl of, adviſes a ſecond War with the* Scots, p. 330. *His Impeachment and Trial*, p. 435. *His Execution and Character*, p. 438. *Several Speeches againſt him*, p. 439.
Stuarts, *Houſe of, Character of them*, p. 1.
Subſcription *requir'd of the Clergy*, p. 38, 45. *Numbers that refus'd it*, p. 44, 45. Lincolnſhire *Miniſters Reaſons againſt it*, p. 55. *It occaſions a ſecond Separation from the Church*, p. 62.
Succeſſion, *uninterrupted, of the Biſhops, maintained*, p. 301.
Supremacy, *Proteſtation of the Puritans concerning it*, p. 70. *Reaſons for amending the Act about it*, p. 84.
Surplice, *Puritans Objections againſt it*, p. 57, 59.
Sympſon, *Reverend Mr.* Sydrach, *removes to* Holland, p. 333.
Synod *of* Dort, p. 111, &c. *Their Oath*, p. 113. *Concluſion of the* Synod, *and Behaviour of the Remonſtrants in it*, p. 115. *And of the* Engliſh *Divines*, ibid. *Cenſures on the* Synod, p. 117.

T.

T.

THomas, *Mr. Serjeant, his Speech againſt the Biſhops*, p. 420. *Againſt Deans and Chapters*, p. 456.
Tindal's *Bible*, p. 94.
Tonnage *and* Poundage, p. 195, 197.
Tranſlations *of the Bible into* Engliſh. *See* Bible.
Treaty *of* Rippon, p. 356.
Tumults *about the Parliament Houſe*, p. 525. *And in the City*, p. 526. *Attempts to ſuppreſs them*, p. 527.

V.

VANE, *Sir* Henry, *ſen. his Character*, p. 365.
Vane, *Sir* Henry, *jun. his Speech in Parliament*, p. 419.
Vaughan, *Biſhop, tranſlated to* London, *and his Anſwer to the Addreſs of the* Dutch *and* French *Churches*, p. 40.
Vexatious Citations, *Canon about them*, p. 353.
Univerſity *of* Cambridge *declare highly for the Church*, p. 7. *Thank the* Oxonians *for their Anſwer to the Puritans*, p. 8. *Votes of Parliament againſt Subſcriptions there*, p. 395. *Their Addreſs in favour of the Hierarchy*, p. 454. *Their Loyalty*, p. 573. *They deliver up their Plate to the King*, p. 574.
Univerſity *of* Oxford, *their Anſwer to the Puritans* Millenary *Petition*, p. 7. *Their famous Decree*, p. 136. *Their new Statutes*, p. 282. *Their Addreſs in favour of the Hierarchy*, p. 453. *Their Loyalty*, p. 569. *Vice-Chancellor's Letter on behalf of it*, p. 571. *The Chancellor's Anſwer*, p. 573.
Vorſtius, *his Opinions, and King* James's *Zeal againſt him*, p. 98, 99.
Uſher, *Archbiſhop*, p. 103, 105, 106. *His Notion of Epiſcopacy*, p. 397, 407. *His Reduction of it to Synodical Government*, p. 466.

W.

WAKES *and Revels on the Lord's Day countenanc'd*, p. 246. Laud's *Letter, and the Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells's *Anſwer about them*, p. 247. *Their Original and Uſe*, p. 248.
Warmiſtre, *Reverend Mr. his Speech in Convocation*, p. 372.
Warwick, *Earl of, his Character*, p. 364.
White, T. *a Roman Catholick, his Letter about the Growth of Popery*, p. 410.
White, *Mr. his Speech againſt the Order of Biſhops*, p. 421.
Whiteing, *Reverend Mr. removes to* New England, p. 291.
Whitgift, *Archbiſhop, ſends Expreſs to King* James *in* Scotland *upon the Death of Queen* Elizabeth, p. 4. *His Letter to* Cecil *about the Puritans*, p. 10. *His Behaviour in the* Hampton-Court *Conference*, p. 12, 13. *His flattering Speech to King* James, p. 21. *His Death and Character*, p. 25.

Wickliffe's *New Teſtament*, p. 94.
Wightman, Edward, *burnt for Hereſy*, p. 100.
Williams, *Biſhop, favourable to the Puritans*, p. 176. *His Trial and cruel Sentence*, p. 295. *He is ſet at Liberty by the Long Parliament*, p. 384. *He is Chairman of the Committee for Innovations, his Letter to the Sub-Committee*, p. 460. *His Scheme of Church Diſcipline*, p. 465. *His Viſitation*, p. 496. *He is made Archbiſhop of* York, p. 511.
Wilſon, *Reverend Mr. his Sufferings*, p. 252.
Windſor, *Reſolutions of the Cabinet Council there*, p. 543.
Workman, *Mr. his Suffevings*, p. 236.
Worſhip, *Primitive Manner of it*, p. 400.
Wren, *Biſhop, his Articles of Viſitation*, p. 285. *He is cenſur'd by the Parliament*, p. 388.

FINIS.



BOOKS Printed for RICHARD HETT, *at the* Bible *and* Crown *in the* Poultrey.

THE Hiſtory of the Puritans or Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*: With an Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a farther Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines. By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.* The *Second Edition.*

The Abridgment of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. *Richard Baxter*; with a Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters and Fellows of Colleges, and School-Maſters, who were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration in 1660. by, or before the Act of Uniformity. To which is added, The Church and Diſſenters compar'd, as to Perſecution, in ſome Remarks on Dr. *Walker*'s Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were ſequeſter'd, *&c.* between 1640. and 1660. And alſo, ſome free Remarks on the Twenty eighth Chapter of Dr. *Bennet*'s Eſſay on the Thirty nine Articles of Religion. By EDMUND CALAMY, *D. D.* In Four Volumes, Octavo.

Practical Diſcourſes concerning the Chriſtian Temper. Being Thirty eight Sermons upon the principal Heads of Practical Religion, eſpecially as injoined and enforced by Chriſtianity. Deſigned for the Uſe of Families. By JOHN EVANS, *D. D.* The *Third Edition.* In Two Volumes, Octavo.

Sermons on various Subjects, Divine and Moral: With a ſacred Hymn ſuited to each Subject. In Three Volumes, Twelves. Deſign'd for the Uſe of Chriſtian Families, as well as for the Hours of Devout Retirement. By I. WATTS, *D. D.* The *Fourth Edition.*

Sermons on the following Subjects, *viz.* I. The Advantage of the Living above the Dead. II. The Comfort and Happineſs of true Believers. III. The Art of Numbering our Days. IV. The Extremity of his People God's Opportunity. V. *Elihu*'s Advice under Affliction. VI. The Manner and Advantage of ſetting God always before

before us. VII. Jeſus Chriſt the Father's Servant. VIII. God the Shepherd or Reſtorer of his People. IX. The Repentance of a Church its beſt and only Security. X. The Removal of the Righteous, or Decaying Piety, a Call for Prayer. XI. The deplorable State of a People or a Nation, where Iniquity abounds. XII. Viſible Judgments on ſome, a loud Call upon others to cloſe and ſerious Reflection. XIII. Chriſt the Sun of Righteouſneſs, *&c.* XIV. *Eliſha*'s Cry after *Eliſah*'s God, *&c.* By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. EDWARD BRODHURST.

A new and full Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament. Wherein all the antient Teſtimonies concerning this Argument are produced; the ſeveral Apocryphal Books, which have been thought Canonical by any Writers, collected, with an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of each of them. Together, with a particular Proof, that none of them were ever admitted into the Canon; and a full Anſwer to thoſe who have endeavoured to recommend them as ſuch. By the late Reverend Mr. JEREMIAH JONES. Three Volumes, generally bound in Two.

The Knowledge of Chriſt, and him Crucified, opened and applied; in eight Sermons, preached at the Merchants Lecture at *Pinners Hall*.

The Knowledge of Chriſt Glorified, opened and applied; in twelve Sermons; on Chriſt's Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, Sitting at God's Right Hand, Interceſſion, and Judging the World. Preached at the Merchants Lecture at *Pinners Hall*. Theſe Two by the late Reverend Mr. JOHN HURRION.

Chriſt's Lovelineſs and Glory in his perſonal and relative Characters, and gracious Offers to Sinners; conſidered in twelve Sermons. Preach'd at Mr. *Coward*'s Lecture by ſeveral Miniſters.

Artium Principia: Or, The Knowledge of the firſt Principles of the Mathematicks made eaſy and intelligible to the meaneſt Capacities. Deſigned for the more regular and ſpeedy Introduction of young Beginners into thoſe Sciences. By HENRY BOAD.